“FAMILY IS REALLY ALL OVER THE PLACE:”
ETHNIC IDENTITY FORMATION WITHIN A TRANSNATIONAL NETWORK

ABRIL MARTINA LIBERATORI

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAMME IN HISTORY
YORK UNIVERSITY,
TORONTO, ONTARIO

DECEMBER 2017

© ABRIL MARTINA LIBERATORI, 2017

Abstract

This dissertation explores the process of ethnic identity formation of immigrants from the Campania region of Italy who settled in Ontario (Canada) and Buenos Aires (Argentina) after the Second World War, exploring the transnational nature of their social and family networks. It centres on the collection of twenty-five original testimonies from narrators from the Campania who travelled from Italy to Ontario and Buenos Aires between 1949 and 1979. These testimonies are complemented by ethnic newspaper archives and a diverse collection of archival materials from Canada, Argentina, and Italy.

Campani understood their ethnic identities not via national boundaries, nor by a hyphenated or binary relationship; they did so using a shared imagined space that formed part of a multi-directional and transnational network, a mental map that included nodal points across the globe. This project acknowledges the existence of formalized ethnic associations of Campani, but argues that the identity of Campani depended less on them and more on informal networks of family to develop a sense of identity. Focusing on this unorganized and understudied group offers an intriguing perspective on how immigrants develop ethnic identities in situations where regional ties or formalized institutions are not strong enough to adhere to as a viable source of ethnic identity.

Women were a vital part of these transnational networks, and this dissertation explores how networks of transmission work within this category of analysis. Language, food, and music are some of the means of forging and affirming ethnic identity that operate within the transnational network. Campani around the globe engaged with global foodways to explain, contextualize, and transmit the immigrant experience. They negotiated the numerous languages at their disposal to navigate the different realities they experienced upon immigration. Lastly, Campani employed popular music from home and abroad to define themselves as ethnic or to foster a common group identity across borders.

Hyphenated identities are unsatisfactory, since they rely on a linear connection between two places and obfuscate the existence of other nodal spaces in identity formation. Instead, Campani turned to other identifiers for constancy, such as the family network. Discussions of identity centre on the family or use familial terms to describe that tension. This project acknowledges that Campani had multiple identifiers at their disposal, and that they adopted them strategically to navigate the situation at hand. It complicates the presence of hybrid or hyphenated identities by considering the vast but understudied transnational network that provided Campani with a domain for ethnic identity formation. It explores immigration as a process of non-linear mobility that transcends borders by creating nodes of settlement and streaks of movement that together create a picture of what and how identity is defined.

Dedication

For Nonno

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was born and flourished at kitchen tables around the globe. Its most impressive and enduring achievement, I hope, is its engagement with the incredible life stories of so-called 'ordinary' people who have had rather extraordinary lives. I always knew that such an undertaking would be an enormous professional feat, but I never expected it to affect me personally in the ways that it has. I am grateful to those who disseminated my flyers, published my call for participants, passed on the word, and forwarded names to me. To the individuals and associations who contributed to this ambitious project: this dissertation would not exist without you. Above all, I am eternally grateful to the generous narrators in Ontario and Buenos Aires who opened up their homes and histories to me and to this project. You have become a part of who I am, and it is my sincere honour.

I am incredibly grateful to have worked with a committee of brilliant, engaging, and supportive professors who, individually and as a unit, stimulated and inspired me to do my best work. Gabriele Scardellato's astounding expertise challenged me to deepen my knowledge, and Carolyn Podruchny's unique perspective and pointed questions encouraged me to broaden it. Lastly, Roberto Perin served as a coach, advisor, fact-checker, critic, editor, proofreader, cheerleader, chef, and counsellor, among others. For this and so much more, I am so grateful.

I am indebted to the members of the Immigration History Reading Group who read and provided constructive insights on parts of this work. I am also thankful for the monthly meetings that provided a warm and safe space in which to debate, develop, and inspire ideas that have found their way into this dissertation.

The staff at libraries and archival institutions in three countries were an immense help in navigating a research question that was not easily answered in archives alone. They pointed me to little-known collections that provided context and depth to my developing arguments. Thank you to staff at the Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno (Buenos Aires) and at the Toronto Reference Library (Toronto). Special thanks to Otilia da Veiga (Academia Porteña del Lunfardo, Buenos Aires), Libertad Marilef (Sociedad Argentina de Autores y Compositores de Musica, Buenos Aires), Theresa Lombardi (CHIN Radio, Toronto), Marc Lerman (Archdiocese of Toronto), Amancio Rodriguez (Biblioteca Nacional del Maestro, Buenos Aires), Irineu Zotti (Centro de Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos, Buenos Aires), Antonietta Tosoni (Biblioteca Centro Studi Emigrazione, Rome), Cathy Leekam and Pasang Thackchhoe (Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto), and to Matteo Sanfilippo. My thanks to Isabel Mansione and Liliana Haydee-Zuntini for endless valuable resources, and for their generous and stimulating approach to collaboration.

The financial costs associated with such an undertaking were offset with very generous funding from the Ontario Graduate Scholarship Program, the Graduate Program in History at York University, the Faculty of Graduate Studies at York University, and the Mariano A. Elia Chair in Italian-Canadian Studies.

Lastly, this dissertation would not have been possible without a family who fostered an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and provided an unending network of support. My thanks especially to Shawn and Ellis, who are in every single page.

Table of Contents

Abstract ii
Dedication iii
Acknowledgements iv
Table of Contents v
Chapter 1: Introduction 1
Chapter 2: Building Transnational Networks 50
Chapter 3: Hybridized Femininities 78
Chapter 4: Language Use and Identity Negotiation 109
Chapter 5: Ethnic Foodways 142
Chapter 6: Music and Popular Culture in Buenos Aires 172
Chapter 7: Music and Popular Culture in Toronto 207
Conclusions 235
Works Cited 254

Chapter 1: Introduction[1]

Antonio Casale was born in Naples in 1927. As a young man, he immigrated to Brazil in 1955 inspired by his father's seasonal migrations there. In 1967, with a Spanish wife and Brazilian children, he immigrated yet again to Toronto. He has one brother in Rome, and another in Sao Paulo. He has cousins in Buenos Aires and in Montreal, and although he has never visited either of them, they communicate frequently. His immediate family speaks English, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese interchangeably. In recounting his life stories, Antonio pays very little attention to the transnational nature of his family. It is quite simply a part of him, woven as a *de facto* element of his life.[2]

People from the small villages of the Campania region in Italy have been travelling abroad for centuries. Most of them have done so as part of a wide interconnected web of family networks. Today, descendants of these families are widespread across the urban centres of North and South America.

Campani understood their ethnic identities not via national boundaries, nor by a hyphenated, linear, or binary relationship; instead, they conceptualized and formulated their ethnic identities using a shared imagined space that formed part of a multi-directional and transnational network, a mental map that included nodal points across the globe. This project acknowledges the existence of formalized ethnic associations of Campani and that they represent a component of ethnic identity, but argues that the ethnic

---

[1] I thank Daniele Dimaro, one of the Campani who shared his testimony with me, for the passing remark that unwittingly became the title of this dissertation.

[2] I employ the term 'immigrant' or 'immigration' to denote a relationship with a settlement society (i.e. immigration *to* Canada), one generally marked by permanence and settlement. In circumstances where I am discussing broader systems of multi-lateral movements that do not rely on permanence or on a relationship to a particular place, the term 'migrant' or 'migration' is used instead (i.e., a network of migration).

identity of Campani and this mental map depended less on them and more on informal networks of family and kin to develop their sense of identity. Ontario and Buenos Aires were two significant nodal points in this mental map.

Those who left did so for reasons that have been well documented elsewhere. Instead, this study explores the networks of traffic they created in two of the most significant receiving regions, Ontario (Canada) and Buenos Aires (Argentina); the jobs and lives they found abroad, the connections they developed with existing Italian communities, and how they developed their own perceptions, manifestations and expressions of ethnic identity.

It does so by exploring some of the means by which Campani defined their identities abroad. Language, food, and music are some of the means of forging and affirming ethnic identity that operate within the transnational network. For example, Campani around the globe engaged with global food and foodways to explain, contextualize, and transmit the immigrant experience. They negotiated the numerous languages at their disposal to navigate the different realities they experienced upon immigration. Lastly, Campani employed popular music from home and abroad to define themselves as ethnic or to foster a common group identity across borders. The goal here is to enrich our understanding of the immigrant experience and the development of an ethnic identity through the lens of everyday realities. Certainly, this is not an exhaustive list; topics ranging from religious association to political organization would yield fascinating perspectives on how the lives of Campani were transnational ones. However, this project seeks to uncover the agency exhibited by immigrants from Campania to the

Americas, those characterized not by traditional global processes but by the "emotional, intellectual, and spiritual considerations" of the people under study.[3]

By insisting on the importance of transnational networks, this project does not seek to imply that places or sites of migration are not significant. Instead, it acknowledges the distinct and important nature of the places under study here by seeing them as nodal points on a mental map. They are part of an ongoing and dynamic relationship whereby physical space is repurposed as emotional, strategic, or imagined space.

The Campania region is located just below Rome, in the southern part of Italy on the Tyrrhenian Sea, and is comprised of five provinces: Avellino, Benevento, Caserta, Naples, and Salerno. The region has a long history; it was colonized by ancient Greeks and formed part of Magna Graecia, and after a series of tumultuous wars among local tribes, it became a jewel in the crown of the Roman Empire. Its name is an ode to the fertility of its landscapes, which have been praised the world over for their gastronomic and agricultural contributions. The region is not lacking in notable historical and archaeological sites. From the ruins of the Roman cities of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Paestum to the volcanic Mount Vesuvius and the striking beauty of the Amalfi Coast, the Campania region has long been admired globally as a historically significant area.

The Campania region has remained severely understudied, which may be due to the fact that Campani did not emigrate in the same staggering numbers as did Calabrians or Sicilians, for example. Nor did they organize politically, socially, or culturally abroad

[3] Dirk Hoerder, "From Immigration to Migration Systems: New Concepts in Migration History," OAH Magazine of History (Fall 1999) 4.

as thoroughly as groups such as Friulians.[4] Given the rich history of Campania's capital, the underdeveloped infrastructure and communications network, and the varied topography, climate, and work patterns throughout the region, Campani are not easily classified as a unified whole. The city of Naples itself has a deep-rooted relationship with migration and change. It survived seventeen centuries of continual settlement under Greek, Spanish, and Italian rule. The porosity of Naples has long been acknowledged, and can be gleaned through the city's music, architecture, and culture: "porosity expresses the duplicity of Naples, tolerant in its receptivity yet resentful of impositions, a city that nourishes itself on conflicts and assimilates rather than annuls them."[5] In short, Neapolitans are accustomed to change. These characteristics created a further divide between Campani living in Naples, and those outside of the city. Inhabitants of greater Campania did not have the same exposure to, or history of, cultural exchange. By the twentieth century, those in the larger cities of the region, such as Naples, were more likely to be exposed to the growing industrial and tourism sectors. Campani who lived on the major gulfs of the region often worked in or were dependent on the fishing industry, whereas inland, Campania was an agricultural hub, particularly in the cultivation of fruits, vegetables, and flowers. Finally, those who lived in the mountainous regions often worked as farmers or shepherds, and were far removed from the Neapolitan lifestyle so characterized by porosity and change. This diversity created a microcosm in which people living quite close to one another developed different social customs, traditions, and shared histories. Upon migration, these divisions often persisted.

[4] Clifford Jansen states that between 1955 and 1980, 6.7% of all Italians who settled in Canada were from Campania. In contrast, 17.7% were from Calabria, and 13% were from Sicily.
[5] Goffredo Plastino, "Lazzari felici: Neapolitan Song and/as Nostalgia" *Popular Music* 26, 3 (2007) 429.

After the Second World War, Campani left home in search of a better life abroad. Many were following the streams of chain migration forged by earlier generations of migrants, ones that had been interrupted by the Depression and the global conflict. Between 1946 and 1976 alone, Canada received over 440,000 Italian immigrants, and Argentina received over 500,000[6]. Clifford Jansen states that the largest numbers of people from Campania arrived in Canada from the provinces of Avellino, Benevento, and Caserta, provinces that were most heavily dependent on agriculture.[7]

Table 2.1

EMIGRATION, RETURN AND NET MIGRATION BETWEEN ITALY AND CANADA 1955-1980
BY PROVINCE, REGION AND AREA OF ORIGIN
AND PROVINCIAL INDEX OF REVENUE PER INHABITANT 1970 (ITALY=100)

PRV. IND.	PROVINCE -REGION	EMIGRANTS N	%	RETURNS N	%	NET MIGRATION	PROV. INDEX
1 TO	Torino	2019	0.8	1045	1.4	974	144
2 VC	Vercelli	283	0.1	140	0.2	143	116
3 NO	Novara	346	0.2	155	0.2	191	121
4 CN	Cuneo	126	0.1	51	0.1	75	108
5 AT	Asti	97	-	44	-	53	106
6 AL	Allesandria	321	0.1	133	0.2	188	110
7 *****	PIEMONTE	3192	1.3	1568	2.1	1624	*****
8 AO	V. D'Aosta	91	-	32	-	59	141
9 *****	V.D'AOSTA	91	-	32	-	59	*****
10 VR	Varese	386	0.2	242	0.3	144	139
11 CO	Como	332	0.1	253	0.3	79	126
12 SO	Sondrio	153	0.1	48	0.1	105	103
13 MI	Milano	2472	1.0	1039	1.3	1433	149
14 BG	Bergamo	271	0.1	110	0.1	161	116
15 BS	Brescia	318	0.1	199	0.3	119	120
16 PV	Pavia	239	0.1	91	0.1	148	117
17 CR	Cremona	64	-	34	-	30	120
18 MN	Mantova	81	-	50	0.1	31	124
19 *****	LOMBARDIA	4316	1.7	2066	2.6	2250	*****
20 BZ	Bolzano	441	0.2	143	0.3	298	96
21 TN	Trento	1268	0.5	418	0.7	850	101
22 *****	TRENTINO	1709	0.7	561	1.0	1148	*****
23 VA	Verona	294	0.1	156	0.2	138	107
24 VI	Vicenza	3916	1.6	2125	2.7	1791	103
25 BL	Belluno	635	0.2	233	0.3	402	98
26 TV	Treviso	9716	4.0	5373	7.1	4343	100
27 VE	Venezia	1010	0.4	601	0.9	409	103
28 PD	Padova	1092	0.5	570	0.7	522	93
29 RO	Rovigo	107	-	68	0.1	39	89
30 *****	VENETO	16770	6.8	9126	12.0	7644	*****
31 PN	Pordenone	1573	0.7	1564	2.0	9	105
32 UD	Udine	11986	5.2	4602	6.0	7384	97
33 GO	Gorizia	397	0.2	185	0.2	212	119
PG	Perugia	297	0.1	200	0.3	97	88
TR	Terni	292	0.1	105	0.1	187	99
*****	UMBRIA	589	0.2	305	0.4	284	*****
PS	Pesaro/Urb	1744	0.7	1289	1.7	455	85
AN	Ancona	414	0.2	311	0.4	103	97
MC	Macerata	417	0.2	236	0.3	181	84
AP	Ascoli Pic.	1955	0.8	874	1.1	1211	84
*****	MARCHE	4570	1.9	2710	3.5	1860	*****
VT	Viterbo	73	-	30	-	43	96
RI	Rieti	51	-	21	-	30	81
ROMA	Roma	2313	0.9	2520	3.3	-207	111
LT	Latina	4543	2.0	1429	1.9	3114	113
FR	Frosinone	15433	6.4	5203	6.9	10230	86
*****	LAZIO	22413	9.3	9203	12.1	13210	*****
***	CENTRAL******	30526***	12.6**	13920***	18.3****	16606	**********
AQ	L'Aquila	9260	3.8	1850	2.4	7410	71
TE	Teramo	'4022	1.7	1032	1.4	2990	69
PE	Pescara	5616	2.3	1403	1.8	4213	78
CH	Chieti	7260	3.0	1990	2.6	5270	72
*****	ABRUZZI	26158	10.8	6275	8.2	19883	*****
IS	Isernia	404	0.2	282	0.4	122	59
CB	Campobasso	23911	9.9	3721	4.9	20190	63
*****	MOLISE	24315	10.1	4003	5.3	20312	*****
CE	Caserta	4826	2.0	1729	2.3	3097	68
BN	Benevento	3557	1.5	742	1.0	2815	61
NA	Napoli	2432	1.0	1204	1.6	1228	73
AV	Avellino	3950	1.6	1082	1.4	2868	54
SA	Salerno	1428	0.6	564	0.7	864	69
*****	CAMPANIA	16193	6.7	5321	7.0	10872	*****
FG	Foggia	6721	2.8	1068	1.5	5653	72
BA	Bari	12116	5.0	3821	5.0	8295	66
TA	Taranto	248	0.1	171	0.2	77	94
BR	Brindisi	402	0.2	152	0.2	250	71

Figure 1: Emigration, Return, and Net Migration Between Italy and Canada 1955-1980 by Province, Region, and Area of Origin. Source: Clifford J. Jansen, Fact-book on Italians in Canada (North York: York University, 1981) 70.

[6] Gianfausto Rosoli et al, *Un Secolo di Emigrazione Italiana, 1876-1976* (Roma: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1976).
[7] Clifford J. Jansen, *Fact-book on Italians in Canada* (North York: York University, 1981). Figures for the Argentine case are not available.

Subpar infrastructure, lack of access to farming technology, and increasingly limited land availability made emigration appealing for Campani dependent on agriculture. Dante Sabatino explains that this phenomenon, as well as Campania's relatively low emigration rate compared to other regions, is understandable due to the unrealized potential of plains areas in Campania, and the fact that the hilly, mountainous, and metropolitan areas of the provinces of Salerno and Naples did not provide the same push factors.[8] For Campani and other Italians, Ontario and Buenos Aires became nodal spaces in an international network of migration.

Figure 2: Map of the Campania region (highlighted in green). Source: 2011, digital image. Available from: Wikimedia Commons

[8] Dante Sabatino, "L'Emigrazione campana: oltre un secolo di partenze dalla regione tra destinazioni internazionali e spostamenti interni," in *I Campani e gli italiani nel mondo: il lavoro, le associazioni, la doppia appartenenza*, ed. Francesco Carchedi (Roma: Casa Editrice Ediesse, 2004) 56. These statistics are not reflected in the small sample of testimonies used here.

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb
/e/e8/Campania_in_Italy.svg/800px-Campania_in_Italy.svg.png (Accessed July 17, 2017). License at https://wikimediafoundation.org/wiki/Terms_of_Use.

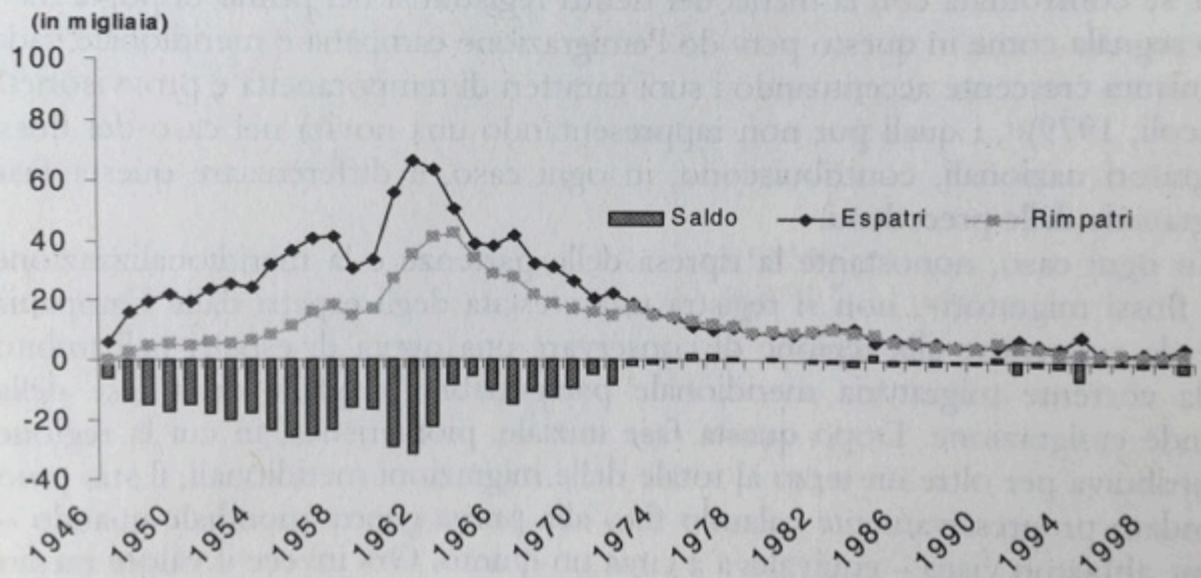


Figure 3: Campania: Expatriates, Repatriates, and Total Migration (1946-1999). Source: Sabatino, Dante. "L'Emigrazione campana: oltre un secolo di partenze dalla regione tra destinazioni internazionali e spostamenti interni." *I Campani e gli italiani nel mondo: il lavoro, le associazioni, la doppia appartenenza*, ed. Francesco Carchedi. Roma: Casa Editrice Ediesse, 2004. 56.

Tab. 9 - Espatri medi annui dalla Campania per paesi di destinazione, 1959-1982

Anni	Germania Federale	Francia	Svizzera	Totale paesi europei	Canada	Usa	Australia	Totale paesi extra-europei	Totale
				Medie annuali (in migliaia)					
1959-1964	-	-	-	43,6	1,7	2,6	1,5	8,3	51,9
1965-1969	8,9	1,2	13,4	25,6	2,2	4,6	1,2	8,8	34,4
1970-1974	5,7	0,5	7,5	14,6	0,4	2,6	0,5	4,0	18,7
1975-1979	3,4	0,3	3,8	8,1	0,2	1,1	0,2	1,9	10,0
1980-1982	3,5	0,3	3,7	8,1	0,2	0,8	0,2	1,6	9,7
				Valori in percentuale					
1959-1964	-	-	-	83,9	3,2	5,0	2,9	16,1	100,0
1965-1969	25,9	3,5	38,9	74,4	6,4	13,2	3,4	25,6	100,0
1970-1974	30,5	2,9	40,4	78,4	2,3	14,1	2,6	21,6	100,0
1975-1979	33,6	2,8	38,2	80,7	2,1	11,4	1,9	19,3	100,0
1980-1982	36,0	2,8	37,9	83,3	2,5	8,3	1,7	16,7	100,0

Fonte: Ns elaborazioni su dati Istat

Figure 4: Average annual expatriates from Campania, by destination country (1959-1982). Source: Sabatino, Dante. "L'Emigrazione campana: oltre un secolo di partenze dalla regione tra destinazioni internazionali e spostamenti interni." *I Campani e gli italiani nel mondo: il lavoro, le associazioni, la doppia appartenenza*, ed. Francesco Carchedi. Roma: Casa Editrice Ediesse, 2004. 58.

The Campani who settled in Canada and Argentina did not live insular lives. They had parents, siblings, cousins, and children back home in the villages of Campania, and in other major hubs of Italian migration. They often kept in close contact, and those constant contacts created networks of Campani who were linked not only via letters, remittances, and visits, but also by the memories and oral histories they passed down to their children and grandchildren. These memories and narratives became means by which Campani negotiated their identities. Through them and *within* them, Campani found a space that was uniquely theirs.

Campani are an intriguing sample group because of their fractured nature. Of the testimonies collected here, only a small number of Campani refer to themselves as such. Those who do tend to have professional or political motivations for doing so, such as a ranking in a regional association or business.[9] The research that follows adheres to Ludger Pries' rejection of the model of the nation-state as "the *mutual embeddedness of geographic space and social space*: [the idea that] in one geographic space (the state) there exists one single social space (the nation), and each social space (nation) has and needs just one geographic space (state)."[10] The borders of the Campania region have shifted many times in its long history, and as recently as fifty years ago. As such, many of the villages on its current-day borders, in the administrative regions of Basilicata, Molise, Puglia, and Calabria, claim many of the same traditions, connections, and family histories as those who are considered Campani. To acknowledge and respect this historical context, this study employs the use of the term Campani somewhat loosely, including

[9] Roberto Villano, in conversation with the author. March 2016. Author's translation.
[10] Ludger Pries, "The Approach of Transnational Social Spaces: Responding to New Configurations of the Social and the Spatial" in Pries, Ludger, ed. *New Transnational Social Spaces: International Migration and Transnational Companies in the Early Twenty First Century* (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), 4.

those who lie outside of its current administrative borders but still personally identify with the names, histories or traditions under study.[11]

Since regional boundaries could not be relied upon to create a homogeneous sample group, the very usage of this group as a case study comes under doubt as a historically and analytically significant entity. There are two ways to manage this issue: first, the concept of Campani has been expanded to include anyone from the current or previous iterations of the provinces of Avellino, Benevento, Caserta, Salerno, and Naples, recognizing that their borders have undergone numerous changes in the last two centuries, and that the lived experiences of their inhabitants are not reflected by their current boundaries. Second, the concept of fluid boundaries has been adopted here to explore something unique about the immigrant experience abroad. So often, studies of Italian migration have focused on the ´loudest´ groups, those who have succinct histories, and plenty of records. Groups such as the Campani, despite their deep relationship to migration, have thus been understudied. Focusing on this group as a case study offers an intriguing perspective on how immigrants develop ethnic identities in situations where regional ties or formalized institutions are not strong enough to adhere to as a viable source or mechanism of ethnic identity.

This is the principal motivation for focusing this project on the Campani as a case study. Firstly, Campania provides a somewhat contained group of a manageable size with qualities worthy of further study that have been described above. Centring this project on Italians generally may have assumed a group status where there may not have been one;

---

[11] This study employs the demonyms *Campani* and *Campane* to refer to people originating from the Campania region. In Argentina, speakers tend to use the Spanish demonym *Campano*/*a/os/as* and in Italy, *Campani*/*a*/*e* is used (respective of the number and gender of those being described). There is some debate surrounding this term, since it is not commonly used, and no satisfactory English equivalent seems to exist. This study respects the Italian language form: whenever the group in question includes both men and women, *Campani* will be used. When the group in question is entirely female, *Campana/Campane* is used.

it may also have muddled the significance of informal networks in the shadow of highly influential and structurally dense institutionalized ones. It could be argued, for example, that the advent of technologies (such as the television or the internet) resulted in the emergence of a national popular Italian culture. Such an argument would be compelling and a welcome addition to such research, but it remains outside of the scope of this dissertation. Ensuing chapters do not claim that the narrators included here saw themselves only as Campani; certainly, there were times and places where they would have considered themselves Italians; Argentines; Canadians, or something else. Instead, this dissertation engages with the case study of Campani abroad to explore the means by which these narrators shaped and formed the creation of ethnic identity among such choices. That being said, this project does not argue that Campani are unique in their reliance on informal, transnational networks. While it does not have the research or statistics to comment on other regional (or even other immigrant) groups, they too likely relied on such informal networks, particularly those groups with similarly underdeveloped institutionalized networks. What makes this case study fascinating is precisely the fact that the narrators under study do not have an identifiable and uniform identity as Campani. The fact that most narrators here did not call themselves Campani, or have knowledge of formalized institutions of Campani abroad, is striking and distinct from many of the larger regional Italian groups.

A brief note about terminology: this study uses the term 'formalized institutions' to refer to an entrenched custom or practice by a community that has organized its members in some way. Institutions are varied and include ethnic associations (defined as a group of people organized for a common cause), churches, political assemblies, or even

businesses. Institutions may be Italian, Campani, or something else. Since this dissertation explores a case study of Campani, it is mostly interested in institutions that are of and for Campani specifically, however it also acknowledges the presence of Italian or other institutions in the lives of Campani. These distinctions are made in the text that follows.

Campani possess numerous identities that are neither complementary nor exclusive. The people under study here had to wrestle with ideas of what it meant to be Canadian (or Argentine), Italian, Campani, and they even wrestled with local or village identities. Adherence to any of these demonyms is problematic for people with experiences of migration that have complicated the connotations attached to each. Hyphenated identities are often unsatisfactory, since they rely on a linear connection between two places and deny or obfuscate the existence of other nodal spaces in the formation of identity. Faced with the unsolvable tension between these multiple identities, Campani turned to other identifiers for constancy, such as the family network. Discussions of identity inevitably centre on the family, or use familial terms to describe that tension (such as employing terms like adopted or biological homes, or consistent references to family abroad). This is not to say that these multiple identities did not play a role in the lives of Campani. This project does not argue that this group of immigrants defined identity by their regional demonyms exclusively, nor does it argue that they did not see themselves as Italian or as Argentine/Canadian. Instead, this project acknowledges that Campani had multiple identifiers at their disposal, and they adopted them strategically to navigate the situation at hand. The work that follows does not contradict or negate the presence of hybrid or hyphenated identities; rather, it hopes to

complicate them by considering the vast but understudied transnational network that similarly provided Campani with a domain for ethnic identity formation.

Much has been written on the primacy of kinfolk and family ties in Italian culture.[12] However, much of this scholarship fails to acknowledge that the experience of migration has a profound effect on the dynamic and construction of the family unit. Families are geographically fractured, contact is strained, and the depth of bonds may undergo adjustment or change. Suzanne Ziegler explains that the process of migration was understood by the children of migrants and ensuing generations as one "of severing and partially reforming familial relationships."[13] Given that a large number of Campani families sent members to various destinations, and maintained close relationships despite distances and time, I argue that the concept of the family, long studied as an essential and centralizing value in Italian culture, is an inherently transnational one. The very concept of continuity of tradition depended far more deeply on the survival of the family as a unit than on the survival of the ethnic group as a whole: "the desire for intergenerational continuity is clear, and the basis is not loyalty to an Italian culture, but to a family."[14] Fernando Devoto furthers this point, explaining that "immigrants preferred to trust their primary social networks before they put faith in the complex and inefficient networks of the bureaucracies," in which he includes larger formal ethnic institutions such as mutual aid societies and nation-states. "Only a small part of Italian immigrants aligned themselves to their hometown's institutional associations abroad. Many had occasional or

---

[12] Franc Sturino, "Family and Kin Cohesion Among South Italian Immigrants in Toronto" *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America*. Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association. Toronto, October 28-29, 1977. Caroli, Betty Boyd, Robert F. Harney and Lydio F. Tomasi, eds. Toronto, 1978: 84-104; Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of The Uprooted" *The Journal of American History* 51, 3 (1964), 404-417.
[13] Suzanne Ziegler, "The Family Unit and International Migration: The Perceptions of Italian Immigrant Children" International Migration Review 11, 3 (1977) 330.
[14] Ziegler, "The Family Unit and International Migration, 331.

intermittent exchanges with them, but they preferred to associate with other institutions, regardless of origin, because they were close by, or with none at all."[15] Overwhelmingly, Campani depended less on the formalized institutions at their disposal, and more on the deeply entrenched networks of family and kin, those who had settled alongside them, and those abroad.[16] When the Spinelli family immigrated to Canada, for example, they did so as part of a family network of global migration. Raffaella, the young matriarch travelled with her two young children to join her husband in Toronto in 1961 after they both completed short work contracts in Lourdes, France (he worked as a labourer in local construction projects; she sold souvenirs near the sanctuary). At around the same time, her brothers and sisters were settling in France, the United States, and Argentina. Each branch of the family settled into life in their respective adopted countries, and return trips were rare. Still, fifty years later, the children of the Spinelli family in Toronto, who immigrated as children and didn't grow up physically surrounded by their relatives, conceptualize their family as transnational: their aunt in Argentina, for example, is considered an integral family member in their closest circle of kin, although they have little recollection of where she lives and have seen her very few times in their lifetime. This relationship is reciprocal. In Argentina, the Spinelli branch of the family speaks fondly and intimately about their Canadian counterparts, despite the physical distance. For this family, like many others, the concept of family is made up of nodal points on a shared mental map, tied together by bonds of kinship that endure despite distance, time, and even the loss of intimate connections. For Campani, the family unit transcended the

[15] Fernando Devoto, "De 1945 Hasta el Presente," *Historia de los Italianos en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblios, 2006) 435.
[16] It is also important to understand the ways in which the very exercise of sharing migration stories is a fundamentally family-centred experience. Consider Brettell: "through individual stories we learn how the migration process is patterned and subjectively experienced. We also learn about how migration is part not only of an individual but also of a collective biography." Brettell, *Anthropology and Migration,* 43.

geographical limits of nation-states, as it did binary relationships (and hyphenated identities, such as 'Italian-American').[17] A descendant, Allegra Spinelli, explains that her personal map of nodal spaces includes Argentina and France, among other countries. It is formulated via the stories her parents would tell her of life in the Old World, of her family abroad, and of life before her birth. Although she has never lived outside of Canada, she considers these physical places and constructed spaces an integral part of her family and of her identity.[18]

Members of these families are spread across South and North America all the while retaining strong linkages to *paesani* and kin back home and across the globe. Tracing the networks and the traffic of these families presents a fascinating and significant concept of migration as a fundamentally transnational experience. It adopts Thomas Faist's call for historians to further explore "the way in which transnational ties between individual and collective actors become regularized and established principles, or a code of conduct that governs a crucial area of social (political, economic, cultural) life."[19] Families and networks of Campani were flexible, but they were also dense, durable, and transcended temporal and spatial limits.

In Canada, the end of war in 1945 launched one of the largest surges of immigration in the country's history. It once again became a desirable destination for those abroad seeking to build a better life. The twenty years following the end of war saw a significant economic boom in which private investments in resources, public

[17] For more on hyphenated identities: Damiano Pietropaolo, "Hyphenated Identities in/and the Global Village" *Italian-Canadian Culture in the New Millenium,* Paolo Chirumbolo & Franco Gallippi, eds. (Ottawa: Legas Publishing, 2009) 15-30.
[18] Allegra Spinelli, in conversation with the author. November 2014.
[19] Thomas Faist, "The Border-Crossing Expansion of Social Space: Concepts, Questions and Topics" in Faist, Thomas & Eyup Ozveren, eds. *Transnational Social Spaces: Agents, Networks and Institutions (*Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004) 1-2.

investments in infrastructure and education, and pent-up consumer demand combined to create a favourable market.[20] This new era ushered in a number of changes at the political and social levels. In 1947, Italy was removed from Canada's enemy alien list in what Franca Iacovetta dubbed "an act of diplomacy and of selective and hesitating efforts to recruit immigrants." From 1947 until 1971, approximately 20,000 Italians arrived in Canada yearly.[21] A federal policy of family sponsorship (where relatives in Canada could sponsor newcomers) meant that networks of chain migration were reinvigorated, and as Bruno Ramirez has noted, "more than 90 per cent of all Italians who entered Canada between 1946 and 1967 were sponsored by their Canadian relatives."[22] As early as 1952, social organizations such as the Italian Immigrant Aid Society (IIAS) were established in Toronto. In 1951, the Canadian Fair Employment Practices Act prohibited employers from taking into account race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin in the work sector; one decade later, racial discrimination was formally removed from immigration legislation. Italians arriving in Canada in the postwar period often served as unskilled and semi-skilled workers in Canada's booming labour market, particularly in the growing infrastructure of major urban areas, and settlement congregated around these areas as a result. Ramirez explains that "in 1976 as much as 90 per cent of the Italian population resided in urban centres of 100,000 and more; 69 per cent of them were

---

[20] Manufacturing industries grew and required labour; job opportunities in all sectors abounded, and these factors combined allowed for a favourable immigration policy: "The economic and political context of the postwar period led to a gradual liberalization of admission policies and a dramatic increase in immigration. Over the sixteen-year period between 1946 and 1962, the total intake of immigrants was 2,151,505, averaging 126,559 on an annual basis (almost 160,000 between 1951 and 1960) - almost as many as in the large immigrant waves of the first decade of this century and the 1920s." Ninette Kelley & Michael J. Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) 311-313.

[21] Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006) 29.

[22] Bruno Ramirez, *The Italians in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989) 9.

concentrated in cities with a population of one million and more."[23] Women's work in light manufacturing or home-based contract work countered the seasonal nature of men's work, and ensured financial security for the family unit. Most Italians arriving in Toronto spent a short period of time residing with family or kin, and homeownership was a significant goal and marker of success abroad.

Figure 5: Buenos Aires province. The sites of settlement of the narrators cited in this research are indicated with blue markers. Custom image created using Google Maps.

The national climate in Argentina was quite different in the postwar era, largely because of the state of the nation before the global conflict. Almost a century before in 1853, section 20 of the revised National Constitution had declared Argentina a multicultural state, where newcomers and foreigners were granted the same civil rights as citizens. The arrival of large numbers of immigrants in Argentina transformed the demographic structure of the country, and although there were numerous adjustments to

[23] Ramirez, *The Italians in Canada*, 11.

and decrees on immigration law throughout the century, the country quickly became predominantly foreign- (and mostly European-) born. Argentinian immigration policy targeted Italian migrants, seen as civilized and enlightened, in the hopes that they would populate and develop the land, thereby limiting its indigenous presence. This culminated in the 1947 immigration agreement between Argentina and Italy, which, as Julia Albarracin explains, sought to ”facilitate the immigration of agricultural and other kinds of manual and intellectual workers."[24]

During Juan Domingo Peron's presidency (1946-1955), they were welcomed by a selective but pro-immigrationist government, one that sought to 'Peronize' immigrants by first and foremost 'Argentinizing' them.[25] New Italian immigrants arrived into a society with deeply established formal Italian institutions and a dominant culture similar to theirs in terms of language, climate, and customs. Immigration to Argentina was predominantly composed of nuclear families renewing migratory chains, the majority of whom settled in Buenos Aires province, especially in towns and villages neighbouring (today fully integrated within) the capital city, including San Martin and Merlo, among many others. Fernando Devoto cites the 1960 national census, which states that 73.3 per cent of Italian immigrants arriving between 1945 and 1960 settled in the city of Buenos Aires and its surroundings, and of those in metropolitan areas, 68.6 per cent worked as artisans and day labourers, mostly in construction work. Devoto adds that "in the Greater Buenos Aires area in the 1960s, almost 70 per cent of people lived in homes they owned. As such, the dream of homeownership, which had dominated the immigrant imaginary from

[24] Julia Albarracin, *Selecting Immigration in Modern Argentine: Economic, Cultural, International and Institutional Factors* (PhD Diss., University of Florida, 2004) 281.
[25] Devoto, "De 1945 Hasta el Presente," 428.

the beginning, was a palpable possibility for the majority of newcomers."[26] Large settlements of Campani resulted in the spread of Neapolitan culture throughout the capital province, and today much of its original characteristics are shared with the *porteño* culture.[27] While no policy comparable to the Canadian Multiculturalism Act exists, Italians in Buenos Aires have no shortage of outlets for expressions of ethnic culture. From deep roots in the local language to a wide array of ethnic institutions and customs, Campani in Buenos Aires, like their counterparts in Ontario, have had to navigate Italianness, albeit it in vastly different ways.

Perhaps not surprisingly, Canada and Argentina have very similar histories. Both are relatively young countries; both had early settler colonies and homesteaders who built the nation largely based on the wealth of land and resources available; both have had to wrestle with complicated legacies of colonization and the coexistence of Indigenous peoples. Lastly, both countries have been acutely affected by the great migrations of the nineteenth century, and have been deeply shaped by the sojourning and settlement legacies of these migrants. By the end of war in 1945, though, the histories of these two nations diverged dramatically. Economically, postwar Canada was booming and thus a desirable destination for immigrants; Argentina was not. In the postwar period, Argentina's rejection of an export-led economic model, combined with protectionist policies and decades of political instability, produced an unstable and unwelcoming host society for would-be immigrants. Although the two countries had begun the century with

[26] Devoto, "De 1945 Hasta el Presente," 435-437. Author's translation.
[27] *Porteño* describes a resident of the port city of Buenos Aires, characterized by its high levels of immigration in contrast with the interior of the country.

much of the same promise[28], by the 1940s and 1950s, they provided very different climates of settlement.[29]

The work of several pioneering scholars has significantly furthered our understanding of the immigration experience and the formation of Italian communities in the Americas. Historians writing in Canada in the 1970s and 1980s were inspired by the burgeoning social history to investigate the scope of immigration and outline the ways its actors moved, lived, and experienced the phenomenon. These included historians such as Bruno Ramirez, who explored the early labour experiences of Italians in Montreal, John Zucchi and his study of urban settlement patterns, and Franc Sturino, who wrote about the process of chain migration.[30] In Argentina, these trends accompanied the end of military repression and the restoration of a democratic government in the 1980s and into the 1990s, with notable works published on the immigration phenomenon in those

[28] The introduction to David Sheinin and Carlos Mayo's edited volume explains that after 1900, "both countries emerged as breadbaskets – leading exporters of corn, wheat, flax, and other cereals. The two nations became rich, conquering and destroying First Nations peoples, while building important urban centres and new cultural institutions. Large-scale middle classes were constituted at roughly the same time in Buenos Aires, Montreal, Cordoba, and Toronto. Urban ills and triumphs came to both nations before 1930. They included formidable public works projects, early consumer cultures oriented to a range of new machines, and the social vilification of prostitutes. The period of nation-building is an intriguing starting point for an Argentina-Canada analogy, and has been charted as such in the comparative historical literature; from British business influences to a cowboy/gaucho culture to the prominent social influence of Catholicism (though geographically more confined in the Canadian case), so much seemed comparable. Moreover, both nations built a national identity in determined and sometimes hostile contrast to what lay at their borders – the United States for Canada; Brazil, Paraguay, and the Andean nations for Argentines." David Sheinin & Carlos A. Mayo, eds., *Es Igual Pero Distinto: Essays in the Histories of Canada and Argentina* (Peterborough & Mar del Plata, Frost Centre for Canadian Heritage and Development Studies, Trent University, & Grupo Sociedad y Estado, Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 1997) 9-11.

[29] Jose Moya explains the advantages of seeking to using the 'extremes' to understand the migration phenomena: on one hand, "the nation-state may provide the best unit of analysis for studying emigration or immigration policy, but a poor one for examining the actual process. Spanish emigration, after all, was not a national phenomenon but part of a global one that took more than 50 million Europeans across the Atlantic during the period. On the other extreme, emigration originated not in a nation (indeed, for much of the period most of the peninsula did not participate) but in particular localities and villages. Traditional wisdom notwithstanding, the vantage point for studying the process lies not in the middle but in the extremes or, more precisely, in the meeting of the extremes: of global forces and local conditions, of the world and the village. The analytical framework of this study is, therefore, macro-micro and dialectical. It examines how the interaction between macrostructural forces and microsocial networks shaped emigration and adaptation patterns." Jose C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998) 4.

[30] Notable works include: Bruno Ramirez, *The Italians in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association) 1989; Franc Sturino & Roberto Perin, eds. *Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigrant Experience in Canada* (Montreal: Guernica, 1989); and John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

years.[31] Studies in both countries focused on understanding forms of integration into the host country (Samuel Baily's *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise* is the best example of this)[32], territorial and social dimensions (such as Robert Harney's study on Little Italies),[33] and migratory chains (such as Ramirez's *On the Move*).[34]

Both groups of scholars painted a strikingly vivid picture of ethnicity, community, and identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but comparatively little was written on the enormous influx of Italian immigration that occurred after the Second World War.[35] The 1990s and 2000s saw a burst of research on this time period, with historians and sociologists beginning to see the value of exploring this more recent generation of Italian immigration. Franca Iacovetta's original work, *Such Hardworking People*, was the first to carefully explore gender relations in the intersections between family, work, and leisure in Toronto's Italian community.[36] More recently, in *Staying Italian*, Jordan Stanger-Ross explored the impact that local placehood and geography have on the development and maintenance of ethnic identity.[37] Whereas Stanger-Ross departs from the assumption that physical placehood is central to understanding identity formation, the work that follows instead posits that places of migration are significant,

---

[31] Fernando Devoto and Gianfausto Rosoli, *La Inmigracion Italiana en la Argentina*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 1995). Samuel Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).
[32] Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*; Judith Rainhorn, *Paris, New York: Des Migrants Italiens, annees 1880-1930* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2005).
[33] Robert F. Harney and Vincenza Scarpaci eds., *Little Italies in North America* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981).
[34] Bruno Ramirez, *On The Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North Atlantic Economy, 1861-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Publishing Co., 1991).
[35] Rosoli estimates that 440,796 (6% of all emigrants out of Italy) go to Canada, and 500,116 (7%) go to Argentina. Repatriation rates from Argentina are three times larger than those from Canada. Gianfausto Rosoli et al, *Un Secolo di Emigrazione Italiana, 1876-1976*.
[36] Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).
[37] Jordan Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Another recent work is Stefano Agnoletto's *The Italians Who Built Toronto: Italian Workers and Contractors in the City's Housebuilding Industry, 1950-1980* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014). In Argentina, there is still relatively little done on this time period. Devoto's foundational monograph on Italian immigration to Argentina, for example, devotes only one short final chapter to this time period, despite the fact that, demographically, it is relatively significant.

but as nodal points on a mental map, they are part of an ongoing and dynamic relationship.[38] Identity formation depended more on a transnational network that connected a multitude of physical places and less on the permanence or intransience of physical sites of settlement.

Works studying the post-1945 immigration to Ontario have greatly enriched the field by employing the village-outward approach to explore the connections immigrants had with new settlement cities. Often, immigrants' choice of destination had much to do with the connections their family or kin had made generations before, and thus this detailed case study is a new way of exploring these linkages.[39]

Later studies explored the ways these groups functioned as diasporic[40] and transnational[41] communities, or on return migrations and the effects of emigration on remaining communities.[42] These studies moved away from the concept of migration as a fundamental division between two worlds,[43] and in taking a more global approach, they fuelled a more nuanced understanding of how political and cultural identities developed

---

[38] Jordan Stanger-Ross wrestles with the question of space and Italianness in Toronto. He argues: "In Toronto's Little Italy, ethnicity operated with little regard for neighbourhood. Italians in Little Italy developed ongoing, systematic, and intimate ties with coethnics dispersed throughout the metropolitan area and beyond. In prospering Toronto, ethnicity helped Italians seeking economic gain and social connection, but it did so in a geographically elastic or expansive fashion. Rather than functioning as an urban boundary, Toronto's Little Italy was a shared ethnic space, a gathering place for Italians far and wide." For Stanger-Ross, Toronto's Little Italy is made up of Italians dispersed across a geography. He does not, however, delve into regional divisions or tensions within Little Italy at any length. In *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 6.

[39] Some examples include Sonia Cancian's *Families, Lovers, and their Letters: Italian Postwar Migration to Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010) and Roberto Perin's unpublished work on Pesaresi.

[40] George E. Pozzetta & Bruno Ramirez, eds. *The Italian Diaspora: Migration Across the Globe* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1992); Donna Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

[41] Roger D. Waldinger & David Fitzgerald, "Transnationalism in Question" *American Journal of Sociology,* 109, 5 (2004) 1177-95; Alexander Freund, "Transnationalizing Home in Winnipeg: Refugees' Stories of the Places between the "Here-and-There"" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 47, 1 (2015): 61–86.

[42] Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1993); Linda Reeder, *Widows in White: Migration and the Transformation of Rural Italian Women, Sicily, 1880-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

[43] "In order to shift from Eurocentric immigration and ethnic history to new paradigms, scholars are beginning to study the complex trajectories of migrants and their patterns of mobility, or "migration systems." Dirk Hoerder, "From Immigration to Migration Systems: New Concepts in Migration History," OAH Magazine of History (Fall 1999) 5.

in relation (not opposition) to each other. Studies in both the humanities and the social sciences have, as a result, renewed their interest in *Italianità* ('Italianness') across a global network.

Such studies (this one included) must acknowledge the diverse perspectives that have been employed to understand the process of migration from the Italian peninsula to the Americas in the last two centuries. How has Italian identity and *Italianità* been written about? Italians arriving in the Americas in the nineteenth century encountered nation-states that defined them with terminologies that suggested deliberate viewpoints. For Canadian policy-makers and industries, immigrants from the peninsula were begrudgingly accepted as sojourning labourers, (largely) men who were willing to work in remote areas of the country in treacherous conditions performing the gruelling physical labour that few wanted to do. They were not perceived to be suitable to the climate and character of the country, and return migration was largely encouraged. On the other hand, Argentine officials actively encouraged Italian immigration in the hopes that they would 'Latinize' the country and that their settlement would curb the country's Indigenous presence. Their immigrant status differentiated them from the 'creole' Argentine (and was mocked and scapegoated in contemporary literature and song), but Italians entering Argentina were seen by educators, policy-makers, and industrialists as having the potential to make good Argentines, and such potential was actively fostered.

Italy had a long and contentious relationship with emigration. While the Italian government kept the high emigration rates out of public view, it also strongly encouraged it as a safety valve, particularly in the southern regions. Encouragement also came

through its assisted emigration schemes.[44] Fabiana Woodfin explains that "Italy's chagrined response to its unemployed masses was emigration. As the countrysides emptied, the decrease in population and the influx of emigrants' remittances home were fundamental to producing the rise in consumption patterns characteristic of the economic miracle."[45] "Shortages of food, fuel, clothing and other necessities exacerbated pre-existing poor conditions" in the postwar period,[46] and a period of growth and recovery in Italy in the late 1960s eventually removed "one of the primary incentives for emigration."[47] To Italian government officials, emigrants were treated as 'Italians abroad' who had a right and responsibility (both pragmatic and patriotic) to answer to the Italian nation first and foremost.

Scholars in the second half of the twentieth century conceptualized those migrants in new terms, ones that reflected the new social history turn. Instead of sojourning peasants, potential citizens or mechanisms in a safety valve, they were now studied as villagers by those who discovered the importance of local identity,[48] or as newly identified nationalists by scholars who saw emigration as a turning point in the construction of an imagined Italian nation.[49] Throughout these developments, however, the primacy of boundaries and national borders endured, and emphasis remained on the unidirectional (or bi-directional) nature of migration. Instead of exploring boundaries, this project explores the fluidity of space for Campani and the "multi-directionality" of

---

[44] These were very common in countries such as Australia, where (mostly male) migrants were guaranteed work and accommodation provided they agreed to the terms for a two-year contract.
[45] Fabiana Woodfin, *Spaesati d'Italia: Emigration in Italian National Identity Construction from Postwar to Economic Miracle* (PhD Diss., University of California Berkeley, 2011).
[46] http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/italian-canadians/. Accessed September 10, 2017.
[47] http://www.pier21.ca/culture-trunks/italy/history. Accessed September 10, 2017.
[48] See for example: Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of The Uprooted," The Journal of American History 51, 3 (1964), 404-417; Robert F. Harney, *From the Shores of Hardship: Italians in Canada* (Welland & Lewiston: Editions Soleil Publishing Inc., 1993).
[49] John Zucchi, *Italians in Ontario* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985).

their migration systems.[50] I argue that migrants navigating such systems moved between and within a mental map that included nodal spaces across the globe. In doing so, this project seeks to be sensitive to instances of transculturation (defined by Renato Rosaldo as the two-way borrowing and lending between cultures)[51] between not only the sending and receiving regions of each migrant, but also the other nodal spaces that encompassed their lives and experiences. As Dirk Hoerder has asserted, "mental maps of migrants differed from geographical ones. Places as far as a continent off, but with relatives and jobs, were emotionally and materially nearby, while neighbouring social spaces may have seemed very distant."[52]

This dissertation forms part of the growing research on postwar migrations in both receiving countries, phenomena that have received little attention compared to their demographic weight. By bringing both receiving countries into one cohesive study, a tendency to focus on the national framework is put into a larger global context, and the process of immigration is seen in a broader light. It expands Canadian and Argentine history by problematizing interpretations of identity that centre on the nation-state and expands the field of immigration history by demonstrating that immigration is not simply the movement between two points. It explores immigration as a process of non-linear mobility that transcends borders by creating nodes of settlement and streaks of movement that together create a global picture of what and how identity is defined.

By problematizing the concept of the family unit as a fundamentally transnational one, this dissertation engages with current studies on how ideas of consent, authority, and

---

[50] Hoerder describes migration systems as "complex trajectories of migrants and their patterns of mobilities." Dirk Hoerder, "From Immigration to Migration Systems," 5.
[51] Renato Rosaldo, "Foreword," in *Hybrid Cultures*, eds. Nestor Garcia Canclini, Christopher L. Chiappari, and Renato I. Rosaldo (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xv.
[52] Dirk Hoerder, "From Immigration to Migration Systems: New Concepts in Migration History," OAH Magazine of History (Fall 1999) 5.

control in oral history impact the narrative and historical research itself. Lastly, this research contributes to the field of immigration history by employing a multidisciplinary methodological approach. The use of sources and theories from a wide variety of disciplines is sure to enrich our own understanding of historical processes, and this dissertation furthers this cause.

Since I am not Campana and I do not identify with the group, finding narrators to participate was not a simple task. I connected with some of the narrators by locating the administrators of regional associations. Most of my attempts went unanswered, but on some rare occasions, I was able to connect with members of these groups who were passionate about sharing their experiences with me. Similarly, some of the people who received my call for participants forwarded it to family and friends, who consequently got in touch. A second group of participants was reached through mutual friends who put us in touch. A higher level of intimacy was easier to achieve due to our mutual acquaintance, and those testimonies tend to be longer, denser, and richer. The last set of participants was obtained through cold-calling; I contacted people with common surnames from Campania to explain my objectives and gauge their interest in participating; I read memoirs and other literature written by Campani and got in touch with their authors; and I visited bakeries, restaurants, and shops with typical names in search of owners from Campania.[53] These efforts have resulted in an incredibly diverse group of Campani in both countries, bound by no common thread or source. The sample size included here is modest. Overall, twenty-five testimonies were collected firsthand for

[53] There is an interestingly large number of businesses that use Campani imagery in their business names or marketing campaigns without being founded or owned by Campani. This is likely an indication of the popularity and ubiquity of the region's products and cuisine, and although it is an intriguing practice ripe for analysis, it is outside the purview of this project.

this project between 2013 and 2016. I by no means suggest that generalizations can be made based on this group alone. Rather, these testimonies seek to highlight the real experiences of a diverse group of people whose lives speak in unique ways to the broader ideas discussed here.

The narrators included here left their small villages in Campania between 1949 and 1979 and travelled to the Americas. The majority of them travelled to join family abroad with the intention to settle. Twelve of the narrators went to the province of Buenos Aires in Argentina, and thirteen went to the province of Ontario in Canada. In each province, most narrators settled in the major urban centres (the cities of Buenos Aires and Toronto respectively) and their outskirts. More than sixty per cent of the narrators were adults when they immigrated; others were children or adolescents. The narrators studied were evenly split between male and female participants, and had a wide variety of occupations, including: farmers/shepherds, entrepreneurs, seamstresses, teachers, and clergy. A map including the towns of provenance of all narrators is included here; all five provinces of the Campania (Avellino, Benevento, Caserta, Naples, Salerno) are represented in this sample, but almost half of the participants were from the Salerno region.

Name	**Destination**	**Age**	**Year of Migration**	**Hometown**	**Region**	**Gender**	**Occupation**
Daniele Colombo	Argentina	Adult	1951	Piaggine	Salerno	Male	Shepherd
Gia Colombo	Argentina	Adult	1953	Piaggine	Salerno	Female	Farmer
Annamaria Briganti	Argentina	Adult	1950	Piaggine	Salerno	Female	Farmer
Sara Sarla	Argentina	Second generation	Not available	Piaggine	Salerno	Female	Math teacher, accountant

Anna Vinci	Argentina	Adult (18 years old)	1958	Marsico Nuova Potenza	Now Basilicata (Salerno border)	Female	Seamstress, hairstylist
Marco Marea	Argentina	Child (8 years old)	1979	Sorrento	Naples	Male	Entrepreneur
Paolo Sofia	Argentina	Adult (15 years old)	1 July 1949	Cittadella del Capo (previously from Salerno)	Salerno	Male	Entrepreneur, contractor
Aldo Grasso	Argentina	Adult	1952	Solofra	Avellino	Male	Entrepreneur
Gabriele Villa	Argentina	Child (4 years old)	7 March 1950	Ischia	Naples	Male	Entrepreneur
Roberto Villano	Argentina	Adult (19 years old)	31 March 1958	Torre del Greco	Naples	Male	Entrepreneur
Paola Antonini	Argentina	Second generation	1950 (father); 1953 (mother)	Salerno (father); Cava di Terreni (mother)	Salerno	Female	Administrator
Enzo Sacco	Argentina	Child	1949 (father); 1950 (mother)	Capri	Naples	Male	Priest
Daniele Dimaro	Canada	Adult (18 years old)	1952 (father); 1966 (mother, him)	Vibo (mother); Sant'Onofrio (father); previously from Caserta	Caserta	Male	Psychotherapist
Angelo Casale	Canada	Adult	1967 (via Brazil)	City of Naples	Naples	Male	Salesman
Mia Casale (Angelo's wife)	Canada	Adult	1967	Spain	-	Female	Housewife
Adriana DiPaola	Canada	Adult	1956	Agropoli	Salerno	Female	Seamstress, supervisor

Goffredo DiPaola	Canada	Adult	1955	Agropoli	Salerno	Male	Produce salesman
Luca Alba	Canada	Adult	1979	Montesarchio	Benevento	Male	Entrepreneur
Cecilia Alba	Canada	Adult	1979	Montesarchio	Benevento	Female	Entrepreneur
Matteo Alba	Canada	Child	1979	Cervinara	Benevento	Male	Teacher
Raffaella Spinelli	Canada	Adult	1961	Marsico Nuovo Potenza	Now Basilicata (Salerno border)	Female	Seamstress
Allegra Spinelli	Canada	Second generation	1961	Marsico Nuovo Potenza, Abriola	Now Basilicata (Salerno border)	Female	Administrator
Amalia Campi	Canada	Second generation	1970	San Nicola Baronia (mother); San Clemente (father)	Avellino, Caserta	Female	Student
Fabia Morello	Canada	Child (2 years old)	1956	Agropoli	Salerno	Female	Administrator
Pietro Olivieri	Canada	Adult	1968	Andretta	Avellino	Male	Entrepreneur, contractor

My own collected testimonies were complemented by a small collection of pre-recorded ones. In Canada, the Multicultural History Society of Ontario (MHSO) and the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 provided recorded and written testimonies that supplemented my testimonies well. Although useful, these collections were limited in their scope, since the goal of each organization's project was different from my own.[54]

[54] The MHSO has a rich collection of recorded testimonies from the 1970s and 1980s. Unfortunately, the cataloguing system does not indicate the provenance of the narrators, and they are seldom asked in the interview itself. Only two interviews from the MHSO collection have been cited here, although it is likely that other Campani were interviewed and simply did not identify as such. Testimonies from the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 are part of an

Campani created and defined their personal and collective identities as fundamentally hinged on a transnational network of people, places, and histories.[55] This network is conceptualized as a flexible one, in that geographical places are significant, but they are 'moveable'. In this network, physical space is repurposed into emotional space (consider the narrator who exclaims 'Napoli is always in my heart'), or strategic space (most testimonies praise the country of settlement for having provided financial or professional advancement).

Figure 6: Campania region. Villages of origin of the narrators cited here are indicated with blue markers. Custom image created using Google Maps.

ongoing project by the museum to have online and onsite visitors contribute written stories voluntarily. Stories have been collected since the museum opened in 1999; they are more recent than the MHSO collection, they are in written form by the immigrants or descendants themselves, and have no guiding questions. Four testimonies have been used here from that collection.

[55] Caroline Brettell points to the distinction between transnationalism from above ("initiated by nation-states and the global economy") and from below ("the social networks that people forge across national boundaries"). She explains: "not only have individual immigrants retained ties to their home villages, sent money back home, and built houses in their home communities, but the […] state has constantly worked to sustain the loyalties of citizens abroad in order to support their own interests." Caroline Brettell, *Anthropology and Migration: Essays on Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2003) xvii.

This process can be seen in two ways. First, this network was expressed in concrete ways. Campani subscribed to Italian newspapers. Ethnic language media in Ontario and Buenos Aires flourished and prospered at the turn of the century until the outbreak of the First World War. Many newspapers, including the *Corriere degli Italiani* in Buenos Aires, were still active and growing after the Second World War and into the sixties and seventies. Others, like the *Corriere Canadese* in Ontario, were founded in the postwar period as a response to the renewed arrival of Italian immigration into the Americas. These newspapers reflected the life of their transnational readers: they included news from Italy, often with subheadings indicating the region or city. They included important news about local events and politics, paying particular attention to developments on immigration and labour. In a very real way, they brought the immigrants' hometowns right back into their living rooms abroad. Here too, however, it is worth noting that those Campani from very small towns would not have seen their villages represented in the media, by virtue of their modest demographic weight. Campani from Cervinara, for example, would not have identified with news stories from Naples, which would have been as distant to them as those of Rome or Milan, or even Paris or Berlin. But those newspapers abroad were careful to provide current affairs from other hubs of Italian immigration. The *Corriere Canadese* in Ontario routinely published stories on Argentina, and Buenos Aires papers reciprocated, fascinated by the new immigrants entering Canada. As such, immigrants settled in Toronto were as tied to Campania as they were to Buenos Aires, where they had never been but may have had kin. These ties occurred with all of the major hubs of Italian immigration. If they had no reason to identify with news from Naples, then news from Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro,

or elsewhere where kin networks built nodal spaces allowed them to keep those networks alive.

This network of transnational identities was also reflected through formal or informal 'sister city' relationships. The city of Mar del Plata (Argentina), for example, has long held a special relationship with the coastal town of Sorrento (Italy), and Sorrento responded in kind: the contributions made by Mar del Plata's Campani on the local economy are immortalized by a large hand-painted mosaic and plaque near the Marina Grande in Sorrento.

Politicized debates between Italians in Campania and those abroad were not uncommon either. In the small town of Lobos in the province of Buenos Aires, newly arrived and second-generation Campani bickered with the local worshippers about which patron saints and processions would be permitted to flood the streets and shut down the city.[56]

The term 'identity' has been used somewhat without critical analysis by historians, and a universally satisfying descriptor remains elusive. Psychologists, social scientists, and other specialists have devoted volumes to an understanding of identity as unit of analysis, and the products of their efforts have yielded an interesting body of scholarship, one that undoubtedly contributes to the historical method.[57] The development of ethnicity studies has revisited this scholarship in search of context, and as

---

[56] Ines Morusso, in conversation with the author. January 2014. "Lila Abu-Lughod argues that focusing on the particular is not about privileging the micro over the macro. 'A concern with the particulars of individuals' lives {need not} imply disregard for forces and dynamics that are not locally based. On the contrary, the effects of extralocal and long-term processes are only manifested locally and specifically, produced in the actions of individuals living their particular lives, inscribed in their bodies and their words' (Abu-Lughod 1991, 150)." Caroline Brettell, *Anthropology and Migration*, 23-24.

[57] Philip Gleason writes a succinct historiography on the major themes at play in this field. See "Identifying Identity: A Semantic History" *The Journal of American History* 69, 4 (1983), 918. This article highlights, among other things, the debate between Erikson's Freudian view of identity as rooted in the deep psychic structure of the individual, and the sociologic view of identity as a product of interaction between the individual and the society in which it lives.

Philip Gleason explains, ethnic identity has been debated as "something primordially given or optionally cultivated[...]. Primordialists regard ethnicity as a given, a basic element in one's personal identity that is simply there and cannot be changed, while optionalists hold that ethnicity is not an indelible stamp impressed on the psyche but a dimension of individual and group existence that can be consciously emphasized or de-emphasized as the situation requires."[58] Without entering into a complex debate that cannot be adequately explored here, and insofar as this work seeks to understand how ethnicity is constructed, and how frameworks such as language, food, and music affect these changes, it maintains that a study of identity must necessarily explore the concept as a *dimension* of an individual or group existence, and not an indelible stamp thereof.

Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper complicate the identity debate further by arguing that the term has been so over extended by social science and humanities scholars that it no longer serves its purpose, since it can "mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity)."[59] This dissertation is not prepared to take as radical a stance as Brubaker and Cooper might prefer. It retains the term identity as one of its categories of analysis, in large part because the narrators quoted herein continue to use the term to define their own experiences and reflections. It does, however, acknowledge the diversity of its uses. Brubaker and Cooper outline five different ways in which the term is used, three of which are identified within the scope of this research:

- A collective phenomenon that "denotes a fundamental and consequential sameness among members of a group or category;"

[58] Gleason, "Identifying Identity," 919.
[59] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'," *Theory and Society* 29, 1 (2000) 1.

- A “core aspect of (individual or collective) ‘selfhood’ or as a fundamental condition of social being,” one which is considered to be “something to be valued, cultivated, supported, recognized, and preserved;”
- An “evanescent product of multiple and competing discourses […] invoked to highlight the unstable, multiple, fluctuating, and fragmented nature of the contemporary ‘self’.”[60]

Each of these three uses can be discerned within the dissertation that follows, but none stands comfortably on its own. The first definition allows for an understanding of the ways in which identity formed ties between individuals, but its insistence on “solidarity, […] shared dispositions or consciousness, or […] collective action” does not permit for the formulation of an individual identity that does not rest on fixed group dynamics or characteristics. The second definition is useful within this work due to its emphasis on selfhood and the intrinsic value that Campani place on identity as a concept, but it is exceedingly rigid in its insistence on preservation and its ignorance of the malleability and evolution that even core values may undergo. Lastly, the third definition addresses the problem of multiplicity, but in doing so it erases the ways in which identity can also provide a sense of stability and resilience for its subjects. Brubaker and Cooper’s suggested replacements (“identification” and “self-identification”) are used in this dissertation when they effectively address some of the pointed elements outlined above, but identity as a term and as a category of analysis remains in large part due to its ability to speak to the confluence of these diverse definitions in the narratives explored here.

Sociologist Wsevolod Isajiw’s theories on ethnic identity retention have contributed greatly to historians’ treatment of ethnic maintenance as well.[61] Although

[60] Brubaker and Cooper, “Beyond ‘Identity’,” 7-8.

Isajiw's theories have provided much needed groundwork for understanding what we mean when we use terms like ethnicity and identity, they also adopt a compartmentalized view of these terms, one which may not necessarily reflect the ways in which its actors intend.[62] Instead, a more reflective approach is that of Kathleen Neils Conzen, who seeks to understand ethnicity as "a process […] which incorporates, adapts and amplifies pre-existing communal solidarities, cultural attributes and historical memories."[63] For our purposes, much the same can be said of identity. This study seeks to explore this very process. Numerous historians have sought to understand and explain a so-called Italian ethnic identity.[64] Fernando Devoto has wisely concluded: "Intellectuals from the peninsula, European travellers, and […] politicians and novelists all invented the Italians. The question as to how the anonymous immigrants received, accepted, rejected, or integrated a given construct can be answered only if we manage to recapture their own largely hidden mental world."[65] This study seeks to contribute to this likely impossible task by recapturing this 'hidden world' and the ways in which immigrants themselves reformulated and negotiated ethnic identity. It argues that the numerous identities at their disposal (i.e., Canadian, Argentine, Italian, Campani, etc.) were not neatly divided, nor were they a source of tension. Instead, Campani employed those identifiers strategically depending on the situation at hand, and more often still, given the dissatisfaction with

---

[61] Wsevolod Isajiw, "Ethnic-Identity Retention" in *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*, Raymond Breton, Wsevolod Isajiw, Warren E. Kalbach, Jeffrey G. Reitz, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) 34-91.

[62] Isajiw distinguishes between five external (i.e. language) and three internal (i.e. morality) aspects of identity. Isajiw, "Ethnic-Identity Retention."

[63] As quoted in Herbert Gans, "Comment: Ethnic Invention and Acculturation, a Bumpy-Line Approach" *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, 1 (1992) 42-52.

[64] Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto*; Fernando Devoto, "Inventing the Italians? Images of Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1810-1880" In *The Italian Diaspora: Migration Across the Globe*, George E. Pozzetta & Bruno Ramirez, eds. (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1992) 69-85.

[65] Devoto, "Inventing the Italians?" 82.

such terms that could never represent their complicated and transnational experience, they turned to other identifiers for constancy, such as the family network.

How are concepts like migration and family considered transnational in a historical sense? In a lecture on Mobility Studies at the University of Toronto in 2015, Donna Gabaccia proclaimed that she identifies as a 'global historian of migration,' one who studies movement as a natural and normal part of every human society.[66] Gabaccia calls for an exploration of the patterns created by the movement of people: nodes of settlement and streaks of movement. It is precisely this picture, a larger image created by a collection of nodes (settlement) and streaks (movement), which is of note here. The navigation of this image by immigrants, and their negotiation of its twists and turns in their own construction of ethnicity and identity, is what we seek to understand.

Such an endeavour must also acknowledge the difficulties of working between and among three very different traditions of history writing and their respective historiographical legacies. While migration history has become a popular field in the last several decades, and despite the fact that both Canada and Argentina received some of the largest numbers of immigrants in the last two hundred years, there has been little dialogue between scholars of both countries, and relatively few works exploring both receiving areas.[67] Moreover, sending regions need to be examined as important nodes in the spatial and cognitive lives of these migrants. In this regard, this study borrows from Samuel Baily's 'village outward' approach in spirit only, acknowledging the sending region as a constant presence in the life of the immigrant and their ancestors, a lifetime

---

[66] Gabaccia counted in her company the works of historians Dirk Hoerder and Jose Moya.
[67] Some examples include: Jeremy Adelman, Frontier Development: Land, Labour, and Capital on the Wheatlands of Argentina and Canada, 1890-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); Carl Solberg, The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880-1930 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987). These works have done much to advance the acknowledgement of this important point of comparison, but they have scant references to immigration.

relationship between person and place with all of the assets and tensions such a relationship implies. As such, it underlines the importance of sending societies as much more than 'jumping-off' points, and incorporates them into the ongoing narrative, which mirrors the way that postwar immigrants continue to view their *paese*. This study is not, however, a tripartite one, and does not presume to explore the sending region in the same depth as receiving ones. Since the focus here is on the experience of people who settled abroad and on how their experiences of migration affected their own identities, this study will explore the homeland only in the aim of understanding this process. Migrants who returned, or Campani who never left, are only addressed here insofar as their stories relate to those who did leave and settled abroad.

This research is predominantly based on the use of recorded and/or transcribed oral testimonies,[68] and it postulates that testimonies are avenues in which immigrants exercise and negotiate agency, authority, and intra-group status. Most of the interview subjects, along with the author, are fluent in Italian and English (in Canada) or Spanish (in Argentina). Although the interviews were conducted primarily in English or Spanish, Italian phrases are common and usually not translated. Narrators are aware that the interviewer can follow their shifts from one language to the other, and the testimony is not disrupted or disjointed,[69] a challenge they may face with a monolingual interviewer,

[68] Testimonies were collected in Ontario and Buenos Aires by the author through a span of several years. All narrators were previously unknown to the interviewer. Spanish interviews have been translated into English by the author. Efforts have been made to maintain the tone and intention of the phrasing instead of simply providing a mechanical translation. Lastly, pseudonyms have been employed to protect anonymity. Italian names bear a strong lineage that can often be traced right down to the village of origin, so in order to protect the anonymity of the narrators featured here, pseudonyms do not reflect this lineage. In instances where lineage is important to the argument, this has been explicitly clarified.

[69] The term non-linear or disrupted narrative is common in the fields of literature and film. It denotes a method of storytelling that does not respect the chronological order in which the story being told occurred. It is often expanded, however, to include instances in which the narrator's originally intended rhythm, words or sequence of events is altered by circumstance (such as an interviewer's linguistic limitation). In short: adjusting the language (or other elements) of the original narrative changes its structure and perhaps even its content.

in which language limitations may interfere with naturally-occurring language switches and may thus provide a testimony that does not accurately reflect the narrator's natural relationship with language. Borrowing from linguistic relativity theory, this project focuses on testimonies where narrators are welcome to employ all the languages at their disposal, in the hopes that doing so will prevent them from limiting or truncating their testimony due to a lack of language skill. But there are larger and more wide-reaching considerations to the use of personal testimonies in historical research.[70]

The practice of testimony is one that inherently invokes a performance. Like any performance, the act of telling one's life story to an interviewer implies an act of repetition (the story has been told many times before, honed over years to its most recent iteration); a sense of currency (in that the narrator must deem their testimony of value to someone or something other than themselves); and a collection of choices (the narrator must decide what elements to include and what to exclude, decisions largely guided by the first two factors listed here).[71] Moreover, the collection of oral testimony necessarily has the speaker "triangulated between past experience and the present context of remembering,"[72] in that the testimony they share is not, in Michael Frisch's words, "severed from the present entirely." As such, it is important to heed Luisa Passerini's call to examine myth-biographies as a path to understanding choices, changes, and

---

[70] "'Oral history recording taps into a vast, rich reservoir of oral traditions sustained through family, community and national memories.' […] That is, it documents the oral forms while illuminating the oral process itself, i.e., how, why, and when, cultural knowledge is passed along orally and how individuals use spoken language to make sense of their life and times." Luisa Del Giudice, *Oral History, Oral Culture, and Italian Americans* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009) 9.

[71] For more, see Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For a case study on memory, selection and omission, see Mariela Ceva, "La Construccion de una memoria familiar en la inmigracion Biellesa, (1895-1960), *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 19 (58) 2005, 505-530.

[72]Frisch, Michael H, "The Memory of History," *Radical History Review* (25) 1981, 17.

interpretations of personal myths and memories.[73] Passerini herself defines myth as inherently "collective, shared by many, super-individual and inter-generational, *beyond the limits of space and time.*"[74] The testimonies of Campani often rest upon created myths which, as Passerini describes, are not limited by temporal or spatial constraints.

Alessandro Portelli, a pioneering scholar of oral history, has long argued for the importance of oral testimony as a unique tool for writing history. He contends that oral history is different from other sources in that it "tells us less about events as such than about their meaning." Portelli takes this one step further, arguing that the very testimony of the narrator is a display of the speaker's relationship to his or her own history. As such, an integral aspect of history is the element of subjectivity. When I asked Paola Antonini if she had any last thoughts after relaying her experiences to me, she reflected: "Just one. Since we began talking, I've begun to relive many things. And to re-signify them! […] Yesterday I thought, she is going to come and I don't remember any dates. What if she asks me the name of the ship? […] Most Italians know the name of the ship they travelled on. What do I know?"[75] Antonini's narrative betrays her perception of what a good narrative must do, and she is concerned that she cannot provide such a narrative. More significantly, however, the act of remembering and retelling causes her to "relive and re-signify" the events, emotions, and experiences of her immigrant past. To Portelli, "subjectivity is as much the business of history as the more visible 'facts'. What the informant believes is indeed a historical *fact* (that is, the *fact* that he or she believes it) just as much as what 'really' happened. […] The diversity of oral history consists in the

[73] Raphael Samuel & Paul Thompson, *The Myths We Live By* (London & New York: Routledge, 1990).
[74] Luisa Passerini, "Mythbiography in Oral History," in Raphael Samuel & Paul Thompson, *The Myths We Live By* (London & New York: Routledge, 1990), 49-60.
[75] Paola Antonini, in conversation with the author. March 2016. Author's translation.

fact that 'untrue' statements are still psychologically 'true'."[76] Thus oral history is a valuable *source*: while it does periodically fill in factual gaps of information, its greater value is in its ability to elucidate the psychology and personal experience of those who lived such facts. Insofar as this research is concerned with ideas of ethnic identity, and that it accepts that identity is a personal process affected by an individual's experiences, recollections, and interpretations, oral testimony and its inherent subjectivity become an asset to this understanding of ethnicity and identity, rather than a liability. It is, in essence, fundamentally interested in subjectivity as historical artefact, as tool, and as analytical category. As Portelli puts it, personal testimony tells us "not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, what they now think they did."[77] In doing so, oral sources turn out to be more reflexive of their speakers' lived experiences than other more peripheral sources. Daniel James points out that "oral testimony is more messy, more paradoxical, more contradiction-laden, and perhaps, because of this, more faithful to the complexity of working-class lives and working-class memory."[78] Oral history as source can thus be extremely beneficial when studying something as flexible, evolving, and personal as ethnicity and identity.

It is worth noting, however, the problem of authority within the oral history method. At its core, authority necessarily rests in the hands of the researcher, who has commissioned the testimony, who navigates the narrator with guiding questions, and who ultimately decides the ways in which the testimony is used and interpreted. In the testimonies studied here, however, it is equally interesting to reflect on the ways in which

[76] Alessandro Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History," *History Workshop Journal*, 12 (1981), 99-100.
[77] Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History," 100.
[78] Daniel James, *Dona Maria's Story: Life, History, Memory, and Political Identity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000), 242.

authority is contested and challenged. In "Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony," Sheyfali Saujani urges researchers to employ Portelli's notion of the 'orality of oral evidence' to *hear* more than simply what is said in the testimony or recorded on the transcription: not just the words uttered, but the aspects that fall 'between the lines': the pauses, the laughter, the silence, and the changes of tone that do not come across through words alone.[79] First, narrators establish their authority by retaining or sharing their testimony as they deem fit. My somewhat Mediterranean looks, combined with an Italian surname and a working knowledge of the language, were often identified by narrators as elements that pointed to my belonging in their inner circle, that is, the small group of people with whom they would share their testimony. Sometimes I was challenged to confirm my belonging by narrators asking me to delineate my shared ancestry (little did it matter that my lone ancestor from Campania was six generations removed. I was considered Campana regardless); other times, my oral proficiency in Italian was tested at random, and only upon my ready engagement in the language did they grant me access to their testimony. These are examples of how narrators exert authority over the process of sharing testimony, and notably, how they wrestle it away from the interviewer.

More significant still are the ways in which the wrestling of authority varies among narrators, a process that inevitably adopts a gendered component. Overwhelmingly, older, career-driven male narrators wrestled authority away from me, a relatively young, female researcher, through interruptions, condescension, and self-aggrandizements. Consider, for example, the narrator who asked questions about my research, only to interrupt my answers with his own. Once *his* own explanation of *my*

[79] Sheyfali Saujani, "Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony: Feminist Debates, Multicultural Mandates, and Reassessing the Interviewer and her 'Disagreeable' Subjects" *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 45, 90 (2012), 361-391.

research had satisfied him, he concluded: "Anyway, go ahead. Take charge. Tell me what you want to know."[80] This pattern repeated itself with a majority of the male narrators involved. Although the sample size is not significant enough to draw conclusions, these responses are worth considering: whether they are indicative of acceptable male behaviour among Campani, a response to the perception of an extra-group threat, or something more complex, they nevertheless speak to the ways in which the collection and use of oral testimony and the challenges of authority introduce a plethora of considerations in the ways we conduct and analyze history. These considerations necessarily colour the conclusions we draw from the data.

Similarly, it is important to consider the ways in which our goals as researchers (and specifically, as historians) deviate from the motivations of the narrator as participant in such a project. The historian must abide by certain regulations to satisfy degree or professional requirements.[81] As a doctoral dissertation submitted to an accredited university, for example, this research project requires a signed and dated consent form from each participating narrator. This form is in place to protect the rights of the narrator. It is, however, a written contract, one that speaks in a language and bears weight in a context with which the narrator may not associate. When this form was presented in interviews, for example, it was often met with tension, discomfort, and unease. One narrator, for example, responded to the form by immediately explaining to me that she had not finished her schooling due to a variety of tragedies in her family.[82] A formal signed document made her uncomfortable, in that it brought to light not only her lack of

[80] Anonymous narrator, in conversation with the author. December 2015.
[81] At York University, for example, doctoral candidates must undergo coursework, comprehensive examinations, and a successful dissertation defense.
[82] Anna Vinci, in conversation with the author. June 2015.

education, but also the personal tragedies that brought them about, and the perceived difference between our social standing as a result. Hesitation and unease were common responses. The textual nature of such a document and its presence at our shared table created a distance between the interviewer and narrator. The authority that the form presumed to grant was not one accepted by the narrator, whose life experience is marked by the absence of what the document represents. These reactions were not directed at the content of the form, which had been explicitly laid out orally, and thoroughly understood and accepted by the narrator. Instead, narrators were uncomfortable with the formality, the textuality, and the perceived distance of such a contract. For these narrators, the invitation they had extended to me as a researcher into their homes, to sit at their tables, and to hear their private family stories, was a far more significant and far-reaching form of consent than any textual document could produce. The material evidence that remains of this research (that is, the consent forms, the interviewer's transcriptions, and the final product itself) do not fully speak to the ways in which the narrators experience this process. Although the challenge of textuality may be considered a *de facto* consequence of historical research and the use of oral testimony as source, it is worth remembering that the process of collecting testimonies holds different meanings and purposes for all involved.

This project proceeds from the belief that the everyday experiences of a group of people are important, rich, and have much to teach us about large complex processes such as identity formation and migration patterns. As such, the testimonies collected form the foundation of the methodological approach. They are buttressed, however, by a variety of written and oral sources across three countries and numerous archives. The archives of

two of the most wide-ranging and locally significant newspapers were consulted: the *Corriere Canadese* in Ontario (housed at the Toronto Public Library) and the *Corriere degli Italiani* in Buenos Aires (held at the Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno).

These sources are limited in their ability to tell us how people thought and felt about the processes under study, although the reader will note that in many circumstances, the documents used are from sections where readers had a voice, so to speak, such as the letters to the editor. Regardless, such sources are limited in their scope and breadth, since the product that is available to the historian has been filtered through the editor's lens. These sources do, however tell much about the context in which the immigrant's early experiences took shape, the messages and images to which they were exposed, and the way world events were reflected back at them on a local level. Andrew Junor writes that "As Benedict Anderson famously contended, the mass media of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries fostered imagined communities essential to the emergence of national consciousness and the nation state."[83] Ethnic-language newspapers in both Canada and Argentina served to create smaller, more insular imagined communities of co-nationals living abroad, and those communities were connected via their publishing practices and readers to other imagined communities abroad. Studying the experience of Campani through these sources elucidates the connections between seemingly disparate communities abroad in an intriguing light.

These collections were complemented by archival research in the three countries under study. In Canada, Guernica Editions, COSTI Immigrant Services, and CHIN Radio archived their company files, documents that have been employed to better understand

[83] Andrew Junor, "The meat and veg complex: food and national progress in Australian print media, 1930–1965." *History Australia*, 13,4 (2016) 475.

the context in which Campani settled, the music and popular culture they created and consumed in Toronto, and the ways in which they deployed the languages at their disposal. In Argentina, the Academia Porteña del Lunfardo (The *Lunfardo* Academy)[84], Biblioteca Nacional del Maestro (National Teachers' Library), and the Ministry of Education contributed to my understanding of how language is organized at the state level and the social role it plays in Argentina. Archives at the Centro de Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos (CEMLA – Centre for the Study of Latin American Migrations) and from a previous research project ("Reconstructing the Collective Memory") contextualized the immigration of Campani well, and the archives of the Sociedad Argentina de Autores y Compositores (SADAIC – Society of Argentine Authors & Composers) yielded new insights into the role of music and popular songs in Argentina.

Lastly, this project employs an interdisciplinary approach for locating and using source material. From memory exercises on social media to folk song lyrics, from political documents to commercial imagery, this work seeks to find meaning in a wide variety of sources, and to use the advancements of other fields (among them sociology, anthropology, musicology, linguistics, women's studies, economics and political science) to contextualize the rich catalogue of testimonies included here. The dissertation engages with the broad fields of migration research in psychoanalysis, folklore, literary criticism, and social science, among others. In 2015, Donna Gabaccia highlighted the benefits of such an approach by encouraging exchange between historians and social scientists in a lecture on mobility studies at the University of Toronto. She argued that despite the

[84] A private organization founded in 1962 comprised of linguists, journalists, historians and other professionals who devote their research to the speech patterns of the city of Buenos Aires. The Academy publishes books and articles; it maintains a library and archives open to the public; and it hosts culturally and musically relevant events at its location.

impact of post-structuralist thinking, this exchange was still lacking. She explained that social scientists look at *systems* (how people move; the metaphorical *lines* between places), whereas historians tend to focus on subjects, *people* that move and the *places* that they leave or in which they settle. By engaging in a more thorough conversation between disciplines, both fields might grasp a more inclusive picture of the very experience of migration.

The following chapter outlines the ways in which Campani created and fostered networks of contact between groups in Campania and abroad. It qualifies the central argument by underlining the ways in which national borders did affect Campani via public policy, immigration regulation, and in more subtle ways such as the language of instruction or the organizations available for ethnic identity expression. The chapter explores how sending remittances, creating sister-city statuses, reading ethnic newspapers, and holding family reunions, among others, were fundamentally transnational experiences. This chapter lays the groundwork, so to speak, for understanding the ways that transnational networks functioned and set the stage for the flexible connections studied in ensuing chapters.

The third chapter is an exercise in exploring the transnational network and ethnic identity formation through gender. It argues that women were a vital part of these transnational networks but that their unique experiences as gendered subjects and immigrants are often overlooked by dominant narratives. The chapter thus explores how networks of transmission work within this category of analysis. The experiences of women immigrants are distinct in a variety of ways, and the concept of the *lignee de femmes* is employed to tease out these often unspoken experiences. The women who

immigrated defined themselves not only in terms of their ethnicity (whether they considered themselves Italian, Campane, or Andrettese, for example), they also spoke of their ethnicity as explicitly female, and their testimonies centred around a set of experiences distinct to the female immigrant. The chapter explores the lives of women within the immigration experience, using oral testimonies to elucidate their personal reflections on their changing roles as workers, mothers, and aesthetic beings. It asks questions of its narrators that are unique to the female immigrant experience and therefore underline how these very questions make up a forgotten narrative, one that has been left out of our understanding of immigration. Since this chapter is looking to fill a gap in the way stories are told, and since it argues that dominant narratives centre on the male immigrant experience, it is not complemented by one on masculinity.

The remaining chapters explore some of the means that Campani had of forging and affirming ethnic identity within the transnational network. Chapter Four explores the ways in which Campani employed and negotiated the languages at their disposal to navigate questions of ethnicity and identity. It analyzes the ways in which this negotiation is done actively as a component of the oral testimony (for example, the narrators who 'test' my Italian skills as a way of confirming intra-group status), but also the more subtle and complex ways in which languages (English, Spanish, local *koines*, and regional varieties) are manipulated consciously and subconsciously to reflect a variety of shifting identities. Language as a form of emotional support, as a tool for connecting to a community, and as an assertion of personal identity, are some ways in which Campani actively connect with each other across borders and generations and identify themselves as part of a group. Campani engaged in transnational debates regarding which languages

to use and with whom. They debated the value of their regional language varieties decades after settlement abroad, and which languages to use with their children during their early years. Most significantly, Campani abroad used language as a way of connecting to family both back home in Campania, and elsewhere.

Chapter Five explores the ways that food can serve as a tool for navigating the early years of immigration: from the importing of goods from Campania abroad to immigrant's encounters with local foods and the mixing thereof, to representations of food in media targeted at new immigrants, it explores how food is a powerful tool through which to learn about the immigration experience and its transnational nature. Secondly, the chapter seeks to uncover the ways that food is employed as a form of granting (or denying) authority, control, and consent in the interview process itself.

Chapters Six and Seven explore the ways that Campani in Buenos Aires and Ontario interacted with and experienced music and popular culture in each region. The two regions provided markedly different cultural, musical, and popular landscapes that affected what it meant to be Campani, Canadian, Argentine, or Italian in each. In Argentina, the music of Campani (Neapolitan music in particular) had deep roots in the local culture, having been incorporated by previous immigrants to the area in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and produced a music culture that reflected this blended, diverse history. In Canada, imported Italian music (and hyphenated music, such as the Italian-American genre) was far more segregated from local popular music, and entirely new businesses and audiences emerged to meet this demand. Both regions engaged in a transfer of cultures and music patterns between Italy and even amongst

themselves. These complementary chapters explore these landscapes, their effects on the communities of Campani in each location, and vice versa.

Italians are one of the largest and most demographically significant ethnic groups in the histories of Ontario and Buenos Aires, and the effects of their settlement in the twentieth century are undeniable. The social, cultural, political, and economic faces of these two receiving regions have been indelibly marked by experiences of migration and processes of transnationalism. Ontario and Buenos Aires are inextricably linked to each other and to other nodal spaces through their histories, their cultures, and most importantly, their people.

Together with a variety of musical, culinary, religious and cultural traditions, the immigrants from Campania who settled in these provinces after the Second World War also brought with them the practice of transnational living.[85] Long acquainted with the concept of migration, the family units of Campani that formed the core of culture and life in the Americas necessarily transcended spatial and temporal limits. The lives they led were unrestricted and undefined by borders, and they passed this way of living down to their descendants. This case study demonstrates the deep and intricate role transnationalism plays in the development of ethnic identity.

[85] As Devoto writes, "for many, Italy was something tied to memories, habits and customs transmitted through the family (and mingled with others of different origins); seldom was identity associated with language maintenance, knowledge of Italy, or a more precise consciousness of what it meant to be Italian." In "De 1945 Hasta el Presente," 452. Author's translation.

Chapter 2: Building Transnational Networks

"Everywhere I go I look for family."[86]

In 1964, Raymond Breton wrote about the process of 'institutional completeness' to describe an ethnic group within a settlement society where the major economic, political, and even familial institutions (these include banks, mutual aid or welfare associations, sporting clubs, and religious groups, among others) are replicated, enabling the ethnic group to have little social connection with the larger group.[87] Presumably, members of groups that were institutionally complete could rely upon their institutions to help define the ways in which they saw themselves and their place in their new home. Breton argues that the creation of institutions is an effort to recreate pre-emigration life. His study is based on national immigrant groups (i.e. Italians) and pays little attention to sub-groups (such as Campani). This focus on national borders and organizations thus understates or eradicates regional variations and the distinct institutions they yield.

In the decades after Breton's seminal study, a proliferation of research abounded that sought to understand the ways that these groups settled in their new homes and how they established, funded, and benefited from the formal ethnic institutions to which they belonged. Little has been done, however, to understand the experiences of groups that were not institutionally complete in traditional ways. Breton's theory has been a useful analytical tool, but it is not comprehensive. It is deficient in explaining and representing groups that are unorganized in the traditional sense, and that do not rely on formalized institutions to define their ethnic identity. The case of Campani illustrates how the dearth

[86] Daniele Dimaro, in conversation with the author. June 2014.
[87] Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology* 70, 2 (1964) 193-205.

of formalized networks and dissatisfaction with ideas of placehood and permanence allowed immigrants to forge connections among nodes of settlement in distinct ways, methods that did not always rely on formalized associations. This chapter acknowledges the existence of formalized ethnic associations of Campani, and that they represent a component of ethnic identity, but argues that Campani depended less on them and more on informal networks of family and kin to develop their sense of identity. It outlines some of the ways in which the transnational network was built and fostered informally; it acknowledges that the lives of Campani were affected by borders, but that they circumvented them and existing concepts of placehood via news media, remittances, sister cities, reunions, religious celebrations, and digital hubs. Lastly, the chapter argues that the concept of the family is an inherently transnational one, and that the traditional focus on the nation-state is problematic for people whose life circumstances challenged and rejected national boundaries.

Communities of Campani did not have the institutional strength that other regional Italian groups had. They were not institutionally complete, as Breton would define it; nor did they develop formal institutions of Campani abroad in significant numbers. Instead, among Campani, networks were established via other means. These networks were flexible, connecting Campani around the world via remittances, reunions, religious festivals, sister-city status, and other means.[88] Campani in places such as Ontario and Buenos Aires increasingly relied on transnational networks of people, goods, and information to define their ethnic identity.

[88] Sister-city status implies a reciprocal relationship between two cities, usually economic or political, but generally also governed by a strong social component. This is explored further below.

Scholars have debated the efficiency of different approaches to migration history. Migration carries a *charge*, that is to say, it is not neutral. Often it is the result of decisions made by individuals or, more likely, by 'institutions,' as Ludger Pries defines them ("social structures like families, all types of communities such as villages, ethnic, religious, national and diasporic communities, business enterprises, political parties…"). We can distinguish the nodes and streaks of movement from a more generalized concept of globalization. Globalization may refer to "the spatial widening of social relations" or "the annihilation of space",[89] but it is precisely the *charge*, the direction, and the specificity of migration and movement that makes them transnational.[90] The power and charge of these worlds allows us to better understand the immigrant experience. In this aim, historians of mobility are contributing to a new way of thinking about the movement of people, things, and ideas.

So too are historians who subscribe to the theory of *histoire croisée*, which reconsiders the ways in which we interpret interactions between cultures,[91] and the interaction of objects of comparison is an important part of comparative work.[92] It thus becomes productive to engage not simply in comparative research, but something rather

[89] Ludger Pries, "The Approach of Transnational Social Spaces: Responding to New Configurations of the Social and the Spatial" in *New Transnational Social Spaces: International Migration and Transnational Companies in the Early Twenty First Century*, ed. Ludger Pries (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), 13.

[90] "Unlike globalization, the transboundary expansion of social spaces is restructured to certain regions […]. Therefore, the type of transboundary expansion of social space we are concerned with is regionally specific. Regional specificity here refers to the transboundary clustering of transactions, exchanges, networks and interactions of actors in functional and geographical groupings of states." Thomas Faist, "The Border-Crossing Expansion of Social Space: Concepts, Questions and Topics" *Transnational Social Spaces: Agents, Networks and Institutions*, eds. Thomas Faist & Eyup Ozveren (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004), 2-3.

[91] They argue that *histoire croisee* "makes possible the articulation of both [diachrony and synchrony], whereas comparison favours the implementation of a synchronic reasoning, and transfer studies tend toward an analysis of diachronic processes. Crossed history, in contrast, enables the synchronic and diachronic registers to be constantly rearranged in relation to each other." Michael Werner & Benedicte Zimmermann. "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisee and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45 (2006) 50.

[92] "When societies in contact with one another are studied, it is often noted that the objects and practices are not only in a state of interrelationship but also modify one another reciprocally as a result of their relationship. […] Comparative study of areas of contact that are transformed through their mutual interactions requires scholars to recognize their conceptual framework and rethink their analytical tools." Werner & Zimmerman, "Beyond Comparison," 38.

more complex, whereby the interactions between the numerous sites, and the very networks of knowledge, information, myth and story are central to the project.[93] As opposed to comparative work, transnational research does not pretend to have found a mystical middle ground from whence to observe its subjects.[94] It offers the historian refuge from professional insecurity, from dissatisfaction with borders, nation-states, and from their own objective position, and allows for an intercrossing: a muddling of sorts, of spaces, times, and positions.

Kathleen Neils Conzen's work on localization contextualizes these complicated ideas.[95] She urges historians to focus on the role of place and "weave the immigrant experience more tightly into the fabric of national history." While this concept of the immigrant experience and its impact on place has allowed historians to explore the differences in host societies through a new lens, it also relies heavily on permanence and settlement, something which does not comfortably reflect the lived experiences and narrative threads of migrants from Campania, whose testimonies focused much more pervasively on the flexibility and movement of people, things, ideas, and memories, and on the lack of ties to physical places.

I am not Campana, which made the research that follows both incredibly difficult and temptingly intriguing, in that I have had to wrestle with questions of why, and more importantly, how, to proceed. When I began to formulate the research project, I naively

---

[93] Werner & Zimmermann warn that comparative history "assumes a point of view external to the objects that are compared. […] The vantage point should ideally be situated at equal distance from the objects so as to produce a symmetrical view. Finally, […] the point of observation [should be] stabilized in space and in time. […] However, such a vantage point, even if it is theoretically imaginable, is impossible to attain in the practice of research." Ibid., 33-4.
[94] Ibid., 34.
[95] Neils Conzen describes localization as "the tendency of an immigrant-constructed culture to embed and reproduce itself, not only in the family, small group, and organizational relationships internal to the immigrant group, but also in the educational institutions, political and governmental organizations, businesses, media, and popular culture of the broader local community." Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Mainstreams and Side Channels: The Localization of Immigrant Cultures," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 11:1, 1991.

expected to benefit from the great diversity and demographic weight of the Italian communities in Ontario and Buenos Aires; the great variety of local, regional, and national institutions, I thought, would lead me to the people and sources I wished to study. This case study interested me from the outset because Campani arrived in the Americas in significant numbers,[96] but did not organize in the same ways that other groups did; they formed part of the so-called Italian diaspora, but their voices were seldom heard. This research is, in part, aimed at rectifying this lacuna.

I did not find the wealth of narrators and sources that I would have liked by pursuing regional institutions of Campani in either country. In 2008, the association I Campani nel Mondo (Campani in the World) listed twenty groups in Argentina, eleven of them in the province of Buenos Aires alone, and nineteen in Canada, only one of which is in Ontario.[97] Smaller clubs are not included in this list, and other compilations of groups abroad are mostly out-dated or inaccurate. Although it is difficult to get precise numbers, it is clear that they pale in comparison with those from other sending regions (Friulian, Calabrian, and Sicilian associations abound in both regions under study here). The regional clubs I did find were small, defunct, or fractured.[98] Nor did I find Campani by reviewing resources in Italian associations, those who welcomed all groups from the peninsula. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, of all the Campani I spoke with, only a

---

[96] Exact figures are difficult to confirm. One seminal work cites that in the period between 1946 and 1976, a total of 936,561 Campani left the region and 521,856 returned, which would mean that a total of 414,705 Campani left the region permanently to settle abroad. The study indicates that, in the same period, 440,796 Italians settled in Canada and 500,116 Italians settled in Argentina, but it does not divide these by region of origin. Rosoli et al, *Un Secolo di Emigrazione Italiana, 1876-1976*.
[97] Pietro Rega, "I Campani nel Mondo," last modified October 6, 2008, http://www.campani.eu/200808062/i-campani-nel-mondo/mondo.html.
[98] There are notable exceptions to this statement. My sincere gratitude goes to the association presidents and members who spoke with me graciously and with interest in this project. They are unnamed here to protect anonymity, but their contributions are felt throughout this dissertation.

small minority had any knowledge of (or participation in) a regional association of any kind.

Immigration from Campania to Ontario and Buenos Aires was not insignificant. Why, then, did they not organize institutionally? The vast disparity of climates, landscapes, and lifestyles in the Campania region is one possibility. Despite hailing from within the same regional boundaries, an emigrant from the mountains of Piaggine who worked as a shepherd had very little in common with a fruit farmer in Agropoli, who in turn could not claim a shared experience with a contractor from Naples. The ever-changing borders of the Campania may have contributed to this disparity as well. As recently as the 1960s and 70s, the regional borders of the Italian peninsula have changed, which means that Campani from the borderlands might well have identified more closely with other Italians from Basilicata or Puglia, for example. Although these considerations may not provide satisfying answers as to why Campani did not organize institutionally, and although they are certainly not unique to Campani (in that Italians from other regions also faced a disparity of climates and boundaries, for example), they may provide clues to find the ways in which they *did* organize, ways that depended on other methods of bringing Campani together. By employing a variety of media, informal networks of communication, and moments of communal celebration, the lives of Campani (and the communal memories of their descendants) were fundamentally transnational: they circumvented and challenged existing borders and concepts of placehood. This chapter points to the ways that traditionally unorganized communities can still become transnationally linked ones.

Although many immigrants did not associate with it, an institutional life of Campani did exist at home and abroad in some notable capacities. In October 1974, the Associazione Campani nel Mondo ('Campani of the World' Association) held its annual national conference in Naples, where topics of discussion included employment policies and workers' rights in receiving countries, among others. They welcomed members from associations of Campani around the world and encouraged members to disseminate the results of their endeavours in their countries of settlement. Furthermore, the Association strongly adhered to the philosophy that "migration does not affect only one or several countries; more accurately, it is a European phenomenon that must be tackled, regulated, and possibly even resolved in the name of super-national solidarity."[99] By crossing national boundaries, engaging in discussion with Campani in other countries, and discussing issues that were unifying and significant despite borders, the institutional life of Campani became transnational.

In some communities, local regional associations were strong and boasted a critical mass that made them a presence. The coastal city of Mar del Plata (Buenos Aires province) welcomed a surge of Italian immigrants in the postwar period, most of them from the southern provinces. Due to the growing fishing industry, it was an attractive settlement city for coastal Italians, those who were exposed to similar industries back home in places such as Capri, Ischia, and Salerno. The Asociación Italiana del Puerto "Casa de Italia" (a joint group comprising of the Asociación Regional Campana de Mar del Plata and a similar Sicilian association) was founded in 1955 by and for the southern

---

[99] Author's translation. The original reads: "l'emigrazione non e un fatto riguardante un solo paese o particolari paesi, ma, piu propriamente, un fenomeno europeo che va affrontato, normativizzato, e possibilmente risolto in nome di una solidarieta super-nazionale." *Documento dell'Associazione 'Campani nel Mondo' in vista della prossima Conferenza Nazionale per l'Emigrazione* (1974) in the Centro Studi Emigrazione, Rome, Italy.

Italians arriving in Mar del Plata after the war, and it served as a mutual aid society and social club. Since most Italians arriving in Mar del Plata were from Campania or Sicily, membership was abundant and sustained. Unchallenged by competing associations, and serving families who had the fishing industry in common, the "Casa de Italia" served as the central social and political hub for the Italian communities there for decades, and continues to do so today.

A number of regional associations existed that brought Campani together in and across major sites of settlement. On 10 May 1986, thirty-six small regional associations based in Buenos Aires converged to form the Federazione Nazionale Regione Campania (FENARECA). Most of those groups had served members from specific localities in Campania (such as the Associazione Madonna di Montevergine, the Associazione Solofra, and the Associazione Irpinia), and they played a pivotal role in the settlement and economic, social, and political adjustment of Campani abroad. But by 1986, membership had dwindled or completely dispersed. The amalgamation of FENARECA allowed remaining members to continue activities, now under the umbrella of a regional association. As such, immigrants who participated in associational life as Solofrani, for example, began to do so as Campani.

But in reality, despite notable exceptions, Campani in Ontario and Buenos Aires did not generally engage with regional or national ethnic associations. Many Campani were either not aware of them, or chose not to seek membership. Of the narrators who contributed testimonies to this project, only sixteen per cent demonstrated knowledge of (or participation in) local regional associations (12 per cent of those from Buenos Aires, 4 per cent from Ontario). This sample is not large enough to provide any conclusive

answers, but it does point to the fact that, on the whole, the institutions of Campani were not generally large, influential, or enduring, and did not reflect the demographic weight of their target group.

Their fractured nature may thus help to explain why Campani abroad may not have organized along regional lines. Simply put, the geographical limits of a regional association do not reflect the lived experience of Campani, who may identify more closely with workers in the same industry, or Italians from neighbouring regions along changing borders.

The traditional focus on the nation-state and its political boundaries is problematic for people like the hundreds of thousands of Campani whose life circumstances circumvented, challenged, and often simply rejected national boundaries. The term 'global memoryscapes,' coined by Kendall Phillips and Mitchell Reyes, refers to a study of memory that moves "outside the national framework and explores the ways that some memory practices can be understood as traversing and at times unsettling national boundaries."[100] The authors argue that past work has been far too focused on the national culture; the concept of global memoryscapes is an attempt to move away from the embedded 'foundational relationship' between public memory and the nation state and explore the ways in which memories are produced by groups outside and between those boundaries. Global memoryscapes look outside of the national framework and explore practices of memory within the notion of globalization.[101] In short, the theory of global memoryscapes, and the intersection between memorial practices and global forces, could

---

[100] Kendall R. Phillips & G. Mitchell Reyes, *Global Memoryscapes: Contesting Remembrance in a Transnational Age*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011).
[101] Globalization encompasses "the movement of people, ideas, technologies, and messages across national boundaries and the emergence of new, transnational social structures ranging from international non-governmental organizations to transnational religious communities to broad cultural movements that are not bound by national borders or identities."

prove very useful for understanding the ways in which immigrant communities define and remember themselves. They did so in ways that did not depend on entrenched institutions or on geographic permanence.

The significance of placehood and belonging cannot be underestimated in the development of immigrant identity. The political and social realities of sites of settlement (in this case, Argentina and Canada) affected ethnic identity construction and the legacies of migration, and a comparative approach can help elucidate their differences. It is worth considering, for example, the global trend in the postwar era for nation-states worldwide to turn inward and reflect on the significant role these immigrations had on their populations.[102] To acknowledge this pattern is to recognize the significant role that public policy and national politics played in the expression of immigrant identity. Despite the fact that Campani's experiences may very well transcend borders via global memoryscapes, their lives were fundamentally affected by those borders.

Many of the policies and developments effected by governments and national organizations deeply affected the practice of immigrant life in both sites of settlement. The end of war in 1945 ushered in what Will Kymlicka dubbed a global age "in favour of a new ideology of the equality of races and peoples."[103] In Canada, this sentiment struck a chord in a society that had long struggled with the governance of minority rights and freedoms. These discourses culminated with major policy changes in the 1970s and 80s, among them the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Section 27 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. In 1971, the

[102] Ninette Kelley & Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
[103] Will Kymlicka, *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future* (Washington, D.C.: Transatlantic Council on Migration, Migration Policy Institute, 2012) 6.

federal government of Canada under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau adopted a multicultural policy. Under it, the nation pledged to recognize and respect the diversity of language, culture, and religion in its society.[104] At its foundation, it ensured equality for all Canadian citizens, but it also created a national space for 'third force' art and literature to thrive.

While new immigrants from Campania may not have felt intimately connected to (or even particularly invested) in the policy changes in their midst, their lives in Ontario were touched by them and communities of Campani often benefitted from them. Ideas of nationalism and ethnic identity were discussed in popular forums and around kitchen tables, and the policies that ensued meant that, for the first time, a large group of university-educated young people provided the critical mass to create a community of writers, artists, film-makers, politicians, and academics. More significantly, these policies created a critical interest in, and the funding power to create, conversations about ethnicity within the nation state. These conversations fostered, funded, and mobilized the concept of ethnic identity, providing not only a renewed disposition towards the collection of personal immigration experiences, but also providing the tools and resources to collect and store them. These developments resulted in a burst of resources for the collection and transmission of ethnic stories, among them those of Campani: the publishing house Guernica Editions in Montreal, for example, often published translators and poets of regional varieties.[105] The poetry of Corrado Mastropasqua, written entirely

[104] Multiculturalism was recognized by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, and became law in 1988. The Multiculturalism Law has two fundamental principles: 1) All citizens are equal and have the freedom to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage; 2) the Law promotes the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in all aspects of Canadian society. The full text of the Multicultural Act can be accessed at http://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-18.7/.
[105] Linda Morra, "Guernica Editions," accessed November 6, 2014, http://hpcanpub.mcmaster.ca/case-study/guernica-editions.

in Neapolitan, is one example. Pasquale Verdicchio published in English, Italian, and Neapolitan, sometimes separately and other times all tangled together on a single page of prose. Its modest size, geographical limitations, and politicized agenda meant that it may not have reached all Campani equally, but Guernica, with its dependence on state funding through its multicultural arts programmes, is one example of a space in which Campani could work out their regional identities through art and literature.

The landscape was significantly different in Argentina. Juan Domingo Peron's government adopted ambitious immigration policies following a surge in postwar economic prosperity, allowing entry to over 50,000 immigrants per year. Immigration was encouraged from Latin Europe (particularly Spain and Italy) due to the fact that they were deemed by immigration delegates abroad to be "more easily assimilated into Argentina" than Asians, Africans, and even non-Latin Europeans.[106] This was bolstered by bilateral agreements (Italy in 1947, 1948, and 1952; Spain in 1958) facilitating such immigrations. Despite the large influx of people entering the country, Argentina formalized no comprehensive immigration policies during this time.[107] Regardless, successive governments were interested in the ways in which the new immigrants affected the Argentine national character: Leonardo Senkman points to the creation of the Ethnic National Institute and the Ethnography Office of the Migrations Department in 1946 as examples of this interest. Certainly, governments in the postwar period were clear about their goal to "avoid the creation of ethnic enclaves composed of people that,

[106] *Annual Report of the Argentine Immigration Delegation in Europe* (1953), cited in note 42 of Leonardo Senkman, "Etnicidad e inmigración durante el primer peronismo," *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de America Latina y el Caribe*, 3, 2 (1992).
[107] Julia Albarracin, "Selecting Immigration in Modern Argentina: Economic, Cultural, International and Institutional Factors," PhD Diss., University of Florida, 2004. 60-80.

having a different lifestyle, could not integrate into Argentina,"[108] and assimilationist efforts continued in ensuing decades. But after 1952, the main source of immigrants into Argentina was from its neighbouring countries. The policies of the military and democratic governments that followed the Peron coup in 1955 were thus mostly aimed at curbing and controlling this group, and the Italians who had arrived in Argentina were unaffected by later more restrictive measures. They were, however, deeply affected by the assimilationist attitude of their new country of settlement. In 1959, Economy Minister Alvaro Alsogaray traveled to Rome to increase economic cooperation between the two countries. There, he reminded Italians that given the affinities between their two nations, and given the presence of a large number of Italians in Argentina who had contributed to the development of the country, Argentines were unlikely to feel like foreigners in Italy, but rather felt very much at home there.[109] Such discourse was not uncommon among Argentine authorities. No equivalent of Canada's multicultural policy exists in Argentina, and although the state does provide funding and resources towards the study and celebration of ethnicity (such as the Centro de Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos and the Immigration Museum in Buenos Aires, among others) it does so on the assumption that its subjects and audiences are Argentines first and foremost. Although the geographic place in which they settled certainly affected the ways in which Campani built networks and constructed personal and collective identities, it was not necessarily reflective of their experience.

Testimonies of Campani often rest upon created myths that, as Luisa Passerini describes, are not limited by temporal or spatial constraints. Passerini defines myth as

---

[108] Albarracin, "Selecting Immigration," 66.
[109] *Corriere degli Italiani*, 16 November 1959.

inherently "collective, shared by many, super-individual and inter-generational, *beyond the limits of space and time.*"[110] These tensions also speak to the *imagined community* as set forth by Benedict Anderson in an intriguing new light.[111] Anderson's propositions for the nation as an imagined construction[112] could be applied to the hyphenated communities that developed abroad, and the communities explored here. In seeing how individuals constructed personal and family notions of ethnicity and identity abroad, we can start to understand how these personal interpretations contributed to a greater collective community.

Passerini's myth-biographies speak directly to Paul Thompson and Samuel Raphael's stance on myth as a central force in the study of history,[113] and in Donna Gabaccia's words, "introspection in research need not be self-indulgent." Although it often feels at odds with the historian's training, the persistent tension between our role as subjective/active participant and our role as an impartial researcher, can allow us to explore the ways in which our subject does *not* fit neatly within one border or boundary.[114] Most Campani, for example, are hard pressed when asked to which national identifier they belong ("Are you Italian, or Argentine/Canadian?") This may point to the dissatisfaction with national borders, as Thompson and Raphael imply. This question

---

[110] Luisa Passerini, "Mythbiography in Oral History," in *The Myths We Live By*, eds. Raphael Samuel & Paul Thompson (London & New York: Routledge, 1990), 49-60.
[111] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York & London, Verso, 2006).
[112] Whereupon he argues that the nation is limited; sovereign; and a horizontal comradeship, 1-11.
[113] They argue that historians could greatly benefit from accepting their own occupational myths (for example, the very concept of nation and nationhood, or even "our own fetishistic faith in facts" as a means of subverting "our ethnocentric self-confidence".) Put simply, by acknowledging and releasing our own myth-making strategies as a natural and beneficial part of the process, we could strive to do the same with that of our participants, and even perhaps with our sources. This would allow us to "open up a history which refuses to be safely boxed away in card indexes or computer programs: which instead pivots on the *active* relationship between past and present, subjective and objective, poetic and political." Raphael Samuel & Paul Thompson, eds., *The Myths We Live By* (Routledge: London & New York, 1990), 5.
[114] Donna Gabaccia, "From Immigration History to Mobility Studies" Lecture presented Friday January 23, 2015, University of Toronto Scarborough.

often spurs a long and winding soliloquy, one which, above all, highlights the intrinsic tension the question implies. Some Campani communicate this tension clearly, and it is almost always contextualized in the prism of the family:

> I feel Italian. For all intents and purposes. […] To me, my heart is divided in two. Consider that my *children* are Argentine; my *grandchildren* are Argentine; my *wife* is Argentine.[115]
>
> There comes a time when you don't feel like you belong in one place or the other. You are equal parts both. […] If I had all the material conditions to choose where I could live, and money weren't an issue, where would I go? I would say that I would go back. But then I don't know, because *my son* was born here. I have friends here that I wouldn't have there.[116]

Given that the significance of the family unit has been studied elsewhere in great detail,[117] and considering the discussion around mythical placehood and the existence of nodal spaces in immigrant networks,[118] it can be said that for Campani, national allegiance has become something so devoid of meaning (or rather, so stripped of the meaning it may have held before the experience of migration), that the only true belonging falls to the only elements that remain the same. Campani, then, could be said to base their memories not to a set place or time; instead, their ethnic identities are built around oral histories and family stories, in imagined spaces, times, and memories, and most significantly, in enduring entities, such as the family unit.

Given the absence of formalized networks, and the inadequacy of established ideas of placehood and permanence, Campani found other methods to forge connections between different nodes of settlement, methods that did not always rely on formal

[115] Roberto Villano, in conversation with the author. March 2016. Author's translation.
[116] Paola Antonini, in conversation with the author. March 2016. Author's translation.
[117] Roberto Perin and Franc Sturino, eds., *Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigrant Experience in Canada* (Montreal: Guernica, 1989). See also: Fernando Devoto, "Las cadenas migratorias italianas: Algunas reflexiones a la luz del caso argentino," *Studi Emigrazione* 24, 87 (1987) 355-373.
[118] John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

membership associations. Ethnic media in Ontario and Buenos Aires, for example, contributed immensely to the sense of transnational community. Radio programming was a popular way to stay connected. The Servizio Radiofonico Internazionale (SRI) broadcast out of Buenos Aires to Italians in Italy and abroad, with programming that included segments on Argentine tango and folk music, current events, and a special program on Saturdays which read letters from Italians in Argentina to family back home.[119] In Toronto, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) Radio in Toronto hosted special programming that did much the same thing, allowing Italians in Toronto to record messages for family and friends that would be aired in Italy.[120]

Radio Messaggi per l'Italia

Il 15 aprile sarà efettuata dalla Stazione della CBC di Toronto, 354 Jarvis Street, la consueta trasmissione di notizie ai famigliari in Italia da parte di emigranti residenti a Toronto e dintorni.

Le prenotazioni per tale trasmissione potranno essere fatte presso la nostra redazione nei giorni 1 — 2 — 3 — 4 Aprile, esclusivamente tra le ore 11 a. m. e 1.30 p. m. telefonando a EM 8-3802.

Ed evitare malintesi si comunica altresì che questi messaggi saranno diffusi in Italia non prima del 28 aprile p. v.

Figure 7. "Radio Messages for Italy." Source: *Corriere Canadese* 29 March 1957.

Newspapers too engaged in a cross-publishing relationship: the *Corriere degli Italiani* in Buenos Aires published news items from the *Corriere del Quebec* on some

[119] *Corriere degli Italiani*, 10 April 1950.
[120] *Corriere Canadese*, 29 March 1957. See also: *Corriere Canadese*, 12 January 1955.

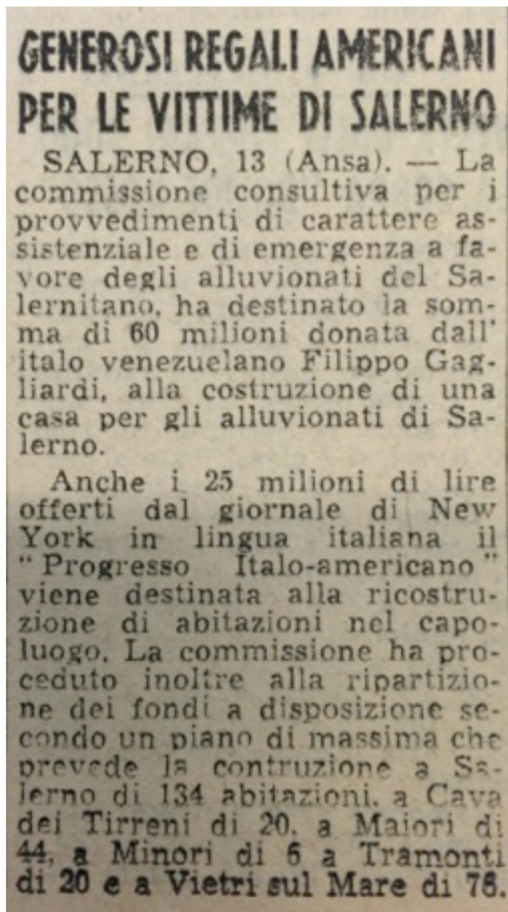
occasions, for example.[121] Subscribing to bulletins such as the *Corriere Canadese* (in Ontario) and the *Corriere degli Italiani*, Campani learned about events in their countries of settlement and also about current affairs back home, but perhaps more significantly, they learned about current events in other countries of Italian migration. The Canadian *Corriere Canadese* dutifully and consistently published news of Peron's presidency, for example, and when his deteriorating relationship with the Catholic Church came to a head in 1955,[122] Italian readers in Canada were well informed of the latest developments. Conversely, news from Italians up north often appeared in the pages of the Argentine *Corriere degli Italiani*, primarily in its 'Notizie del Canada' column ("News from Canada"). When the Fair Employment Practices Act was passed in 1953, the newspaper was quick to report on it.[123] Of course, newspapers served as a source of information for immigrants from either country seeking to learn about the state of Italian migration abroad, and to acquire resources for a possible secondary migration. Italians who had immigrated to Buenos Aires after the war often wrote to the *Corriere degli Italiani* for information on how to immigrate again to Canada, and the newspaper dutifully and regularly published figures and statistics on Italian immigration there.[124]

While these phenomena serviced Italians generally, news outlets could provide the same function for Campani specifically. On 25 October 1954, a severe flood devastated Salerno and its surroundings, leaving hundreds dead and wounded and

---

[121] *Corriere Canadese*, 18 December 1956.
[122] In the 1950s, the modernizing efforts of Peron's government led to policies that strained the once strong relationship between the Peronist state and the Catholic Church, such as the legalization of divorce. In June 1955, increasing tensions between the two institutions came to a head with an attempted coup in the Plaza de Mayo during a Peronist rally. For more information, see: Luis Alberto Romero, "The Perón Government, 1943–1955" in *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*. (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2013). 91-130. See also: John Murray, "Perón and the Church," *An Irish Quarterly Review*, 44, 175 (1955), 257-270; David F. D'Amico, "Religious Liberty in Argentina during the First Peron Regime, 1943-1955," *Church History* 46, 4 (1977) 490-503.
[123] *Corriere degli Italiani*, 17 April 1957.
[124] *Corriere degli Italiani*, 27 May 1955. *Corriere Canadese*, 18 December 1956.

thousands homeless. News of the flood reached the Italian communities abroad quickly via ethnic media, but these served a more peculiar purpose in the days and months that followed. Newspapers abroad published consistent updates on the tragedy, and facilitated communication between families in Italy and abroad via radio programming and print messages. They also published a running tally of fundraising efforts for the cause, such as the following pages (from the *Corriere Canadese*[125] and the *Corriere degli Italiani*).[126]



GENEROSI REGALI AMERICANI PER LE VITTIME DI SALERNO

SALERNO, 13 (Ansa). — La commissione consultiva per i provvedimenti di carattere assistenziale e di emergenza a favore degli alluvionati del Salernitano, ha destinato la somma di 60 milioni donata dall'italo venezuelano Filippo Gagliardi, alla costruzione di una casa per gli alluvionati di Salerno.

Anche i 25 milioni di lire offerti dal giornale di New York in lingua italiana il "Progresso Italo-americano" viene destinata alla ricostruzione di abitazioni nel capoluogo. La commissione ha proceduto inoltre alla ripartizione dei fondi a disposizione secondo un piano di massima che prevede la contruzione a Salerno di 134 abitazioni, a Cava dei Tirreni di 20, a Maiori di 44, a Minori di 6 a Tramonti di 20 e a Vietri sul Mare di 78.

Figure 8. "Generous American Gifts for Salerno Victims." Source: *Corriere Canadese* 12 January 1955.

[125] *Corriere Canadese*, 12 January 1955.
[126] *Corriere degli Italiani*, 14 February 1955.

Raccolti $1563 per Salerno

Il Consolato ha provveduto a far pervenire a S.E. il Prefetto di Salerno un assegno, a lui personalmente intestato, di $ can. 1028. — da destinarsi ai colpiti dalle alluvioni.

I $ can. 1028 sono stati raccolti come segue:

Dottor Donato Sansone	$ 50.00
Societa' Fratellanza Italiana	50.00
Ladies Shoe Manufacturing Co. (impiegati ed operai)	19.00
Roy P. Roger Constr. Entreprises (impiegati ed operai)	65.00
Mrs. Dora Faber, 326 Rosemary Rd.	10.00
"The Italian Hour" Guelph	753.01
Loggia Principe Umberto N. 3 in St. Catherine, Ont.	31.50
Loggia Patronato N. 15 Toronto	50.00
	$1028.51

La Societa' "Italo-Canadian Sport Club" ha inviato direttamente all'Ambasciata $ can. $395.30 e la Loggia Ontario $140, per cui il totale raccolto nell'Ontario e' stato di $ can. 1563.84.

Figure 9. "1,563 raised for Salerno." Source: *Corriere degli Italiani* 14 February 1955.

These examples show the fundraising efforts not only of organized associations, but also of unorganized groups such as radio stations and even individual citizens. Such examples connected Campani abroad to family and kin across national boundaries, creating a network of people bound by common projects and concerns. The shared experience of reading ethnic newspapers – whether to build a web of resources, for information, or to share in common projects – brought Campani abroad together.

Transnational networks of Campani were also produced and fostered via other pathways, such as through remittances, reunions, the formation of sister-city relationships, and the celebration of religious festivals. Remittances (funds collected by

family abroad and sent home to Italy) created connections based on a shared heritage. Sometimes, these connections occurred in small, private circles. Brothers Camillo and Giuseppe wrote to their sisters in Campania from their new home in Buenos Aires, and lamented: "Dear sisters: I feel afflicted because right now I cannot send money. The exchange rate is very high and to send 30,000 *lire* I would need $46,000 Argentine; so we want to wait a little bit until the rate lowers. Please have some patience."[127] Other times, remittances performed a more expansive function. Gabriele Villa recalls that when his father first left Ischia in 1950 and arrived in Mar del Plata, he had every intention to return. A shoemaker by trade, any spare income he had was sent home to help family and contribute to the economic life of his small village. He never did return home, setting up a life in Mar del Plata with his four children, but Ischia and the people of his past remained a part of his life through his modest remittances.[128] Lastly, remittances could effect real change and create true networks of Campani. When a police barracks was built in Montesano sulla Marcellana, it was due to the millions of American dollars in remittances sent from Campani in the Americas.[129]

Immigrants from the Campania also created bonds amongst themselves by hosting formal and informal family reunions in the decades following the large influx of migration. In recent years in the small town of Lobos (located 100km from the capital city of Buenos Aires), a group of schoolteachers and professionals have begun to collect a database of surnames of Salernitani (one of the largest groups to arrive there), with the aim of creating a comprehensive list of those who settled in the small city. It is an

[127] Letter written from Buenos Aires, 26 November 1972. Author's translation. Giannino Di Stasio, *Ti sono scritto questa lettera: le lettere che gli emigrant non scriveranno più* (Milan: Gruppo Ugo Mursia Editore, 1991) 61-2.
[128] Gabriele Villa, in conversation with the author. March 2016.
[129] *Corriere degli Italiani*, 12 January 1955. The article states that among other groups of Campani, the community in Caracas, Venezuela, had raised approximately 63 million *lire* for this cause.

example of local and genealogical history, but it also points to the ways in which Campani created transnational networks in informal capacities. Sitting in on project meetings, I learned that surnames hold great significance; team members recognize names from their childhoods and can recount the connections between those in Lobos and their kin back home. Sara Sarla recounts: "Angelo Baggio, Anna's brother, was born in Piaggine and lives in São Paulo. We plan to visit him in February. […] Actually, we have not been able to establish if they come from the same line of Baggio as us… Angelo has a good memory and he thought that maybe Pietro could be a distant cousin."[130] Sara's contribution engages with family members and memories from at least three different countries (people she has never met); it establishes ties between them that directly circumvent those boundaries, and more significantly, the genealogical thread between them is not as important as the thread of kinship. Whether they hail from the same Baggio family or not, Sarla has an established and enduring relationship with the Baggio family in Brazil, and a 'family' reunion is thus planned. Similarly, Roberto Villano arrived in Buenos Aires from Torre del Greco in 1958. He explains that "when we came from Italy, there were nine of us: dad, mom, and seven siblings. Today there are 120 of us. And what will surprise you even more is that all of us get together." Although his large family is now scattered over more numerous continents, the yearly reunion serves as a method of maintaining kinship ties alive among a large group of Campani that dispersed globally.

Connections were also made in more formalized ways. Numerous cities in Campania established sister-city relationships or *gemellaggio* (twin) status with cities in the Americas. Most recently, the cities of Caserta and Niagara Falls have sought this

[130] Sara Sarla, in conversation with the author. January 2014. Author's translation.

status, which speaks to the continued presence of Campani in the Canadian town.[131] In Argentina, sister-city status was established between many localities, including the cosmopolitan centres of Buenos Aires and Naples. In fact, cities in Argentina have often been named after towns in Campania, such as the case of two cities named San Genaro in the provinces of Cordoba and Santa Fe (both named after the Neapolitan city of San Gennaro Vesuviano, but spelled with the Spanish linguistic form), and both of which maintain official relationships with their namesake abroad. But the sister-city relationship between Mar del Plata and Sorrento is noteworthy. The decades following the end of the war brought thousands of Italian immigrants into the port of Mar del Plata. Due to its expanding fishing and related industries, it became a particularly attractive site of settlement for immigrants from coastal areas such as Ischia, Capri, and the Amalfi coast. There, families tended to congregate around industries such as fishing, canning, and the coral trade, and they found welcome employment in their new home abroad, where such trades were in high demand. In 2007, the ongoing relationship of reciprocal friendship was formalized with sister-city status, and a plaque was installed in the rock face of the Marina Grande at Sorrento. The plaque depicts the fishing boats of Sorrento and the cityscape of Mar del Plata, and reads: "In memory of the many Sorrentini who sailed from here to make Mar del Plata and all of Argentina great."[132] Immigration to Mar del Plata has since come to a halt, but the legacy of those who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s has produced a vibrant and active community in Mar del Plata, one that continues to

---

[131] Radice, "Caserta: Iter gemellaggio tra la citta e Niagara Falls, centro canadese," last updated 28 September, 2016. http://www.radice.ce.it/attualita/23670-caserta-iter-gemellaggio-tra-la-citta-e-niagara-falls-centro-canadese.html.
[132] Author's own photo.

engage with the social, political, and economic world back home in Sorrento.

Figure 10. Photograph of the mural at the Marina Grande in Sorrento. Author's private collection.

Perhaps more than any other factor, the practice of local religion created a transnational network of Campani. Those who settled abroad brought with them the patron saints of their hometowns, and the rites and observances that accompanied them. Paola Antonini recalls that as a young child in Buenos Aires born to immigrant parents, saint days were far more important than birthdays: “My father’s name was Gaetano. For him, August 7, the feast day of St. Gaetano, was much more important than May 7, his birthday.”[133] Naming traditions and saint days were observed across the Atlantic dutifully: the name Gennaro, for example, after San Gennaro (St. Januarius), patron saint

[133] Paola Antonini, in conversation with the author. March 2016. Author’s translation.

of Naples, was a popular name for the offspring of Campani abroad, as it was for those who remained in Campania. This practice resulted in a network of individuals that, despite never having met, shared the same names and holidays as their kin in other parts of the world.

Campani abroad eagerly welcomed news of the processions and rites of their hometowns. The *Corriere Canadese*'s "I Nostri Santi" column ("Our Saints") was a regular feature throughout the 1950s and 1960s in Toronto, educating its readership on the lives of local saints from Campania such as San Cono Martire.[134] The newspaper also published regular updates on the yearly procession of San Gennaro in Naples, where parishioners eagerly awaited to see if the saint's blood would liquefy, signifying prosperity for the year ahead. Via the *Corriere*, Campani in Toronto could be informed, worship, and celebrate with compatriots back home.

And they did so not only vicariously through media coverage, but also by holding processions, masses, and celebrations of their own abroad. Feast days allowed Campani abroad to celebrate in tandem with their communities back home. Countless towns in Buenos Aires hosted feast day celebrations for saints from Campania. In the small town of Quilmes, for example, celebrations occurred every year to honour Sant'Antonio di Padova (Saint Anthony of Padua), patron saint of the marina in Sorrento. Celebrations lasted for days and included masses, concerts, food, and fireworks.[135]

---

[134] *Corriere Canadese*, 31 May 1957 and 2 June 1959.
[135] *Corriere degli Italiani*, 25 October 1963.

Figure 11. "*Caronitesi* celebrate the feast of San Gennaro." Source: *Corriere degli Italiani* 27 September 1963.

Perhaps the largest patron saint celebration took place in the city of Buenos Aires itself, in the San Telmo neighbourhood. San Telmo had long been an inviting area for new immigrants, particularly for the produce sellers and fishermen from Naples and its surrounding areas. Immigrants settled around the existing parish, where they were welcome and invited to venerate the patron saints of their hometowns. With the permission of the parish, Campani began to contribute the iconography of their patron saint, bringing paintings, statuettes, and anything they had from home to represent Sant'Anna (St. Anna). By February 1953, parishioners had collected enough funds from families and businesses that an identical replica of the statue of Sant'Anna in Sorrento was commissioned for the local community of San Telmo.[136] The replica continues to be displayed every 26 July during the procession of Sant'Anna, a feast that travels the streets of the neighbourhood and inevitably ends with traditional Neapolitan songs sung in the

[136]Ernesto Salvia, *San Telmo: La Iglesia en el Barrio* (Buenos Aires: Lumen, 2009) 287-9.

public square. Such feasts occurred across countless large and small cities, and provided one more way for Campani abroad to maintain connections not only to family back home in Campania, but to join other Campani the world over in sharing their collective celebrations.

More recently, technological developments in digital communication and social media have contributed to a more connected network of globally dispersed Campani. They have created digital spaces, independent of placehood, that serve as 'homes' for a communal identity. One such home is the modest blog *Eleventh Stack*, run by a large group of librarians based in the United States. In 2009, the blog published a post detailing a staff member's recent trip to southern Italy to the small village of her ancestors. The piece was titled "I Left My Heart in Piaggine." What followed may have surprised the blogger, since it was hardly the intent of her post. Ninety-four people responded to the post (and the number continues to grow), far and above one of the most popular posts on the site, and a far cry from the usual 2-3 comments received on other posts on the same site. The response came not from avid readers or even fans of the blog. They came instead from the many of immigrants from the tiny village of Piaggine, and the descendants they produced all over the Americas, particularly in the United States and Canada.

These people are not lost. They lead daily lives in different places around the world. They do not yearn to be back in Piaggine. Most of them know very well that the town they left over fifty years ago is not the town that exists today. Some have even visited it again and have observed how much things have changed. They do not yearn for

home in Piaggine, but they do yearn for some semblance of community, and in this post, they have found it. The posts on the website are telling of a mythical 'home space':

> Commenter: My name is Nicola Vairo, I have a feeling that I know you and that you know me.
> Response: I Knew a Nicola Vairo back in the Bronx . Are you the same person. Your brother Alfonso was a hairdresser
> Commenter: Hi Angelica, yes I am the person who lived in the Bronx and my Brothers name is Alfonso and he is a hairdresser. […] I am honored that you remember me. Ciao.
> Response: HI Nicola, What a small world we live in. Yes you know my mom and dad. […] How is your brother Alfonso? Please give him my regards and Buon Natale a tuttti. [sic][137]

Something similar happened not long after that post was published. In January 2011, a man from Piaggine wrote a comment on the Eleventh Stack blog, announcing that the Municipality of Piaggine, headed by then mayor Angelo Ciniello, was launching a three-pronged project honouring Piaggine emigration. The project would 1) produce a customized social network of Piagginesi in the world; 2) it would create a museum of Piagginesi migration; and 3) it would hold an event dedicated to Piagginesi migrants in the fall of that year. The first aim, a social network of Piagginesi, is most relevant here.

Today, the website *chiainarinelmondo.org* does just that. It is a 'home space' for people who have left the village of Piaggine, or whose family did so many years ago. There, people can contribute their life stories, their photographs, and their memories. It is a small virtual museum of migrant memory, completely self-made and self-preserved for and by Piagginesi around the world.[138] Examples such as the *Eleventh Stack* blog and the *chiainarinelmondo.org* website serve to illustrate the ways in which transnational

[137] "I Left My Heart in Piaggine" *Eleventh Stack*, 9 November 2009 (http://eleventhstack.wordpress.com/2009/11/09/i-left-my-heart-in-piaggine/#comment-17812).
[138] Chiainari nel Mondo, last modified 2011, http://www.chiainarinelmondo.it/, accessed November 6, 2014.

networks of kinship and memory can be mobilized to create community institutions with real effects and enduring connections.

Certainly, Campani are conscious of the well-established geographical notions which historians use: they are well aware of nation-state boundaries such as Canada and Argentina, as well as regional concepts, such as Naples, or South America. They knew how to manoeuvre their lives around these entities, and as such, historians could comfortably write about their lives within that framework. Certainly, too, some formalized institutions such as community associations did exist to bring Campani together.

But to focus on this would be to ignore the plethora of other constructs by which Campani lived their lives. Their lives were transnational in many ways. The family ties, traditions, and even memories of Campani were forged across and throughout the boundaries we have traditionally studied. Borders were circumvented and existing concepts of placehood were problematized by informal networks that were fundamentally transnational in nature. Through these networks, Campani developed and exerted their ethnic identity.

Chapter 3: Hybridized Femininities

Family reunification schemes in Ontario and Buenos Aires, combined with the prevalence of revitalized chain migration links, meant that postwar migration was characterized by a large proportion of young women and children joining their husbands and fathers abroad. Women were a vital component of the postwar immigration experience, and they heavily influenced the creation and maintenance of transnational networks of Campani. Campane navigated this transnational network as gendered subjects, and the unique experiences that they faced coloured their ideas of ethnicity differently than their male counterparts. They employed methods such as Susan Ireland's *lignée de femmes* (explored below) to navigate their new realities and to engage with family traditions as a means of ethnic identity formation. Migration produced an enormous shift in the identities of Campane, and their testimonies in both sites of settlement speak to the significance and evolution of their identities as workers, as mothers, and as female bodies. This chapter argues that despite their central role within the immigration experience and its resulting transnational networks, women's unique experiences as gendered subjects and immigrants are often overlooked by dominant narratives. The chapter thus explores how networks of transmission work within this category of analysis.

For the countless Campane who followed the sun to settle in the Americas, migration represented an enormous shift in (or a downright upheaval of) the values, customs, and norms by which their identities as females were governed. Settlement in Canada and in Argentina introduced these women to fundamentally different ideals of

how to comport themselves as workers, as mothers, and even as women. Upon arrival, these women would be forced to reconcile the dissimilar value structures that now encompassed their lives and their identities. Ultimately, these women formed and navigated hybridized identities within a transnational network that included their places of origin and settlement, but that also engaged with other nodal spaces of Campani abroad. This chapter reflects on the ways in which women as workers, as mothers, and as physical and aesthetic beings, experienced immigration and the evolution of female ethnic identity.

It relies primarily on oral testimonies from Campane who immigrated to Canada and Argentina, women who range in age from young adults to senior citizens. Many of their experiences are mutual, as will be explored here, and yet they are also unique in their own ways. The women from the Campania vary drastically in their experiences: some emigrated from urban centres where they worked in the service or industrial sectors; others from the rural fields of the small villages near Salerno and Avellino, where they worked in the fishing industry, on farms, or shepherding animals. Some women stayed in Italy while their partners travelled abroad (some did so often, others permanently); other women traveled to Canada as single young women with parents and siblings, or as young women leaving boyfriends or fiancés behind in Italy. Others still arrived at radically different stages of life, either as young children or old women joining adult sons or daughters. Most of the women who lived within migrant networks followed this pattern: as young, married adults, and often with children, they joined their partners in a New World and embarked on a new life which was, in many ways, foreign to what they had known back home.

The chapter draws on the whole of the interviews to understand the ways in which work, motherhood, and female physicality permeate the conscious, subconscious, re-lived, and re-imagined life of Campane. In doing so, it is interested in exploring the ways in which the performance of these themes and the memory of them play a part in immigrant narratives.[139] It is also sensitive to Maria Parrino's reminder that

> In the narrations of women [as opposed to those of men], the need to affirm one's own individuality as the condition necessary for writing the story of a self is less pressing. […] As Susan Friedman suggests in a recent essay, 'the emphasis on individualism as the necessary precondition for autobiography is […] a reflection of privilege, one that excludes from the canons of autobiography those writers who have been denied by history the illusion of individualism'.[140]

This chapter seeks to unearth the ways in which women remember and discuss their immigration experiences, and in doing so, it hopes to breathe life into the testimonies of an oft-neglected group of immigrants. The chapter will also explore the ways in which these themes were discussed in the popular media consumed by the women in question, and the extent to which messages of female work, motherhood, and beauty in media representations differed from the narratives of the women themselves.

In doing so, Patricia Smart's literary concept of the "Father's House," which she describes as a male-dominated family and corresponding patriarchal system, is challenged here. Susan Ireland explains that "works portraying Italian women immigrants frequently evoke the concept of the House and the position of several generations of women within it, examining both the legacy of the father, and the nature of the bonds that

---

[139] For more on this, see Alexander Freund, *Identity in Immigration: Self-Conceptualization and Myth in the Narratives of German Immigrant Women in Vancouver, B.C., 1950-1960* (MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1994).

[140] Maria Parrino, "Breaking the Silence: Autobiographies of Italian Immigrant Women," *Storia Nordamericana* 5, 2 (1988) 139-140.

link the women in the family."[141] In opposition to the Father's House, Ireland employs the concept of a *lignée de femmes*, a reaction that evokes the legacy of the father while acknowledging the bonds of women around that system. The *lignée de femmes* implies a line of women stretching across generations, countries, and often social classes; it is a dynamic collection of women and a private sphere in which knowledge, information, and customs are transferred. Where the term *lignée de femmes* can be used to explain the relationships formed across different generations in Italian family networks, it becomes more significant within the context of chain migration, a process whereby kinship networks (and specifically, networks of women) are strengthened and challenged repeatedly and extensively.[142]

For women living in the Campania region, migration was not an uncommon concept: it was one that was very much present in the lives of most Italians. Temporary employment in Germany, Switzerland, and elsewhere within Europe was a popular option among men (often working in construction) and women (in service and garment industries). Migration to the Americas (both permanent and sojourning) had long been a possibility for Campani looking to improve their conditions. In any or many of these ways, the majority of Campani were directly acquainted with the concept of migration. Of course, this was not unique to people from Campania, since Italian women from other regions (and immigrant women from countless other countries) experienced migration as

---

[141] Susan Ireland, "Textualizing the Experience of Italian Women Immigrants" in *Textualizing the Immigrant Experience in Contemporary Quebec*, eds. Susan Ireland and Patrice J. Proulx (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2004) 99.
[142] The *lignée de femmes* is often directly present in the interview process. Maria Saccomando Coppola recounts that during her fieldwork collecting interviews with Italian women, "I was never alone with a narrator, even though I had asked for *personal* interviews. Present in the room was always a mother, sister, daughter, cousin, or woman friend. I would ask to be alone with the interviewee, and she would agree, but her idea of being alone and mine were not the same. I resisted making an issue about it because I felt it was part of the local women's culture, that is, that women would always be accompanied by other women." Maria Saccomando Coppola, "Breaking the Code of Silence Woman to Woman," In Luisa Del Giudice, ed. *Oral History, Oral Culture, and Italian Americans* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 60.

a *de facto* part of their lives as well. Due to Campani's heavy reliance on the transnational family network, however, Campane may have relied more deeply on the *lignée de femmes* than other Italian or immigrant women who had access to more organized resources, like regional associations. This is not to say that other Italian or immigrant women did not rely on the *lignée de femmes*; in fact, the concepts explored below are far from unique to Campani, and they are noteworthy in part because of the ways that women often forged connections with other Italian or immigrant women based on their shared female experiences rather than regional ties. This is certainly an area worthy of further study. It is worth noting that none of the women cited here demonstrated any knowledge of formalized regional institutions, nor did they personally identify or define themselves using the term Campane. The chapter does not seek to explain how the experiences of Campane were distinct from other ethnic groups; it simply sheds light on the ways in which the feminine experience was a significant component of ethnic identity expression in a case study of Campani, one often overlooked or undervalued when studying ethnic identity formation as a whole.

Linda Reeder explains that for young women who migrated after the war, increasingly modernized and educated and exposed to a new and so-called progressive culture, "the older women draped in black" of the Old World were considered "extraneous to historical change."[143] The stark differences between the social customs of the Old World compared to those of the New World would inevitably create a rift between those who had experienced both and those who had but seen the former. The persistence of the *lignée de femmes* throughout as intense an experience as migration, and

[143] Linda Reeder, *Widows in White: Migration and the Transformation of Rural Italian Women, Sicily, 1880-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003) 16.

the social and cultural changes immigration introduced to and imposed on women, caused significant tension between subsequent generations of Italian Canadians and their kinfolk back in Italy. Lastly, the concept of the *lignée de femmes* was propagated in subsequent generations of Italian Canadians and Argentines as questions of ethnicity and identity, as well as the cohabitation of two different sets of customs, consumed first-, second-, and third-generation Italians and resulted in an invigorating and challenging discussion and scholarship.[144] The challenges of accessing the *lignée de femmes* in a project such as this one are significant. As scholars have long noted, “women's conversations are ubiquitous but almost inaudible.”[145] By its nature, the *lignée de femmes* is an incredibly private space, and access into it is not granted easily, if at all. As a contrast to Parrino’s reflection on individuality, the *lignée de femmes* instead speaks to a collective, a uniformity that denotes identification. Whereas men might look to individuality to recount their immigrant testimony, women frame their narratives around the communal nature of their ‘line’, and such an intensely private line may not be readily shared with someone outside of the group of members, such as a researcher.

The *lignée de femmes* is employed to contextualize the narratives of the women cited here. In questions of female work and migration, for example, it provides an illuminating perspective. Despite traditional tropes of women occupying the private, domestic sphere, for Campane, work was a pervasive part of the immigrant experience. As Franca Iacovetta has noted, aside from the wealth of unpaid and informal jobs that women performed from inside the home, immigrant women “provided low-paid,

[144] Much has been written about and by subsequent generations of Italian Canadians and Italian Americans. With respect to Canadians, noteworthy works include: Nzula Angelina Ciatu, Domenica Dileo and Gabriella Micallef, eds, *Curaggia: Writing By Women of Italian Descent* (Toronto: Women’s Press, 1998), and Susan Ireland and Patrice J. Proulx, eds., *Textualizing the Immigrant Experience in Contemporary Quebec* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2004).
[145] Susan Cotts Watkins & Angela D. Danzi, “Women’s Gossip and Social Change: Childbirth and Fertility Control among Italian and Jewish Women in the United States,” *Gender & Society*, 9, 4 (1995) 469.

unskilled, and semi-skilled female labour in industry. With the approval of employers who considered them hard-working and docile, Toronto's Italian women figured prominently in the city's postwar female immigrant workplaces. Their jobs included garment homework, operating steampresses, sewing, and novelty-making machines, packaging, bottling and labelling, laundry work, and domestic service."[146] Allegra Spinelli recounts that when her aunt first moved to Toronto from Salerno, work was a natural part of the process: "When they first came in 1961, […] she had to go pull weeds in farms. She said, 'I left my own country, to come to another country to do this.' And then she went to work in a factory. Her mother taught her, you have to do whatever you need"[147] (Note that it is the *mother* to whom is attributed this morality tale, an example of the *lignée de femmes* in practice). Women found work wherever they could: Amalia Campi's grandmother arrived in the 1950s with two young children, but she swiftly found a job at the Maple Leaf Foods meatpacking factory. She had never worked in Italy, but upon immigrating, employment became inevitable.[148] Pietro Olivieri recalls that as a young man, "it was pretty easy. I was the youngest of three siblings. And my oldest sister, she was 16, and she had already gone to work. She had already contributed to the household. And then my middle sister, […] she had to go to work as well. I was the fortunate one. I went to high school."[149] In contrast to their male counterpart, it was expected that Olivieri's sisters would contribute to the family economy through employment in their new home in Toronto. The experiences of Campane were often guided by the *lignée de femmes*, as Spinelli indicates above. When Sara Sarla's parents

[146] Iacovetta, Franca. "From Contadina to Worker." *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992. 77-102. 93.
[147] Allegra Spinelli, in conversation with the author. May 2013 and November 2014.
[148] Amalia Campi, in conversation with the author. December 2014.
[149] Pietro Olivieri, in conversation with the author. May 2015.

arrived in Buenos Aires, her mother found work as a seamstress: “My grandmother sewed. Mom too. And then I learned to sew. My mother became a dressmaker. She designed and made dresses. I also learned enough to make evening dresses, but she did that as a living.”[150] For Sarla, work was something to cherish, a prized expertise passed down from one generation to the next, a gift to be valued and used.

Despite the ubiquity of female work, it often occupied a distinct role in the family unit: income generated by women workers was allotted to the house and to the children exclusively, and her schedule and rhythms of work were expected to be more flexible to bend around the family’s needs. Women’s work fit into the Italian family economy: Angelo Casale recalls that “we economized a lot. We ate what we grew in the ground. The woman worked on Spadina, […] and the money she brought home went towards the mortgage.”[151] In Buenos Aires, Paola Antonini’s mother took up work as soon as she arrived, as a shift worker at the same clothing factory as her husband: “She began to work at the same factory as my dad and my uncle. They tried to always get opposing shifts, for my brother [who was an infant at the time]. And in between, he would stay with the neighbour for a few hours. And that’s how they got by for some time.” As the children got older, Antonini’s mother stopped working, and “she started working from home. I remember as a young girl, my mom was always beside a sewing machine. She made sweaters, working for a boutique.”[152] For Mrs. Antonini and many other Campane in the Americas, work was a pervasive part of the immigrant experience, one shaped by the rhythms and schedules of the family unit.

---

[150] Sara Sarla, in conversation with the author. January 2014. Author’s translation.
[151] Angelo Casale, in conversation with the author. August 2014. Author’s translation.
[152] Paola Antonini, in conversation with the author. March 2016. Author’s translation.

Campane also used work as a means of accessing a social sphere that would have otherwise been unavailable to them, one that often provided a welcome respite from the demands of the domestic sphere. For others, these social spheres may not have been actively sought out, but were nevertheless introductions to New World values that they slowly appropriated or adapted into their own female identities. In his study on Italians on strike during the 1960s, Robert Ventresca challenges traditional gender roles within the context of the strikes. He explains that they "enjoyed participating in a female occupational culture – with women working side by side, sharing jokes, often about foremen or their husbands, exchanging gossip, recipes, and advice about marriage, child-rearing, women's health and sex."[153] In Buenos Aires and in Ontario, most narrators recall the prized relationships they formed with other women on their street or at work, boasting that those relationships have lasted over fifty years.[154] These relationships fostered the private sphere of the *lignée de femmes* by giving immigrant women networks in which to disseminate, engage in, and exchange information, advice, and opinions unique to the feminine experience.

In addition to the formation of social relationships with other women (often other immigrant women), working outside the home allowed immigrant women to "navigate the city [and] learn some English-language skills, both in Canada (the first example) and in Argentina (the second example):"[155]

Amalia Campi: My *nonna* worked far from where she lived. She had to take the subway, a number of

[153] Robert A. Ventresca, "Cowering Women, Combative Men?: Femininity, Masculinity, and Ethnicity on Strike in Two Southern Ontario Towns, 1964-1966" in *Labour/Le Travail* 39 (1997) 132.
[154] See, for example: Anna Vinci, Annamaria Briganti, Adriana DiPaola, in conversation with the author. January 2014 to December 2015.
[155] Vincenzo Pietropaolo, *Not Paved With Gold: Italian-Canadian Immigrants in the 1970s* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006) 7.

buses… She really had to get around on her own.[156]

Enzo Sacco: At the playground [my mother] met another woman who also had a young daughter. They became the best of friends. […] This friend would take her to the movies, so she could learn Spanish. […] They would travel together with their young daughters, and that's how my mother started learning the language.[157]

Work and the social spheres Campane created with other working women allowed them, as Vincenzo Pietropaolo notes, a "degree of independence and involvement that could not have been possible for these women in the isolated villages and towns where they had been born" and thus reflected a new, deliberately created and hybridized immigrant identity.[158]

Many women's testimonies of work life strongly corroborate Alexander Freund and Laura Quilici's study of the "Strong Lady Myth." Developed as a study of women who kept boarding houses in North America, Freund and Quilici found that in interviews, these women consistently emphasized their strength against the challenges of work and the demands placed upon them. The authors consider this a contestation of the "dominant ideals of immigrant women as passive and submissive."[159] Since they worked largely under their own management and strongly contested socially acceptable ideals of femininity, boarding-house keepers found their work to represent an active way of rewriting the legacy that had been imposed upon them in the Old World. Examples of the "Strong Lady Myth" abound in the testimonies of Campane, and are notably centred overwhelmingly on work life.

---

[156] Amalia Campi, in conversation with the author. December 2014.
[157] Enzo Sacco, in conversation with the author. February 2016. Author's translation.
[158] Pietropaolo, *Not Paved With Gold*, 7.
[159] Alexander Freund and Laura Quilici, "Exploring Myths in Women's Narratives: Italian and German Immigrant Women in Vancouver, 1947-1961," in *Oral History Review* 23, 2 (1996) 34.

> My parents were in a severe car accident when I was 13 years old. […] My grandmother said: "we have to pay the bills here, and we have to eat." [… She] had her hand in everything. […] I lost my father at 13 years of age in an accident. […He] had a brick oven. I went, at 13 years old, to tell the foreman that we had to continue working in order to pay the bills. […] I remember the piles of bricks. I didn't have a clue what they were, how to work there… But I kept working and I continue to work to this day.[160]

> My mother started at the lingerie company back in the day, and evolved into a sewing room supervisor of 200 women. That's years of evolution, and no education. Everything was hands-on knowledge through the years. She progressed. When she retired, the owner closed the factory.[161]

Curiously, these narratives of female strength and endurance were not replicated in the media's representation of female labour. In fact, very different discussions of work and womanhood occurred in popular media. The *Corriere Degli Italiani*, Argentina's leading Italian-language newspaper, provides an interesting sample. From romanticized idyllic images of frontierswomen at the hip of the menfolk (in a tribute titled "An Homage to Italian Immigrant Women") to concerned reports on the declining number of workers in Italy ("Rates of Working Women Decrease in Italy"), the conversation around women workers was wholly unrepresentative of the pervasive and complex nature of this relationship.[162] It is a testament to the primacy of work in the life of Campane that in old age, their testimonies around work life are well honed and easily remembered. Most interviewed women spoke of themselves as 'strong ladies' with respect to their professional achievements, and so it is clear that work, for these women, held great value and became an integral part of how they remembered their immigrant experience. The gaps in this myth and in this construction of memory are significant. Whereas work is

[160] Sara Sarla, in conversation with the author. January 2014. Author's translation.
[161] Fabia Morello, in conversation with the author. November 2014.
[162] *Corriere Degli Italiani*, 15 January 1955; 17 October 1958.

often easily recounted and publicly discussed with the researcher, more private areas of female life, notably the experience of motherhood and the effects of migration upon it, did not rely on the same constructs (such as the 'Strong Lady Myth') as patterns of work and socialization. Instead, discussions and reflections on motherhood stirred up very different ideas of womanhood and immigration.

Narratives about motherhood are not formulated or remembered in women's testimonies with the same lucidity as those about work. In many ways, these are what can be called forgotten narratives. In interviews, men tend to skirt over the experiences of motherhood and maternity of their wives, and women, despite the centrality of motherhood in their own narrative, tend to do the same. The narratives that are shared with the interviewer are generally testimonies that have been developed over decades of telling and retelling; they include both epic stories and strategic gaps. Overwhelmingly among both men and women, motherhood and maternity tend to be one of these gaps.

The same women who one minute discuss their status as workers with pride, the next minute cannot remember how they managed to serve as mothers and as workers simultaneously. When asked a simple question, such as "who watched the children while you worked?" most women are at a loss for words. In her testimony, Cecilia Alba recounts her experiences juggling the management of a cheese shop and a one year-old son:

> Interviewer: So you were managing the shop, you had kids at home. Did you have help?
> Cecilia: No. At that time I was young. I didn't need help… My mother, she helped a lot.[163]

Adriana and Goffredo DiPaola share similar memories:

---

[163] Cecilia Alba, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

Interviewer:	When you came here, you had two young children. And you both went to work right away. And then when you had a third, your parents came.
Adriana:	Yeah. When I had my young one, *my mom* came.
Goffredo:	Her mother, her father, they come over here. They stay in my house. They watch the kids. My wife go to work.[164]

Cecilia and Adriana's testimonies are good examples of this forgotten narrative. Cecilia spends much of it struggling to remember how she handled children and maternity, although concerns such as work, the journey over, and the early days of settlement are answered readily and wholly. At the same time, both testimonies present the ubiquity of maternity through the role of the woman's own mother. Although Cecilia insists that no one helped her, the help she received from her own mother was perhaps so ingrained and so expected that it was not noted as an exceptional or even noteworthy element in her immigrant story, a good example of the *lignée de femmes* in practice. For Adriana, it was her mother's arrival that was significant, although her husband clarifies that her father was there as well. This pattern is repeated for most of the women interviewed: whereas most of them experienced motherhood around the same time as migration, the challenges and the intersections between these two life events is often an unformed narrative, one that, without fail, returns to the role of the woman's own mother in the immigrant experience.[165]

Scholars have long written about Italian culture as strictly paternalistic or patriarchal, and in many ways, this approach is upheld in the narratives explored here.

[164] Adriana and Goffredo DiPaola, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

[165] Anna Vinci's observation is significant here: "My mother died when I was 8 years old. So I suffered. And when your mother isn't there… My father loved me very much, but… a man is always a man, you know? It's quite another story when one doesn't have her mother." Anna Vinci, in conversation with the author. December 2015.

Once again, Patricia Smart's concept of the Father's House is a useful construct. But there are more complex subcultures happening around a supposedly paternalistic or patriarchal structure, and the *lignée de femmes* is a useful way of accessing these subcultures. The lives of immigrant women were governed by patriarchal rules, but the actions these women undertook point to ways they (knowingly or not) subverted existing ideologies. Freund and Quilici explain: "Women, like men, are expected to conform to a gender norm which is largely prescribed. But part of what it means to be 'womanly' is to submit to a social system which often does not uphold women's interests. To resolve this contradiction and adapt to the society in which they live, women learn at an early age about how to conform to and oppose the conditions that limit their freedom.[166] Women used "informal mechanisms of persuasion" to exert their opinions within a patriarchal family structure:[167]

> Daniele DiMaro: I think my mother was fed up with being alone. […] Fed up being in a town which was my father's town. […] She sort of was losing control of everything. And I think the option of coming to Canada had always been open. She had never wanted to come here. And that's how, at a certain point, she said 'yeah, we'll go to Canada, and check it out.' And that's how we came to Canada.[168]

> Cecilia Alba: I went to high school one year only, and then I retired. I wanted to do something else, but my father, he didn't want [me to] go to another city. So I said forget it. I don't want to do what you want, I want to do whatever I like. So I decided to stop.[169]

[166] Freund and Quilici, "Exploring Myths," 40.
[167] Franca Iacovetta, "From *Contadina* to Worker: Southern Italian Immigrant Working Women in Toronto, 1947-62" in *Looking Into My Sister's Eyes: An Exploration in Women's History*, edited by Jean Burnet (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986) 204.
[168] Daniele Dimaro, in conversation with the author. June 2014.
[169] Cecilia Alba, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

Adriana DiPaola:	When he came to Canada, I [was] living there [in Italy] with two kids. Alone. It was hard.
Daughter:	She didn't know if she was going to see him you know?
Adriana:	I said to him, you stay there, I come over there, I want to eat bread and onions. Or I won't come there!
Interviewer:	You wanted to come?
Daughter:	She said, I'll come. Even if I have to starve. Even if I have to live on onions and bread! I'm coming.[170]

Consistently, the immigration narratives of Campane display subversion against structures of patriarchy. Some women did this by taking advantage of immigrant aid organizations, by challenging fathers or husbands, or simply by using more subtle mechanisms to exert dominance. Although these practices were not always conscious and may not have been considered acts of rebellion for the women undertaking them, they are embedded subconsciously in the narratives of most women studied here, and thus can be seen as an important part of the Campane's experience.

Can Italian culture be considered a matrilineal one then? The testimonies of Campane explored here gravitate around three dominant themes: authority, spirituality, and myth-making. Although women undoubtedly adopted maternal roles (including with husbands and other kin), these roles do not often play a strong part in women's immigrant testimonies, or are altogether subconscious. Their roles as keepers of tradition, for example, although not featured in their narratives, are woven throughout the testimony. In interviews with men, women are often relied on to remember or correct information that the man may have forgotten or remembered incorrectly.

Daniele Colombo:	Italy surrendered in 19...
Gia Colombo:	1945.
Daniele:	1945. I was…

[170] Adriana DiPaola, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

Gia:	22 years old.
Daniele:	22 years old. I don't remember.[171]
Paolo Sofia:	I was 17 years and 7 months old when I came to Argentina—
Wife:	15 years old.
Paolo:	Right, 15 years and 7 months. It was 1949. July 1st, 1949. 17 years—
Wife:	15 years.
Paolo:	Right, 15 years old, I arrived.[172]

Women exerted control over their families and their domain in subtle ways. Cecilia Alba recounts that when she finally agreed to travel to Canada with her young son, she did so on her own terms. Although her husband had traveled to Canada numerous times before and was anxious to settle there, she insisted that her cheese shop in Italy stay open while she was away, and she demanded a six-month stay as a trial run; "When I liked it, we decided to stay." The authority of women throughout the immigration experience (or what they perceived as authority, which, for the purposes of this chapter, carries equal weight) was exerted in a variety of ways. Major family decisions were often credited to the husband, but in conversation, the influence of women is palpable. Angelo Casale recalls that when he worked as a salesman at an important furniture store in the Corso Italia neighbourhood of Toronto, the strong influence of the woman of the family was undeniable:

> She would come by the store on Friday to look at what she would want to buy: a dresser, a refrigerator, a television set, or whatever. She came, she liked something, that was it. When she found out I spoke Italian, she would tell me, 'I come back tomorrow.' She would return. Once she had chosen, the husband came and paid the next day.[173]

[171] Daniele and Gia Colombo, in conversation with the author. January 2014.
[172] Paolo Sofia, in conversation with the author. March 2016. Author's translation.
[173] Angelo Casale, in conversation with the author. August 2014.

Angelo's wife Mia explains that this authority was borne of years of independence before immigration: "Many of these women had spent so many years with their husbands away at war. But they had to continue on in the fields, at home maintaining the family." In momentous occasions, it was often the woman who had the authority to control the sequence of events:

> Interviewer: He asked you to marry him?
> Daughter: Mom was going, 'hmm, I don't want to get married yet'.
> Adriana DiPaola: No, I was too young. I was 16. I was too young. I say no. […] Six years engaged! I was too young, 16. I married at 22. [First] he went to the army. Then [I had] to wait until he came back. And then we married.
> Goffredo: I suffered for six years.
> Daughter: You held hope for six years!
> Adriana: Hoping, hoping, hoping…[174]

> Paola Antonini: [For the feast days,] we would all go to my godmother's house, and everyone had roles. My godmother was the one who slaughtered the pig. She was a woman. No man slaughtered the pig like her. And no man would have dared to take the knife from her hand and say it was his turn. In fact I remember waiting at home for my godmother to arrive. Nothing got underway until she arrived. She came with her own knife, sharpened it… what a woman. She was short, plump. Imagine it.

Campane exerted authority over decisions in their own lives, and in those of their closest kin. These decision-makers did not necessarily challenge the domestic roles by which they lived, but their authority as mothers and as women was highly respected regardless.

For most women, authority was not exerted in traditional ways. Instead, they found more modest ways of challenging the status quo. In a conversation about sayings or beliefs passed down from previous generations (and notably, not guided by the

[174] Adriana and Goffredo DiPaola, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

interviewer on the subject matter), Fabia Morello explains that the sayings that she retained from her childhood were those about motherhood and fertility:

> When I was pregnant, my mother was sewing and the cord of the sewing machine was across the room. So I went over it, and she said, 'No! Don't cross the cord! The [umbilical] cord of the baby is going to go around the neck! You don't do that!' And I said 'Ok Ma, don't worry, I'm going backwards, it's going to undo it. Okay, Ma?' […] And then also, you don't do the tomato jars if you have your period, you don't do anything if you have your period. Because everything will be garbage. It'll all go to waste. […] You can't do wine, you can't do sausages, anything. Any preserves. Anything that has to be preserved, or ferments-- you have a chemical imbalance with your touch, your hormones. They say that chemical imbalance does something to the food. So every time they had to do the jars I was on my period again! I'm out! She goes, 'you're doing this on purpose!'[175]

Morello's testimony is interesting: the sayings she heard from her *lignée de femmes* were clearly of some importance to her, since they are present in her mind and in her memory, and form a connection between herself, her child, and her mother simultaneously. The testimony is also significant because it is a distinct example of how women manipulated the passed-down customs they valued to exert control over their own bodies and lives. By using the excuse that she was menstruating, Morello avoided working on projects which she dreaded, and by improvising a 'rewind' feature on her mother's concern about the baby's umbilical cord, she demonstrated not only her respect for the tradition, but also her determination to manipulate it as needed and not let it affect her life more than she deemed appropriate.

The myth making of maternal instincts gave intrinsic authority to the women who abided by them, and it seems that most Campane did in some way. When Adriana DiPaola's daughter was two years old, for example, she still had not said a word. The

[175] Fabia Morello, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

doctor recommended that Adriana see a specialist in Rome. Adriana insisted that she knew best and that her daughter would talk when she was ready: "Everybody was worried, because she was two years [old] and she didn't talk the way she [was] supposed to. They said that maybe I [should] take her to Rome […] and the specialist [could] see what to do. I talked to the doctor and I said, 'Don't worry about it, she will talk well. Soon, she will talk.' It was like that. She didn't go to Rome."[176] She considers this a success in her narrative, using her role as mother as inherently more 'expert' than the Roman specialist.

Although themes of motherhood and maternity are not a prevalent element in the testimonies of Campane, and although the narratives around these issues are not well developed in their memories when asked outright by the interviewer, it is clear that myths and memories of motherhood, when they are developed in conversation or occur spontaneously in the testimony, are often interpreted as success stories. In some ways, Campane do mimic the 'Strong Lady Myth' in their discussion of motherhood to highlight the ways in which they overcame challenge or adversity to yield good, strong, healthy children:

> Annamaria Briganti: I've done a bit of everything. I've worked outside the home, and always at home. I have the garden I built with my husband, our home. I had two daughters. Five grandchildren. Six great-grandchildren. There are a lot of us.[177]
>
> Roberto Villano: Much of my time was dedicated to—I dedicated very little to the family. Thankfully I had a partner that helped

[176] Adriana DiPaola, in conversation with the author. November 2014.
[177] Annamaria Briganti, in conversation with the author. January 2014. Author's translation.

me a lot with the kids. I show up at home at night. She's always there.[178]

Goffredo DiPaola: When I called my wife over, I prepared the house, fridge, everything. When she arrived, she said], 'Oh! Now I like to cook! In *this* house!'

Adriana DiPaola: In Italy, it was wet, [there was] smoke in the kitchen, it was awful. When I came here, he turned the key, I started to cook. 'Oh! Now I can cook!' What fun! I feel like a millionaire!' Oh, I felt like a queen.[179]

In this last example, domestic *commodità* (domestic comfort and the household commodities it affords), were seen as "a step towards emancipation," therefore it is logical that immigration, which made a reality of this 'domestic *commodità'* fantasy, was a step towards an emancipated identity.[180] The popular media of the time capitalized on this expertly, with advertisements extolling the virtues of rest and leisure as benchmarks of success for Americanized women.[181] Women such as Sara Franceschetti deeply felt the shift that this *commodita* afforded. Writing to her sister in Italy in 1957, Sara expressed this drastic lifestyle change:

> Life here involves eating, sleeping and doing those odd household chores, not too many because the water is available inside the home, [and] the laundry machine does the laundry in half an hour. There is ironing and making supper, while the bread and groceries are delivered to the home. I don't need firewood for the kitchen, as everything is run by oil, even that kind of work is spared. All day I knit sweaters, I've started knitting some even for others, that's why I asked you for the magazines because I didn't bring any with me from Italy, not even one. I'm also widening my skirts and slips as none of my dresses fit me anymore, and I sleep

[178] Roberto Villano, in conversation with the author. March 2016. Author's translation.
[179] Adriana and Goffredo DiPaola, in conversation with the author. November 2014.
[180] Sonia Cancian, *Families, Lovers, and their Letters: Italian Postwar Migration to Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010) 95.
[181] *Corriere Degli Italiani*, 18 June 1954.

every day from eight in the evening to nine in the morning. This is my life in Canada.[182]

Unlike Franceschetti's rare letter, motherhood, maternity, and domestic life are not generally treated as significant topics in the narratives of Campani (both men and women). In fact, they are usually forgotten narratives that must be recovered by the interviewer or pieced together from suggestions or undeveloped streams of consciousness. Nevertheless, it is clear with some digging that these themes are not only pervasive in the experiences of immigration of Campane, but that they are accompanied by myths and lenses of success, authority, and a uniquely female legacy.

Figure 12. "You Rest Twice as Much!" Advertisement for Duplex washing machines. Source: *Corriere degli Italiani* 18 June 1954.

[182] Cancian, *Families, Lovers, and their Letters*, 93-4.

In popular culture, the concept of motherhood was reflected in very different ways. Icons of sex and glamour, such as Sofia Loren and Gina Lollobrigida, continued to gain approval via their potential and success as mothers. Italian-language newspapers abounded with images and headlines of these film superstars, and the focus on their viability as mothers was never far from the public eye. The American icon Rita Hayworth, for example, drew intense critical press from the Italian dailies when she divorced her husband with two small children in tow.[183] The parallels between the quintessential American superstar and the concept of divorce underlined the division between these ideals and those of the Italian woman, who was hard-working, loyal, and above all, always present for her family.

Displays of maternity in the press also highlighted the tensions between ideas of motherhood and Italianness. Whereas Lollobrigida represented a unified, overarching Italianness that represented the peninsula abroad, Loren was problematic. She was, in her mannerisms, her language, and her cultural cache, a Neapolitan through and through. Although she may have seemed Italian to Argentines and Canadians alike, to the Italian press abroad, she would always be 'La Napoletana'. Lollobrigida's turn as a mother came with thorough celebration: her destiny fulfilled as a good Italian woman, the more sexualized roles of her youth and her flirty public persona gave way to a more private, noble one.[184] Loren, on the other hand, handled her public shift into motherhood differently. Her sex appeal never wavered, nor did her jet-set lifestyle or her active participation in the booming film industry of the time, both in Italy and in Hollywood. Nevertheless, cultural mores were strong, and Loren's declaration in 1957 that she

[183] *Corriere Degli Italiani*, 8 October 1955.
[184] Ibid., 29 July 1957.

desired to be a wife and mother someday came as a welcome relief to those who were threatened by her brash and uninhibited lifestyle.[185] Motherhood, an intrinsic and inescapable part of the Italian tradition, yielded many opinions in and out of the public eye, and these reflections were, in the ways outlined above, irrevocably tied with Italianness and womanhood.

Ideas of ethnic identity were also funnelled through physical manifestations of femininity and female beauty. Testimonies of Italian women consistently refer to fashion, beauty, and aesthetics as tools for identifying as Italian, as Canadian/Argentine, or as something in between. In discussing the immigration experience, many women refer to these physical manifestations of the feminine as an integral element of their experience. In recounting her life in Italy before immigration to Canada, Renata Ori recalls that she could not (and would not) sacrifice her wardrobe in order for the family to be more financially stable. She declares emphatically, "in Italy, you know, they don't eat, but they dress well!"[186] Sara Franceschetti too felt the pressure to uphold the prescribed level of dress and beauty. Writing in Italy to her husband in Toronto, she explained, "as you know, I am being watched more carefully than before, this means that if I dress well, you are earning good money, if I dress poorly, it means that you are struggling... you know how our world is, appearances mean everything."[187] In a milieu where women had enough liberty to challenge the restrictions upon female work and on familial patriarchy, it is worth noting that standards of physical beauty and practical representations of what it meant to be feminine were often rigidly enforced and upheld.

---

[185] Ibid., 3 June 1957.

[186] Renata Ori, interview by the Multicultural History Society, Italian Canadian Women Oral History Collection, August 28, 1973.

[187] Cancian, 29.

Immigration gave women an opportunity to shift from a more modest way of dressing and styling themselves to what they perceived as a more 'modern' aesthetic. For many women, the clearest manifestation of this was the mythical 'America,' a constructed model of not only an improved geographical place, but also as a shift into modernity, improved cultural values, economic opportunity, and overall quality of life. Most Italians constructed different, personal 'Americas' that represented the ideals to which they aspired. The images that they constructed were largely shaped by the strong influence of American media in postwar Italy. Hollywood films and the stars it created deeply impacted (and challenged) the Italian ideal of what it meant to be beautiful. Stephen Gundle explains that "modern, urban ideas of American origin had a great impact because they were tied up with liberation, embodied freedom, and opened new horizons of potential personal realization."[188] American stars such as Rita Hayworth "filled the demand in postwar Italy for a dream of abundance and freedom."[189] The American penchant for an uninhibited and unabashed sexuality and the portrayal of strong, happy, smiling and independent women produced an image that appealed to many Italian women. Many women aspired to this ideal largely because of the economic benefits it promised: images of America promised financial bounty and security first and foremost, and personal betterment, consumerist advantages and realized modernity came second. Regardless, for many Italian women, personal improvement and physical expression were long-held fantasies which, after the war, seemed much closer in sight.

[188] Stephen Gundle, "Feminine Beauty, National Identity and Political Conflict in Postwar Italy, 1945-1954," in *Contemporary European History* 8, 3 (1999) 378.
[189] Gundle, "Feminine Beauty" 363. Ironically, Rita Hayworth was of Spanish and British descent, a first-generation-born American.

While such behaviour was fostered by a familial *lignée de femmes*, print and popular media played a large role in this tension between the modesty and modernity of the Italian woman abroad. Italian fashions had always been regarded highly in the Americas due to their high quality and sophisticated designs, but the industry boomed in the postwar period:

> American influence on the fortunes of Italian fashion continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Numerous Hollywood films were shot on location in Rome's Cinecitta studios. Movies such as *Roman Holiday* and *Cleopatra* put Italy in the public eye. Images of Hollywood stars on and off set, their shopping trips to Florence and holidays on the Amalfi Coast, became the common currency of international gossip columns and fashion magazines. Italian fashion houses were associated with their celebrity clientele. Some created dramatic gowns for their clients' on-screen characters as well as their lives off-screen. This publicity had a wide effect and a generation of Italian fashion designers benefited from the glow of the media spotlight.[190]

The surge in popularity of Italian fashions brought with it countless imitations, houses like Cherie Moda in Buenos Aires that copied high-end styles and created similes that were affordable and accessible to new immigrants longing for the newest styles.[191]

In *La Domenica del Corriere* in 1945, an author writing under the pseudonym 'Monna Lisa' touted true Italian beauty as one that contained a "thoughtful tranquility of expression," one that rejected "makeup, swimsuits, or ambiguous and studied little smiles," and that embraced a "sense of goodness" instead of the "perverse glamour" that had become so rampant.[192] From the end of the war, local authors such as Monna Lisa preached at girls and women in the Mezzogiorno and abroad regarding their dress and demeanour. Increasingly "in publicity material, posters, film magazines, and advertising,

---

[190] "Eleganza: Italian Fashion from 1945 to Today" McCord Museum, 690 Rue Sherbrooke Ouest, Montreal (July 9, 2016).
[191] *Corriere Degli Italiani*, 28 March 1964.
[192] Gundle, 366.

Italians were inundated with innumerable polished images of physically flawless, smiling young women often dressed simply in swimsuits."[193] In the 1950s and 60s in both Ontario and Buenos Aires, these images were overwhelmingly of American origin, often containing images of wholesome American girls or even Hollywood celebrities. The culmination of these images was the increasingly popular Italian beauty pageants, advertised obsessively in news outlets through the 1950s and 60s.[194] Pageants were held seasonally in most hubs of Italian migration, including Ontario and Buenos Aires, and searched for up-and-coming Italian beauties that represented the fairest and most exciting elements of feminine, and specifically, *Italian*, beauty. These events combined pageantry and spectacle to display the embedded connection between ethnicity and femininity among immigrant communities abroad.

The obsession with Italian beauty and its evolution throughout the period of immigration was clearly of interest to the women undergoing it, and so it was too for those who produced media for their consumption. The *Corriere Canadese* published articles introducing Italian immigrants to Canadian models of beauty. In 1954, Domenico Acconci explained to newly landed Italian women the vast differences between what was considered beautiful in Italy and what he called the North American obsession with beauty and sex from birth until death. Acconci praised North American women as attractive, but condemned them for lacking originality and acting and looking the same: "individualism is the exception," he lamented.[195] The *Corriere* did not publish any responses to Acconci's article, so it can only be surmised how Italian women reading the daily would have reacted to having a man dictate the supposedly correct and proper ways

[193] Gundle, 366.
[194] *Corriere Degli Italiani*, 27 November 1958.
[195] Domenico Acconci, "In America Comanda la Donna," *Corriere Canadese,* 4 July 1954.

to dress and style the feminine. Articles such as 'How to Stay Young' gave women tips on how to have beautiful lips, eyes, teeth and hands, and warning against American excess ("Don't pluck eyebrows past their natural limits;" "there is nothing as unattractive as makeup that contradicts the freshness of youth. Avoid makeup, especially mascara and eyeshadow.")[196]

For many women, however, commercial culture abroad signified an escape from the backward and unmodern Old World and an entry into a new commercialized, 'modern' society. Some authors have challenged the conclusion that immigration afforded women the possibility to rewrite their legacy. Linda Reeder and Ada Testaferri, for example, have brought to light the idea that for those who were unaffected by migration, developments within Italy eventually provided women the same opportunities to escape the models of femininity that dictated Italian life. Many women "carved out new economic opportunities for themselves [by] using remittances sent home by migrant men." Reeder explains that a growing female literacy contributed to this immensely: "for the first time, rural women were able to read news items, serialized stories, and advertisements in the regional newspapers without turning to their fathers, husbands or brothers."[197] Testaferri adds that the 1970s brought to Italy a fervent and relatively effective women's movement, one untouched by the so-called promises of migration.[198] These internal changes were no doubt significant. Nevertheless, they do not negate the roaring promise that migration provided for Italian women. Despite these small steps forward, those who left Italy and traveled westward looked back to Italy as "the fount of their values, faith and beliefs, but not as a place for a man to make a life in the modern

[196] "Como Mantenersi Giovani," *Corriere Canadese*, 11 August 1954.
[197] Reeder, *Widows in White*, 10.
[198] Ada Testaferri, *Donna: Women in Italian Culture* (Toronto: Dovehouse Editions Inc., 1989) 15.

world. The homeland was the repository of the past, of individual and collective histories, a place tinged with failure."[199] For them, Italy would forever be equated with antiquity, anti-modernity, and above all, the failed realization of the dreams they had constructed for themselves, the mythical 'America.'

Cynthia Wright asserts that for immigrant women, "the allure of commercial culture was precisely that it was a route out of the confines of the household."[200] While this is certainly true, as the very idea of commercial culture constitutes a public space and necessitates active participation in this public sphere, it would be too simplistic to assume that this was the extent of the fascination with all things commercial. This materialistic desire is not unique to Italian immigrants, but comprises a common link between working-class and peasant immigrants of other origins as well. Carolyn Steedman, for example, recounts her mother's longing for a Christian Dior skirt, a woman who "came away wanting: fine clothes, glamour, money; to be what she wasn't."[201] For Mary Antin, an Eastern European Jewish immigrant, her homemade clothing was a "hateful" reminder of her lowly immigrant status, and "real American machine-made garments" held the power to reverse this status.[202]

Great care was put into appealing to the newly arrived woman by mainstream and ethnic media, and this was most often achieved by being conscious of financial and logistical limitations. Media geared towards women (such as the popular magazines *Donna* in Ontario and *Femirama* in Buenos Aires) skirted the line between obsessing over beauty and feminine aesthetic, and doing so in a practical and budget-conscious

[199] Reeder, 6.
[200] Cynthia Wright, "Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance: Writing Gender into the History of Consumption" in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, eds. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992) 238.
[201] Wright, "Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance," 234.
[202] Wright, 256.

manner. Women's pages in ethnic newspapers educated women on how to look beautiful for less: extravagance should look expensive, but never be so. In the bi-weekly column 'Angolo Della Moda di Federica' ('Fashion Corner With Federica'), current patterns, fabrics and silhouettes were presented to the reader, and the author often ended with a similar message: "this is the Fall fashion: a bit of flair, and a bit of practicality so that it won't cut into the family budget. Small details and one well-chosen hat will make each of you a practical and elegant woman."[203] The women who consumed this material were proud not only of the things they produced or the beauty routines they developed, but they were also proud of how thrifty they were in doing so.

This pattern was most evident in the transition from designing and creating to purchasing clothing and household goods. It was not uncommon for Italian women to have some basic training in building or altering their own and their children's clothing, and this skill afforded immigrant women the opportunity to work as seamstresses and dressmakers when they settled abroad. But the shift to purchasing instead of creating clothing, notwithstanding the woman's talent and skill, was often seen as yet another manifestation of the success of immigration:

> Interviewer: Did you sew the kids' clothes?
> Adriana DiPaola: Oh yeah!
> Daughter: She did everything. All my clothing growing up, she did them.
> Adriana: She never bought dresses. All the time, I did it.
> Daughter: She would get the pattern, and the material, and make it. And then my cousins would be dying for me to get out of it so they could get it! I had a cousin who was actually just waiting for me to outgrow them so that she could fit into them. She loved them.
> Adriana: She dressed up nice all the time because I made the material, it was nothing. […] And this is the

[203] "Como Mantenersi Giovani," *Corriere Canadese*, 11 August 1954.

	first dress I had when I come in Canada. Everybody loved it!
Interviewer:	You made it?
Adriana:	No, I bought it. It's the first one. When I come to Canada.
Daughter:	She bought it here, it was one of her first outfits.
Adriana:	And then I sent some pictures to [my mother] in Italy, and some friends saw this dress, [and said,] 'Oh! This is so nice! It's beautiful, this dress!'
Daughter:	It's all'Americana.
Adriana:	All'Americana.

New World values began to affect the lives of Italian women and to afford them the emancipation they witnessed abroad. More often than not, Italian women did not seek to escape the particular customs created by Italian ideals of femininity, but instead sought to enjoy a more active and participatory role in their manifestation. Often, migration allowed them to realize this goal. More than anything, women proved to be aggressively active participants in their immigration and settlement in Canada. Their lives, both public and private, were governed by rules that they had imposed or sanctioned, and their testimonies speak to a more subtle and subversive management of these customs.

Campane found ways around the rigid division between their public and private worlds, and were able to create new, hybridized identities which allowed them to merge the aspects of each world that best served them as workers, as mothers, and as women.[204] In this way, immigration became a part of these women, in the sense that their newly hybridized, constructed identities existed only because of their immigration journey and the New World they faced upon resettlement.

---

[204] Maddalena Tirabassi, "Bourgeois Men, Peasant Women: Rethinking Domestic Work and Morality in Italy" in *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World*, eds. Donna. R. Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002) 122.

Susan Ireland notes that the process of successful integration into a North or South American society and the creation of a double identity "necessarily involves the profound, obscure organic assimilation of the collective images of a country."[205] For the women who left a peasant lifestyle in the Mezzogiorno and became workers, mothers, and women in Canada, the identity they were forced to reconstruct necessarily included amassing a new collection of images, many of which would originate in their new homelands and be propagated through an intricate *lignée de femmes*. In doing this, these women became protagonists in an intricate transnational network of migration.

[205] Susan Ireland, "Textualizing the Experience," 99.

Chapter 4: Language Use and Identity Negotiation

"Language is not an abstract construction of the learned, or of the dictionary-makers, but it is something arising out of the work, needs, ties, joys, affections, tastes, of long generations of humanity, and has its bases broad and low, close to the ground."

\- Walt Whitman

Allegra Spinelli, who immigrated to Toronto as a young girl in 1961 and lives there with her husband and two children, began speaking to me in Spanish during our time together. Her Spanish is limited, and she has never lived or worked in or around the language, but she is proud of her limited Spanish because she considers it a means of keeping connected with her family in Argentina, who settled there in 1958. Likewise, Amalia Campi's fluent (standard) Italian is, in her mind, an important factor in why and how she identifies as Italian, despite the fact that she is a second-generation Canadian and her parents never imposed the language or its regional varieties on her.

This chapter argues that in both receiving regions, there are three ways in which language was a transnational means of ethnic identity formation: code switching as a way of accessing a nostalgic past; language use and choice to delineate group loyalty or intra-group status; and the granting and denying of authority or agency via linguistic choice (language as empowerment). This manifested in debates over learning new languages abroad, language choice around children, and in consistent patterns of language negotiation in oral testimonies. The chapter argues that language was a transnational expression of identity, and that Buenos Aires and Ontario were part of a shared linguistic space that encompassed complex ideas of how and when to use the arsenal of languages at Campani's disposal. This shared linguistic space deviated significantly based on physical placehood: radically different learning environments yielded equally different

strategies in each region. These themes are not unique to Campani. Virtually all Italians abroad (really, all new immigrants) navigate issues of language upon migration. Although the issues explored here are far-reaching and shared among immigrants more generally, the ensuing chapter demonstrates these themes in practice within a relatively small and unorganized group. Since Campani could not rely on their demographic weight or formalized linguistic associations, their treatment of these three themes is of particular interest.

In what ways did Campani in Ontario and Buenos Aires use language(s) to negotiate their ethnic identity? Did they use similar means in different nodes of settlement? If not, how did they differ? These questions are addressed here by exploring the social setting (the environment for language learning to which new immigrants were introduced) of each city of settlement, by expanding upon the prevalence of language in the immigrant's own testimony (including the strategies they employed for language learning, and the importance of language with respect to children), and by analyzing the more complex ways in which language formed a part of the immigrant experience. Ultimately, studying language in this way points to a highly active participation on the part of the immigrant in their narrative: through language management, Campani became agents in the immigrant experience.

Linguists have long been interested in the language of immigrants. Their efforts have produced a vast body of literature that has resulted in a thorough understanding of language transfer, lexical interference, and code switching within immigrant communities. Among them, Marcel Danesi and Gianrenzo Clivio's work on Italian immigrants in North America has done much to illuminate how this particular group

managed the two (or more) languages at its disposal.[206] In Argentina, linguistic efforts have centered on the development and integration of Italian variants in *lunfardo*.[207]

Despite these advances, the important contributions of linguists in both receiving societies have remained within the confines of the technical construction of language. Their influences are limited with regard to how one understands the significance of these constructions and the particularities of when and how they are employed. Linguists who subscribed to the linguistic relativity theory, which argued that the particular structure of a language determined its users' worldview, further complicated the role of language. The hypothesis claimed that language had the power to affect how its diffusers saw and understood the world around them; simply put, language affects thought. Other scholars such as Noam Chomsky rebuffed this theory, arguing that language was "merely a tool for expressing what [had] already been experienced and conceptualized non-linguistically."[208] For this group, language was divided from thought, and served only a functional purpose. The lived experiences of the Campani under study here falls somewhere between these two schools of thought, in that testimonies point to language being employed as a strategic tool, but that language also carries with it constructs that are distinct to the experiences of its users. As such, language does, in a way, construct a worldview, albeit one that is flexible and in constant flux.

As Nancy Carnevale has noted, language ideologies (which she describes as "meanings and values attached to a given language) "are formed in a social context marked by power differentials and inequalities that have real consequences for language

---

[206] Gianrenzo Clivio and Marcel Danesi, *The Sounds, Forms, and Uses of Italian: An Introduction to Italian Linguistics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).
[207] Oscar Conde, *Lunfardo* (Buenos Aires: Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial Argentina, 2011); Jose Gobello, *Nuevo Diccionario Lunfardo* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor, 1999).
[208] Alison Eamer, "Language, Culture, and Identity Negotiation: Three Generations of Three Immigrant Families in Toronto," (PhD diss., York University, 2008), 5.

use."[209] For Campani, the meaning and role of language was framed by the complex sociohistorical context of life in the Mezzogiorno. Studying language in the context of immigration from Campania poses unique problems. To begin with, the people who arrived in Ontario and Buenos Aires from Campania did so not simply as speakers of Italian. More often than not they were primarily speakers of regional varieties. The immigrants who arrived after the Second World War, made up overwhelmingly of Italians from the Mezzogiorno (the southern half of the Italian peninsula and Sicily), managed work, leisure, and daily life in regional languages, and many (but not all) had a working knowledge of Standard Italian[210]. Overwhelmingly their access to Standard Italian was limited to interactions with the state. Children left the school system early, cutting short their formal instruction in the standard language, and in some circles, regional varieties came to be seen as base, crude, and of a lower status than the Standard Italian used in state organizations and by the upper classes of the country. As a result, the large influx of Italian immigrants in postwar Ontario and Buenos Aires was exposed to English and Castilian (respectively) as a third (not second) language. The new language then entered a complex personal system where language evoked ideas of social structures, and as such, was an acute presence in the lives and minds of its speakers. The function of language is one of the major themes in studying the Italian language in a new environment. Carnevale compares the Italian case with Yiddish to highlight the highly divisive and contentious past of the Italian languages: "The greater disparity between

[209] Nancy C. Carnevale, *A New Language, a New World: Italian Immigrants in the United States, 1890-1945* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 8.
[210] "Italian only became a mother tongue to large numbers of Italians beginning with those born after 1950. […] Language continued to be high on the national agenda well into the twentieth century. During the Fascist era, language figured prominently in both the internal and external fascist goals and programs from the 1920s until Mussolini's fall in 1943. The imposition of a national language […] was crucial to the Fascist project of fostering nationalistic fervour." Nancy C. Carnevale, *A New Language, a New World*, 27.

Jewish and Italian immigrant culture is in the cohesive function that Yiddish traditionally served for Jews, that contrasts sharply with the linguistic diversity and rivalry of the dialects of Italy."[211] Although Carnevale's emphasis on the cohesive function of Yiddish may be overstated, there exists no comparative for the Italian case, and this disunity is precisely her argument. This issue is complicated by the sheer linguistic diversity in the Campania region itself. While the term 'Neapolitan language' is most often employed to refer to the larger regional variety that encompasses southern continental Italy, within the Campania region, multiple variations of Neapolitan language exist (the Irpino variety in Avellino is one example of a Neapolitan language, for example). Amalia Campi experienced this difference firsthand: her father's family immigrated to Toronto from San Clemente (province of Caserta), whereas her maternal family immigrated there from San Nicola Baronia (province of Avellino). She explains that "between my maternal grandmother [and] my paternal grandmother, sometimes they even have two different words for the same things. And their towns are an hour and a half from each other."[212] To further complicate this matter, the majority of these Neapolitan regional varieties do not abide by geopolitical borders, so that families of linguistic varieties span over multiple provinces and regions in the Italian peninsula. Consider the regional variety of Cilentano, which covers the Campania province of Salerno, but extends well past its borders so much so that it is often considered a variety of the Sicilian language.[213]

[211] Carnevale, 117.
[212] Amalia Campi, in conversation with the author. November 2014.
[213] For more on Italian dialects, their history and structure, see Martin Maiden and Maid Parry eds., *The Dialects of Italy* (London & New York: Routledge, 2014).

Settlement in the Americas presented these immigrants with yet another new language[214]; but it also exposed them to other regional varieties of the Italian language, other ethnic languages, and an explosion of possibilities of language negotiation. Moreover, the social complexities of language use that had coloured life in Italy did not disappear across the Atlantic. Different language systems were classified by a social hierarchy that often reduced regional varieties to the bottom rungs, pushed out of work and social spaces into the realm of the private, the home. This tension only grew abroad, when new immigrants were introduced to still more language systems. For Campani, this classification was problematized by the complex history of the Neapolitan regional language varieties.[215] By the twentieth century, these varieties had enjoyed rich musical, literary, and theatrical legacies admired not only by its speakers, but also by Italians across the peninsula and abroad. Neapolitan music, poetry, and drama were renowned globally for centuries, at once the subject of scholarly interest and popular fascination. Certainly, the prestige with which the linguistic variety was admired in this capacity was not inherently transplanted with migration out of Campania in the twentieth century; Neapolitan speakers, like other Italians, were faced with settlement communities hostile to a language and accent that was incomprehensible to them. But it is worth noting that despite the prevalence of the regional variety (Neapolitan) within the home and its relative absence in the public sphere, Neapolitan speakers must have enjoyed a special, if restricted, privilege that speakers of other Italian regional varieties did not enjoy: the often assumed equation of regional variety as a marker of socioeconomic class was not as

[214] The French language (and in some cases, both English *and* French simultaneously) was also an important new language for some immigrants to Canada. None of the testimonies collected for this research touch on the French language or on the intersections of English and French, and so it is not dealt with at length here. It is, however, an aspect of immigrant language and identity that deserves further study.
[215] Here the term 'Neapolitan' is used to denote the larger linguistic category which encompasses all of the Campania and other regions, and not simply the language of the city of Naples proper.

marked for the Neapolitan speaker as it may have been for a speaker of Sicilian, for example. Of course, this distinction was only relevant in circles where the audience would have been aware of any difference between the two (among Italian communities, for example), which the majority of exclusively English or Castilian speakers would not have been.

Carnevale's assessment of the Italian-American case holds true for the Argentine and Canadian case as well: "first-generation Italian immigrants spoke a creolized dialect that consisted of a fusion and elaboration of standard Italian, Italian dialects, English, and Italianized English words. This idiom was more commonly used among the first generation than dialect alone and certainly more than was English. Additionally, language learning took place in an inter- and intraethnic context. Immigrants were not only exposed to English for the first time, but to other immigrant languages as well, including, in the Italian case, different regional dialects and standard Italian."[216] In doing so, the Old World views of regional varieties and their hierarchy in the development of a unified and distinct ethnic identity were problematized. In a letter to the editor of the *Corriere Degli Italiani* in Buenos Aires, Bruna Biasetton expressed her concerns about the use of regional varieties abroad, and the effects on the image of Italians there: "For many, dialects are to blame. Others maintain that dialects are beautiful, sweet, etc., but in the meantime, those of us who are abroad must absorb the consequences, because we are so fractured." To which the editor replied:

> Our dialects really are beautiful to hear and fascinating to study. Speaking at least one dialect, like any language, enriches one's ideas and stimulates intelligence. Some dialects also facilitate the learning of other languages. For example, a Piedmontese speaker will learn French more easily, and Genoese is an excellent

[216] Carnevale, 11.

> introduction to Spanish or Portuguese. But this rule only applies if one's knowledge of the dialect is complemented by a thorough knowledge of standard Italian. One who speaks only dialect suffers a grave cultural limitation, and too often, an intellectual one as well.[217]

Whereas the editor conceded the value of regional varieties, he did so only when used as a subset of the standardized language, and even then, only as a tool for learning other (supposedly more desirable) languages, and thus propagated the perception of regional varieties (dialects, in their words) as inferior or unable to stand alone. Language choice often undergoes a hierarchical classification, particularly in the Italian case, which, as seen above, includes negotiation between numerous languages and ethnolects. In 1985, Marcel Danesi wrote about ethnolects, which he defined as "a version of the language of origin, which, primarily as a consequence of frequent borrowing and adoption of words from the culturally dominant language, has come to characterize the speech habits of the immigrant community."[218] Danesi explained that for the Italian-Canadian community, an ethnolect labeled Italiese (a combination of 'Italian' and 'Inglese', or English) became a primary mode of communication within the community, in many cases even supplanting those regional varieties that had been brought from Italy.[219] Researchers of Italo-Canadian language do not consider it a monolithical entity, however. Gianrenzo Clivio described this phenomenon as "a continuum of idiolects," and Danesi asserts that it "is shaped by many dialects and regional variants."[220] Salvatore Bancheri explains that Italiese is a "language which changes according to the regional

---

[217] *Corriere Degli Italiani*, 5 May, 1958.
[218] Marcel Danesi, "Canadian Italian: A Case in Point of How Language Adapts to Environment," *Polyphony* 7 (1985).
[219] Alongside Danesi, Gianrenzo Clivio and others explored linguistic characteristics of the Italian-Canadian community, including vocabulary formation and the development of phonetic and grammatical adjustments within the unique ethnolects. See, for example: Gianrenzo P. Clivio, "Competing Loanwords and Loanshifts in Toronto's italiese," ed. Camilla Bettoni, *Altro Polo* (Sydney: Frederick May Foundation, 1986) 129-146.
[220] Jana Vizmuller-Zocco, "Morphosyntactic Aspects of Popular Italian in Toronto," in *Forum Italicum: A Journal of Italian Studies* 29, 2 (1995) 336, 341.

background of each speaker and of his/her interlocutor(s)," so that even when the Italianized words remain consistent across regional linguistic varieties, a Neapolitan speaker, for example will inflect them with the schwa typical of their regional variety.[221] Jana Vizmuller-Zocco provides an example of this, explaining that "the phonetic shape of a loanword based on the English <basement> has many phonetic realizations which depend on the speaker' s native dialect: /basamendə/ in Neapolitan Italian Canadian, /basimint/ in Friulian, etc." She further elaborates that "although Neapolitan dialect seems to have some prestige, the morphology and syntax of this dialect are not imitated by speakers of other dialects.[222]

Allyson Eamer cites Frances Giampapa's work on what she calls linguistic conflict, indicating that the use of regional varieties is generally "associated with the older generation, a lower social class, and a lack of formal education." Eamer further explains that "the language practices of Italian Canadian families seem to reflect the language policy in Italy. The privileging of Standard Italian over regional varieties and dialects was accelerated in Italy after the Second World War, and was mirrored in Canada's Italian communities."[223] This hierarchy was also observed in Argentina, and was often acknowledged by narrators. Most of them freely admit that they have made the conscious choice to replace regional languages with Standard Italian in the home, particularly when speaking to children. Parents recount the consensual decision to retain a regional variety as the primary language between them, but to use only Standard Italian in the presence of children (for example, to speak Neapolitan in private between mother

[221] Salvatore Bancheri, "Riccobene's *Nun Mi Maritu Ppi Procura*: The Canadian Linguistic Pastiches in a Comedy of Errors," in *Patois and Linguistic Pastiche in Modern Literature*, ed. Giovanna Summerfield (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007) 47.
[222] Vizmuller-Zocco, "Morphosyntactic Aspects of Popular Italian in Toronto," 336.
[223] Eamer, "Language, Culture, and Identity Negotiation." 257.

and father, but to address children in Standard Italian). Children of immigrants often recount overhearing a regional language spoken between their mother and father, and they explain that more often than not they can understand it, but not speak it:

Interviewer:	When you were young, what language did your parents speak?
Amalia Campi:	English.
Interviewer:	They didn't want to keep speaking dialect?
Amalia:	No. Unless they were trying to talk about something they didn't want me to know about, then they would speak in Italian.
Interviewer:	Italian or dialect?
Amalia:	Dialect.
Interviewer:	So between them, they were still speaking dialect.
Amalia:	Yes. […] But if I listened to my grandparents speak, or listened to my parents talk to their parents, I could get—I still understood everything, I just couldn't say it myself.

These selections reflect an ordered hierarchy of languages, one that is based on a notion of language choice as a reflection of social mobility, and which can be negotiated based on particular situations to benefit all actors.

This hierarchy is further problematized by the fact that the two settlement societies under study here, Ontario and Buenos Aires, presented immigrants with radically different contexts for language use and negotiation. Carnevale explains that "by examining language, we can also better understand the diversity of immigrant life within a given diaspora population."[224] Campani arriving in Ontario and in Buenos Aires faced radically different atmospheres for language learning and expression.

In Argentina, these social realities were moderated by other linguistic techniques. The relative similarity between immigrants' original varieties and the host language (Castilian) made linguistic integration a much more rapid process, and made null the need

[224] Carnevale, 14.

for ethnolects. Nonetheless, Italian influences inundated *porteño* speech with linguistic constructs and a large lexicon that serve as a testament to the deep impact of Italian immigration. When Luigi Lavelli wrote to the *Corriere Degli Italiani* editor in Buenos Aires complaining about the publication of readers' letters written in Castilian, the editor replied: "I assure you that all readers of the *Corriere* read and speak Castilian very well. It is inconceivable that an Italian could reside in Argentina without learning the national language soon after. It would be like jumping into the sea without knowing how to swim: unthinkable."[225]

This perspective was mirrored by two different ways of managing the existence of Italian in the settlement communities abroad. In Ontario, the development of ethnolects was born out of an increasingly segregated environment: new immigrants tended to settle among friends and kin in neighbourhoods that were predominantly Italian; they frequented Italian bakeries, groceries, banks, and social clubs. Increasingly, they were able to conduct business and pleasure entirely in their native languages, and so the need to learn English was, aside from a difficult challenge due to its linguistic distance from the Italian language and its varieties, not an urgent one. In Buenos Aires, a legacy of immigration in earlier decades (often of northern Italians with higher literacy rates), combined with a more thorough integration of earlier immigrants into the economic and social life of the province, had incorporated the language much more profoundly into the local Castilian language, a fact that is most evident through the preponderance of *lunfardo*, a slang or local variety of the city of Buenos Aires characterized by the adoption of loanwords from Italian regional varieties. *Lunfardo* was propagated largely through its use in tango lyrics, but its diffusion into the spoken word at all socioeconomic

[225] *Corriere Degli Italiani*, 28 April 1958.

levels brought Italian influence into the fold as a distinctly *porteño* quality. Nowhere was diffusion more evident than in the words and actions of President Juan Domingo Perón. In speeches and public appearances, Perón did not hesitate to use his basic Italian language skills to appeal to his citizens' Italian roots. Writing to Italian Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi in November 1949, Perón explained that a journalist friend would visit De Gasperi to discuss "our struggles and common goals, those that animate those of us who defend the noble cause of our shared 'Latinity'. This Italian cause of ours unites us in time and space."[226] For Perón and many Argentines, 'Italianness' (and implicitly, the Italian language) was an intrinsic part of the Argentine national identity, one in which to take pride, and which would contribute to the rise of the great nation.

The issue of language comes up consistently in immigrant testimonies as the subject of recollections and as an active presence in the form of the narrative. A closer study of these phenomena at play in the testimonies of Campani helps us understand the role of language, and the value of oral history as method, in the Italian immigrant experience. We must acknowledge not simply the stories and reflections told about language in the testimonies of Campani, but we must also read between the lines with the aim of mining the moments and the ways in which the practice or concept of language is displayed as a primary tool for defining and negotiating ethnic identity within the testimonies themselves. As such, oral history is used here not only as a source, but also as a *method*. As Susan Geiger writes, "oral history only becomes a *method* in the hands of persons whose interests in it go beyond the immediate pleasure of hearing/learning the history being told. As scholars, we *use* information derived from oral history, and, in that

---

[226] Letter from Juan D. Peron to Alcide DeGasperi, 22 November 1949. Foreign Ministry Archives, Rome, Italy (accessed June 2015).

way, it becomes a method."[227] Every single narrator interviewed here brought up the issue of language in his or her testimony without prompting from the researcher. The more complex ways in which language plays a part in the definition and renegotiation of ethnic identity will be explored below. First, it is worth examining the ways in which narrators manage the language question directly. Overwhelmingly, the prevalence of language in immigrant testimonies takes two forms: reflections on the process and challenge of learning a new language abroad; and most significantly, the role of language in the rearing of immigrant children.

As new immigrants, Campani in Ontario and Buenos Aires had to navigate radically different arenas for language learning. These experiences are clearly at the forefront of how Campani define their immigration experiences, since they are quickly remembered by all narrators in great detail, generally early on in the testimony and then woven throughout.

Although Castilian courses were offered free of charge in reputable establishments such as the Dante Alighieri Society of Buenos Aires, most narrators there did not take advantage of these resources, and learned the local language in other more informal ways. Narrators are quick to recall the significance of the work environment, social gatherings, and a propensity (and social encouragement) for 'mixing' languages as tools that allowed them to learn the Castilian language:

> Interviewer: Did you speak in Italian?
> Anna Vinci: No, in Castilian. […]
> Interviewer: So you learned it quite quickly.
> Anna: Yes, yes. Well, I don't speak it too well now either! […] But I went to work outside the home. I was single, working in a tailor's

[227] Susan Geiger, "What's so Feminist About Women's Oral History?" *Journal of Women's History* 2,1 (1990) 170.

	workshop. So there, the other girls would correct me.
Interviewer:	So you learned at work?
Anna:	Always at work.
Interviewer:	Did you ever take a course?
Anna:	No, never. I never went to school here, just two years in Italy.

Interviewer:	Here in the neighbourhood, did you speak Italian or Castilian?
Daniele Colombo:	In those times? [Laughs]
Gia Colombo:	A mix of both!
Daniele:	We mixed. We spoke in Castilian, we spoke however we could.

Interviewer:	How did your parents learn Spanish?
Paola Antonini:	Just by using it.
Interviewer:	They never enrolled in classes, or anything of the sort?
Paola:	No, no. In fact my father never really learned to write. My mother learned a bit, but she didn't use it much, the written language. So, no. Just by using it.
Interviewer:	And in those big family gatherings, what language was spoken?
Paola:	You mean what language was shouted? [Laughs] It was that same interspersed language that they always used. A very *cocoliche*[228] Castilian, I would say.[229]

Antonini's testimony in particular highlights the disregard for formal instruction, and the importance of the private sphere for language learning. Not only did Campani use other Campani (and other Italians) to develop their Castilian, they did so in an environment that encouraged and fostered language mixing as a positive tool in language

[228] *Cocoliche* is a pidgin of mixed Italian and Spanish developed and spoken in the Greater Buenos Aires region beginning in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Many of its characteristics have been adopted by the local language well into the twentieth century, and today, the term is used to denote any word with foreign origins and unchanged structure (Italian or otherwise) that is in common usage in the Castilian spoken in Buenos Aires. This is one of the most notable differences between *Cocoliche* and *Italiese*, which has remained distinct from the English spoken in Ontario. "*Cocoliche* is the hybrid variety, or the *interlanguage*, that the immigrant constructs in the process of acquiring the Spanish language from his native Italian, conditioned by his dis/interest in assimilating in his new country, and by many other factors. There is no *one* Cocoliche; there are as many as there are immigrants." "Al Uso Nostro" Biblioteca Nacional. Aguero 2502, Ciudad Autonoma de Buenos Aires. Visited November 13, 2015.

[229] Anna Vinci, Daniele & Gia Colombo, Paola Antonini, in conversation with the author. January 2014 to March 2016.

instruction. Although Italian linguistic constructs and vocabulary continue to pepper many of the testimonies of Campani in Buenos Aires, decades removed from their arrival, their fluency in Castilian (in the interview setting but also within their families and social circles) is undeniable.

In marked contrast, testimonies from Ontario point to a much higher dependence on language courses for instruction, and a much more distressing relationship to language learning in general. Adriana and Goffredo DiPaola arrived in Toronto in 1956 from the small farming village of Agropoli, south of Salerno. Upon arrival, they were faced with the double challenge of learning English, but also standard Italian:

> Interviewer: What language did you speak in Italy?
> Goffredo DiPaola: Dialect, dialect. […]
> Adriana DiPaola: It was dialect, it was different. Everything was different.
> Interviewer: Did you have any exposure to standard Italian? Did you listen to radio or watch TV?
> Adriana: No! At that time…
> Goffredo: We had no television, no electricity on the farm. Nothing.
> Interviewer: So everything was in dialect.
> Adriana: Everything. And then we came here, and we were supposed to talk in Italian, so it wasn't very good. The words weren't perfect. […] We didn't even speak good Italian, but we had to speak English too!
> Interviewer: How did you learn?
> Goffredo: English? *N'arrangiamo*![230] […]

Most of the Campani sampled for this study in Ontario recall in detail the site of the language classes they attended. With the help of their daughter, whose English is more fluent than theirs, Goffredo and Adriana recount that they enrolled in English language night classes at Bloor Collegiate near the predominantly Italian College Street

[230] Goffredo & Adriana DiPaola, in conversation with the author. November 2014. The term "arrangiarsi" is usually defined in English as 'making do,' or 'getting by.' See Perin, Roberto & Franc Sturino, *Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigration Experience in Canada* (Montreal: Guernica Editions Inc., 2007).

neighbourhood where they lived in Toronto. In many of the testimonies of Campani in Ontario, there is a recurring theme of English as a source of power, a tool that offers increased opportunity. For immigrants who mastered English and retained their mother tongue, interpretive responsibilities flourished formally and informally. While some obtained work because of their bilingual capacity ("I was admitted into Canada as an independent migrant; somehow my slovenly English convinced them"[231]), others used their language skills more informally, aiding family, neighbours, and friends during the initial period of immigration with their interpretive skills.[232]

More importantly, the prevalence of children's help in the language instruction process is disproportionately present in the Ontario testimonies, whereas it is completely absent from the Buenos Aires testimonies collected here. Campani who settled in Ontario depended to a far greater extent on their children's English-language skills to manoeuvre the first few years of settlement. Fabia Morello recalls helping her mother with the new language: "She wanted to learn English, so we were learning it at home. 'Hi Ma, how are you?' Because we went to school. […] I was speaking more English and throwing in an Italian word here and there, like I still do now. […] We coached. They learned quite a bit of English. They would ask, 'how do you say this in English?' or 'how's this done?' and we would tell them."[233] In her study of language among Italian immigrants to the United States, Nancy Carnevale underlines the challenge of infantilization:

> In learning to speak a new language, the adult is reduced to the status of a child. This linguistic infantilization paralleled the

[231] Angelo Casale, in conversation with the author. August 2014.
[232] For example, Wanda Vendruscolo recounts that she learned English out of necessity, since she had no one to interpret for her when she first arrived. She quickly became an informal interpreter for successive waves of immigrants to her community, most significantly her husband. MHSO; Leo & Wanda Vendruscolo, "Italian Interview – Leo & Wanda Vendruscolo" Multicultural Canada, N.d. http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/389620.
[233] Fabia Morello, in conversation with the author. November 2014. Cecilia Alba also recounts learning English via her children, their homework, and the television shows they watched after school hours. November 2014.

> inversion of authority within the immigrant household. Italian parents relied heavily on their English-speaking children to help them navigate American society. Parents and children literally spoke different languages to each other, with children responding to their Italo-American/dialect-speaking parents in English. The parents' inability to speak English and the child's complete mastery of dialect contributed to and reflected the generational divide.[234]

The infantilizing experience of attending formal schooling (especially for those who had attended school in a limited capacity in Campania), the presence of a permanent, thick accent which served as a marker dividing the speaker from the local language, and the constant dependence on children, made the experience of language learning more stressful for Campani in Canada. In Argentina, where Campani did not rely on formal schooling and had more autonomy, where they could engage with the local language even through mixing and intermingling languages, and where the reliance on children was minimal or absent altogether, immigrants did not face the same challenges, and thus the role of language in the development of an ethnic identity became very different than in Canada.

The prevalence of the question of language in the testimonies of Campani most often takes the form of the treatment of children and of language usage. Parents made conscious decisions regarding which languages they spoke in front of and to their children, and those decisions were guided by numerous carefully considered factors. Of the narrators who settled in Argentina, all of them recounted making the decision to speak in Castilian around their children:

> Interviewer: At home, did you always speak Castilian among the family?
> Roberto Villano: Generally in Castilian, yes. I would have liked to [speak Italian], but since I was not home

[234] Carnevale, 39.

much, especially when the children came, I did what I could.

Interviewer: Did you differentiate between a standard Italian and dialect?

Roberto: I only spoke dialect with friends here and there. But at home, we only ever spoke Castilian. […] Because I was president [of a local regional association], I needed to read, write, and speak Italian. That's why I maintained the language. But the majority of Italians who are here, they all forgot their Italian. They may understand it, but they speak with many errors.[235]

While many like Roberto made this decision because of convenience, circumstances, or other similar factors, external pressures and the promise of mobility through the domination of the local language often guided the parents' decision to speak in the local language at home. Many narrators recall the pressures they felt from schoolteachers who insisted that they should speak Castilian to their children in the home setting:

Daniele Colombo: Between my wife and I we spoke Italian, but when the kids started going to school, the teachers would tell us not to speak in Italian around the children because when they went to class they wrote poorly, they mispronounced Castilian words, and they had an accent.

Anna Vinci: My sister-in-law and I always spoke in Italian. But the teacher complained that my son used Italian words at school. She used to tell me, please refrain from speaking Italian to the child, because he will have problems here.

Enzo Sacco: My parents renounced speaking Italian because they were afraid that we would have problems in school.[236]

[235] Roberto Villano, in conversation with the author. March 2016.
[236] Daniele & Gia Colombo, Anna Vinci, Enzo Sacco, in conversation with the author. January 2014 to February 2016.

These problems were not replicated in Ontario, where parents took for granted that their children would learn English more thoroughly in the school system, and in turn be an asset to the family structure through their language skills. Notably, children from Campania who were new to the Ontario school system entered a community that was far better prepared to deal with bilingualism and language learning in its students than the Argentine one, including a comprehensive ESL (English as a Second Language) program. Regardless, parents in Ontario also made careful decisions about which languages to speak, to whom, and when. Reflecting on language use in the home, Pietro Olivieri explains: "I have three daughters. My wife doesn't speak much Italian. You know, she was born here. So we didn't speak much Italian. At home, we generally spoke English. *Unless I was mad, or I was speaking to my mother or father*. Then I'd speak Italian."[237] Amalia Campi explains that despite her parents' restricted language skills, they spoke only English at home with their two young children; they sent them to standard Italian heritage language classes on weekends, and only spoke dialect amongst themselves when "they were trying to talk about something they didn't want us [children] to know about."[238]

In reader-submitted letters to the *Corriere Degli Italiani* in Buenos Aires, debates about children and language appeared often. In one such letter, a reader argued:

> I don't think that teaching children two languages at once is the cause of any psychological imbalance, otherwise my children would be considered abnormal. Instead, I have the pleasure of seeing them at the top of their classes here. […] In the home, my children do not have any special instruction; they learn the Italian language with the same ease that they learn Castilian in school. And not only that. When I want to tell my wife something without the children understanding, I speak in dialect. But at some point

[237] Pietro Olivieri, in conversation with the author. May 2015. Author's italics.
[238] Amalia Campi, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

> we have had to stop doing that because the children understood that too. It is possible that learning English, a language that may be considered tricky for smaller children, could yield the psychological imbalance discussed here, but for the Latin languages that are ultimately not so different from Italian, this is certainly not the case. […] If we allow children to learn naturally, within the family sphere, there is no danger.

Another reader in Buenos Aires buttressed this point, adding, "I agree entirely: although such concerns may have a foundation in the United States or Canada, here the environment is so dissimilar, that this is not a concern."[239] Certainly, the issue of language and its use around children was a primary concern in the communities of Campani of Buenos Aires and Ontario. Parents reflected thoroughly and often on strategies and 'spheres' for the many languages at their disposal, but the radically different learning environments yielded equally different strategies in each region. In Ontario, where mixing between languages (Italiese aside) was not as comprehensive, as encouraged, or as integrated into the settlement society, these strategies often required more elaborate forethought, and execution, and thus continued to be a more active presence in the immigrant experience of Campani.

Language is not simply a way to relay information between people; instead, in specific situations, such as the initial period of immigration and the unease and uncertainty that accompanied it, language could take on a very important purpose. Although language figures as a prominent puzzle piece in the testimonies of Campani in Ontario and Buenos Aires, it also forms a part of the same experience in more complex ways. By reading between the lines of these valuable testimonies, the ways in which language subconsciously formed personal and collective ideas of ethnicity, identity, and belonging, come to light. They do so in three intriguing ways: through moments of code

[239] *Corriere Degli Italiani*, 31 March 1958. Author's translation.

switching; via sayings and the employment of language to satisfy an end; and most significantly, by understanding the ways that personal and group identity was contextualized through the use of the spoken word.

In all testimonies collected here, narrators were introduced to the project and were asked the first question entirely in English (in Ontario) or Castilian (in Buenos Aires). Many of them nonetheless chose to begin their testimony in Italian, and others still spoke in their regional language. Only when the interviewer continued the conversation in the local language did they switch away from Italian. The choice to use their Italian or regional variety is particularly noteworthy in the cases where the narrator's English or Castilian were particularly strong or where it was admittedly their dominant language, and certainly their only language of communication with the interviewer, since Italian was never used as a primary method of communication between the two. This choice could thus be interpreted as a deliberate attempt on the part of the narrator to identify as an Italian-language speaker, particularly in light of the situation. Under the red light of the 'record' button, and under pressure (self-imposed or otherwise) to provide a compelling 'immigrant experience' story, it is not surprising that 'being Italian' is an important consideration for narrators, one that many choose to display through language. In this way, language choice and code switching is dictated by a perceived need or desire to connect to a personal past, and to evoke a sense of loyalty which the interview process, and the problem of authority, necessarily call to reaffirm.

Overwhelmingly, moments of code switching (alternating between two or more languages within a single conversation) occur when the speaker recounts a particularly emotional, difficult, or trying memory, and it is worth noting to what extent the ethnic

language serves as an aid or a form of support for the speaker when navigating the challenges of the specific subject matter.[240] The words that are left without translation are most often words that readers have identified as nodal points in their immigration narrative, where the local language of their new home does not suffice in conveying the deep emotional or personal experiences to which only Italian (or a regional variety) can do justice. Consider, for example, Daniele Colombo's reflection on his experiences as a young immigrant to Argentina, and his advice to potential future immigrants:

> Leaving the homeland is quite difficult, but it's an adventure that must be accepted in order to immigrate. You may find yourself disoriented when you get to a new country, but taking it step by step, if you have *costanza*,[241] everything goes well. If you don't have it, nothing will go well. You must have *costanza* at work; with other people; you must learn a different *lingua* [language]… So you must have that. But everything goes well if you have good intentions.[242]

In most accounts, the use of Italian and the act of code switching support Michael Fischer's concept of inter-referencing, the use of a language "that the immigrants brought with them as well as the language of the host country in the same speech event […] along with references from the two cultures, to form a unique communication fully accessible only to insiders who have direct experience of living between two cultures."[243] Inter-referencing is not unique to Campani; it is, after all, a marked feature in most immigrant communities and testimonies. One narrator's proud comment, "Nui a tenido Maradona!" is a good example of inter-referencing.[244] As a Neapolitan immigrant settled in

---

[240] On code switching, see Anna De Fina, "Code-Switching and the Construction of Ethnic Identity in a Community of Practice" *Language in Society* 36, 3 (2007) 371-392.
[241] The Italian word *costanza* has no literal English translation, but its closest approximation (and the way it is employed here) is resolution, steadfastness, and perseverance. Rather than find a subpar Castilian translation, Daniele Colombo retains the original Italian word in his testimony.
[242] Daniele Colombo, in conversation with the author. January 2014. Author's translation.
[243] Carnevale, 124.
[244] Anonymous narrator, in conversation with the author. August 2014.

Argentina, the narrator speaks in a jumbled language, partly Neapolitan dialect and partly Castilian, although the structure of his sentence is grammatically incorrect in both. His comment makes reference to soccer legend Diego Maradona's professional tenure in Naples and where he is, to this day, revered as a venerable patron saint of the city. The narrator uses inter-referencing via language to reflect his position "between two cultures" (to borrow from Fischer) and to produce a comment that can only be understood by others in the same position. This usage and negotiation between languages serves as a method of belonging to a group, specifically, a community of immigrants or descendants who have grown up under its legacy. In this way, code switching and other less overt treatments of language in the immigrant testimony speak to the ways in which language is employed to reflect an intra-group identity.

Many of the factors that are considered by scholars to be markers of integration or of ethnic retention do not reflect the lived experience or consciousness of immigrants and their descendants. Language, for example, which has long been considered a marker of ethnic retention, does not figure prominently as a marker of ethnicity for many young Italians abroad. Many young people of Italian descent do not speak Italian or a regional variety thereof, but yet they continue to identify with the Italian ethnicity. By studying the traditions of orality and language play of the communities of Campani in different geographic areas, we can better understand how immigrants conceived of and employed language as an avenue of ethnic expression.

Wselevod Isajiw's theory on ethnic identity retention argues that language is in fact an important marker of ethnic identification among immigrants groups and their descendants; while they may not use the language to communicate in everyday life, and

they may not be fully fluent in it, parables, stories, and intra-group bilingual communication serve an extremely important purpose as methods of ethnic identity maintenance and in-group participation.[245] Cristina, the granddaughter of Campani in Canada, is a good example of this phenomenon. She speaks very limited Italian and communicates primarily in English, including with her grandmother. She specifies, however: "We use Italian words when we speak [among school friends], 'cause everyone knows we're Italian, half my school is Italian, […] and if our friends are the same culture we'll use words like instead of saying 'my uncle' or 'my grandmother' – oh 'my Zio' or 'my Nonna'."[246] Although Cristina is a limited Italian speaker and relies primarily on English to communicate, she does not correlate her Italianness directly to her language ability. Instead, she manoeuvres the languages at her disposal based on the situation at hand; to belong to an intra-group at school, she calls upon her language terms (all, interestingly, related to family and kinship) to belong.

Herbert Gans' theory of "symbolic ethnicity" is a fitting explanation for this process. Gans explains that "as the functions of ethnic cultures and groups diminish and identity becomes the primary way of being ethnic, ethnicity takes on an expressive rather than instrumental function in people's lives, becoming more of a leisure-time activity and losing its relevance, say, to earning a living or regulating family life." This may contribute to an understanding of Cristina's language usage, but it is unsatisfactory in numerous ways. Firstly, Gans insists on the centrality of formal ethnic organizations as a primary source of ethnic identity formation. Gans' organizations are formalized, public

---

[245] Wsevolod Isajiw, "Ethnic-Identity Retention," in *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*, edited by Raymond Breton, Wsevolod Isajiw, Warren E. Kalbach, Jeffrey G. Reitz (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) 34-91.
[246] Eamer, 250.

entities (he refers to occupational ties, mass media, political organizations, and religious communities as examples). For Gans, the family is at best a passive recipient of symbolic ethnicity (whereby symbolic ethnicity allows for family cohesion and reunions, for example). The family itself as a site of ethnic identity formation is completely absent. This dissertation instead departs from the position that ethnic identity is first and foremost rooted in the family, which, given its unorganized and private nature, cannot be not considered an organization by Gans' standard. Secondly, Gans argues that ethnicity is largely "characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country." Although the Old Country is certainly important, I argue that descendants like Cristina do not use these terms simply as an act of "nostalgic allegiance." Instead this dissertation is a testament to the dynamic, vibrant, and constantly evolving nature of ethnic identity formation.[247]

It is not, contrary to Gans, a generational study, interested to unearth the ways these issues differ among immigrants, their children, and ensuing descendants. Instead, the nature of the testimonies collected for this dissertation shed light on one shortcoming of Gans' dependence on a generational approach: the collective nature of these testimonies (informal gatherings in intimate settings; largely performed in groups of family members and friends; the absence of prescribed questions and a blurring of lines between interviewer and interviewee) demonstrate that ideas of identity and ethnicity are not formed in a vacuum among members of a single generation. Instead, they are formed in a network between and among numerous generations working together to compile

[247] Herbert Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2, 1 (1979) 7.

meaning, and in an ongoing conversation that hinges and changes depending on who is participating.

In Argentina, Enzo Sacco recalls that when his mother arrived with two young children at the port of Buenos Aires, her husband received her speaking in Castilian, to which she replied: "Ue, parlame como t´a fatto mamma!" (Neapolitan for "Hey, talk to me the way your momma taught you!" – another illuminating example of Fischer's inter-referencing).[248] For Enzo's mother, a sense of anxiety over the move, the alienation she must have felt by her strange new home, and a husband she had not seen for months, were perfectly depicted in the use of a foreign tongue. By demanding that he speak to her in Neapolitan, she was able to once again take command of a situation that must have felt outside of her realm of understanding.[249]

In 1990, Isajiw attempted to understand to what extent ethnic identity could be retained from one generation to the next by studying what he dubbed "ethnic patterns of behaviour" among different ethnic groups in Canada. Among the forms he studied is language. Isajiw found that among Italians, knowledge level of the ethnic language, based on oral use and comprehension, remained relatively high in the second and third generations, particularly compared to other immigrant groups. Isajiw found that for successive generations who retained the knowledge of the ethnic language, that same

---

[248] Enzo Sacco, in conversation with the author. February 2016. This phrase is in reference to a Neapolitan song, "Comme facette mammeta" that won second place at the Piedigrotta Festival in 1906. Interestingly, Sacco's phrasing abandons the grammatically correct Neapolitan form of the phrase in favour of a hybridized Neapolitan-Spanish version: he uses words like 'como' (Spanish) instead of the Neapolitan 'comme;' and 'mamma,' a middle ground between the Neapolitan 'mammeta' and the Spanish 'mamá'.

[249] A similar example is available in Lorenzkowski's monograph on the 'sounds' of the German language. She recounts the story of a young German boy who writes a diary in German. After he turns 17, Louis begins writing only in English. But Lorenzkowski explains that "seemed strangely inadequate in times of despair. When his father died prematurely in the summer of 1880, Louis expressed his anguish in German, not English. He wrote the remainder of the diary for the year in his mother tongue, as if to preserve a tangible bond with his late father. If the German language had hitherto signified a world of childhood, it now transformed into an emotional bridge to the past." Barbara Lorenzkowski, "Languages of Ethnicity: Teaching German in Waterloo County's Schools, 1850-1915" *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 41, 81 (2008) 11-12.

language changed its function. It no longer served a purely instrumental purpose, but instead became symbolic; for subsequent generations, language had shifted from a means of communication to a symbol or means of 'identity reinforcement'.[250] It is this idea of language as a means of 'identity reinforcement' to which we now turn.

Campani arrived in the Americas with pre-existing hierarchies and understandings of the languages at their disposal. They did so belonging to a linguistic culture that relies heavily on poetry, wordplay, and linguistic wit, and so Campani immigrated along with their "high regard for verbal dexterity." As Sydel Silverman notes in his anthropological study of an Italian village, "indulging in talk for its own sake" as a way to display 'verbal expertise' was a hallmark of civility, a central concept in Italian life. Men's public talk in particular, writes Silverman, "is developed as a skill, even an art, of discourse, argument, and verbal play.'"[251] Campani thus found a welcoming climate in the language culture in Buenos Aires, where wordplay and language humour were an integral part of the sociolinguistic reality.[252] The prevalence of *lunfardo* and *cocoliche* influences in the spoken language, combined with a cultural penchant for playing and mixing languages meant that, despite their limited proficiency, the humour and value of language remained relatively similar.[253] The Campani who arrived in Buenos Aires entered a linguistic

---

[250] If we accept this interpretation of the symbolic purpose of language in succeeding generations, it presents an exciting opportunity to take up the invitations of historians such as Roberto Perin and Franca Iacovetta, who have long called for the study of immigrant history as a means of better understanding popular culture and national history on the whole. A study that acknowledges this approach, in the words of Iacovetta, "considers the ways in which experiences and identities, and political and social phenomena [such as language?] can be shaped by a multiplicity of overlapping and contradictory influences." See Franca Iacovetta, 'Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestics: Writing about Immigrants in Canadian Historical Scholarship" in *Labour/Le Travail*, 36 (Fall 1995) 217-252; and Roberto Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 64, no. 4 (1983), 441–459.

[251] Carnevale, 35.

[252] The word *creole* here is used as a translation for the Castilian *criollo*. For an in-depth discussion on *criollo* language and culture and reflections thereupon: Cara, Ana C. "The Politics of Creole Talk: Toward an Aesthetic of Argentine Verbal Art." *The Journal of American Folklore* 116, 459 (2003) 36-56.

[253] *Truco*, a card game played with a Spanish deck, is especially popular in the Southern Cone, and a good example of this. The rules of the game are relatively simple, but the strategy and essence of the game rely primarily on the player's

system that had been deeply influenced by the Italians who had come before them. As Ana Cara-Walker explains, "creolization (the cultural redefinition negotiated by two or more diverse groups coming into contact – in this case, Italians and Argentines) yield[ed] a new ethic and aesthetic order wherein the presence of each group [became] integral to the national whole. […] Cocoliche became a key vehicle for this process of creolization."[254] *Cocoliche* was a dramatic theatrical character (and later a linguistic phenomenon) that spoke in Italo-Argentine speech. His character served as a means for native Argentines to "mock the 'foreignness' of Italian immigrants, […but] the Cocoliche character also offered natives and newly arrived '*tanos'* (Italians) a way to negotiate their differences through ritual and symbolic confrontations onstage, in carnival activities, in print, and ultimately, in everyday life.[255] As Cara-Walker elaborates:

> Cocoliche the character was neither gaucho[256] nor Italian, yet at the same time he was both. As the "gaucho," he mocked the immigrants' language and behavior, and as the "Italian," he celebrated Argentine culture and tradition, leaving foreigners no alternative but to want to become "native." In this manner, Cocoliche's double identity allowed for not only the survival but also the control of both cultural "faces." His image functioned as a disguise for integration (assimilation) as well as for dissent (dissimulation).[257]

By the turn of the twentieth century, the term *Cocoliche* came to denote not only the character's mixed vernacular, but other forms of popular culture that employed this technique (such as styles of dress, works of music or art, and even decorative trends). For

---

dominance of the language. Through word play and linguistic trickery (such as puns and double entendres), players can excel in the game.

[254] Cara-Walker, Ana. "Cocoliche: The Art of Assimilation and Dissimulation among Italians and Argentines." *Latin American Research Review* 22, 3 (1987) 37.

[255] Cara-Walker, Ana. "Cocoliche," 37.

[256] The word *gaucho* has a long and complex linguistic history that cannot be explored here; in Argentina, the word is usually used to denote a country dweller of the Rio de la Plata region who specializes in cattle ranching work. The *gaucho* is often seen as a cultural depiction of a pastoral and 'pure' symbolic Argentina.

[257] Ibid., 43.

Campani who arrived decades after these concepts had been at play, this atmosphere of ongoing negotiation produced a much more flexible and welcoming environment.

By contrast, in Ontario, "the value Italians placed on the ability to speak well could only have compounded the immigrants' sense of inadequacy in the English language, a condition that has been compared with a form of castration."[258] Certainly, Campani in Canada found a way to integrate their playful and engaging relationship with language into their new linguistic reality. *Italiese*, the ethnolect of Italian-Canadian immigrants and their descendants, is distinct to the place in which it is formed in that it adapts loanwords from English and develops phonetic and morphological adjustments that make speech 'sound' Italian. This fusion is not random; it has a linguistic logic that is explained elsewhere.[259] But significantly, its genesis is not random either. As Danesi explains, it can serve to "fulfil a basic practical need to express a new psycholinguistic experience… It is through these newly acquired words that the immigrant comes to understand the new reality."[260] For speakers of Italiese, then, *pinabarra* (Eng. peanut butter) and *basamento* (Eng. basement) became substitutes that allowed them to discuss and engage with terms that did not exist in the Old World.[261] Such a conclusion implies that Italiese is employed as a transitory coping mechanism, one that may fall into disuse once its speakers have made a complete transition. In these and other ways, the negotiation of languages and linguistic systems can be seen as a mirror of evolving ideas of ethnicity and identity within communities of Campani abroad.

---

[258] Carnevale, 35.
[259] Danesi, "Canadian Italian."
[260] Ibid.
[261] In a 2012 Panoram Magazine article, Dr. Roberta Iannacito-Provenzano explains: "There were some things new immigrants encountered that they just didn't have the words to describe in Italian, so they adapted Italian sounding words based on the English term, […] It was also a way for Italians who came [to Canada] speaking a variety of regional dialects to easily communicate with one another." Daniela DiStefano, "Italiese, A Language Between Generations" Accessed January 10, 2017 (http://www.panoramitalia.com/en/lifestyle/trends-etiquette/italiese-language-generations/1252/).

Consider, for example, the narrators who refuse to translate key words of their testimony into their dominant language:

> Sara Sarla: My grandparents always talked about *lavoro*, and that *per mangiare bisogna lavorare*. Those types of phrases. They always instilled that work ethic in me.
>
> Paolo Sofia: My boss was in love with my work. He said, I'm gonna let this guy *lavorare*. He'll do a better job than even me!
>
> Marco Marea: They come to my bakery to *mangiar* something.[262]

When Sara Sarla, Paolo Sofia, and many others use the word *lavorare* (to work) in their Castilian narrative, or when Marco Marea uses *mangiare* (to eat), they are not merely engaging in a subconscious act of code switching; these are words that they know in Castilian and could easily translate if they so chose to. These words are left in the original language because they belong only to that language in their lived consciousness and in the immigrant psychology: to work and to eat are fundamentally Italian values which, for these narrators, are expressible only via that language. Carnevale explains that

> Emotional distancing within the speaker of two or more languages reflects the propensity for splitting among polylinguals, a central theme in the writings of those psychoanalysts who have dealt with issues arising from the abandonment of the mother tongue. Knowledge of a second language can result in a defensive splitting off of emotions and situations experienced in the mother tongue or their complete repression.[263]

In a way, polylinguals develop two or more separate 'personalities,' systems which they manoeuvre at their disposal and as they see fit. As Barbara Lorenzkowski has noted, these "meanings of language […] point to the intricate ways in which a sense of cultural

---

[262] Sara Sarla, Paolo Sofia, Marco Marea, in conversation with the author. January 2014 to March 2016. Author's translation.
[263] Carnevale, 105.

identity was embedded, and expressed, in practices of language use.[264] For immigrants, language choice is tied to complex negotiations of identity, and they occupy a constructed linguistic space to serve the needs of those in this position. This constructed space is navigated strategically by the immigrant, based not only on physical places (school, home, etc.) but also by the people who surround them and the context of the conversation. Furthermore, these choices are developed from an early age, so that they become almost unconscious moves between linguistic spaces, to the point that even the young children of immigrants know intrinsically how to navigate this network. In Buenos Aires, increased opportunity for navigation between the immigrant's separate systems of language yielded personal definitions of identity that melded contrasting systems far more frequently and messily than they did in Ontario, where narrators tended to divide their different 'selves' more neatly, and with far more forethought.

Most importantly, Campani in Ontario and Buenos Aires, despite radically different contexts and realities, proved to be aggressive agents in the negotiation and manipulation of their linguistic realities. In "Ethnics Against Ethnicity," Jonathan Zimmerman argues that for many immigrants, heritage language classes were rejected because they sought to impose a single language that was too rigid for groups of people who were accustomed to living among a 'Babel of dialects.' He argues that immigrants rejected 'ethnicization' in the same way that they rejected 'Americanization', and chose instead to create an ethnicity that was, in many ways, based on multiple language usage, including a strong usage of English.[265] To them, a genuine expression of ethnicity could

[264] Barbara Lorenzkowski, "Languages of Ethnicity: Teaching German in Waterloo County's Schools, 1850-1915." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 41, 81 (2008) pp. 12.
[265] Jonathan Zimmerman, "Ethnics Against Ethnicity: European Immigrants and Foreign-Language Instruction, 1890-1940," *Journal of American History*, March 2002, 1383-1404.

not be classified uniformly by a structure of national heritage languages. Vizmuller-Zocco echoes the significance of English in *Italiese* usage, concluding that English "has a much more pervasive role and its influence covers not only the lexical but also the pragmatic aspects of Italiese."[266]

In more subtle ways as well, Campani abroad exercised autonomy and did so in their immigration experiences through the lens of language. Daniele Colombo recalls, for example, that when he first moved to the small town of Lobos outside of Buenos Aires, his motivation to learn Castilian was not socioeconomic, political, or otherwise. It was merely a tool for self-defense:

> Daniele Colombo: I worked in the yards during the day, and the men there would swear at me in Castilian. Not with ill intent, but it was funny for them. They would laugh. I didn't understand a thing […]. I would go home and ask my uncle, 'what does this word mean?' The next day I would come home and ask again, 'what about this one?' So I said, I must find somewhere to learn Castilian.
> Interviewer: So you started learning because of swear words.
> Daniele: Exactly! So that I could defend myself.

Growing up as a young immigrant in Toronto, Dorotea Manti used language in a similar way:

> I was in Grade 1, they were doing roll call, and they were calling 'Dorothy.' Dorothy Manti. And I wasn't answering. They asked, 'what's your name?' and I said 'Dorotea'. 'No your name is Dorothy. 'No my name is not Dorothy, it's Dorotea!' I cried and stomped and yelled because my name wasn't Dorothy, it was Dorotea. That's what they called me at home.[267]

---

[266] Jana Vizmuller-Zocco, "Politeness and Languages in Contact: Italians in Toronto" *Italian Ethnics: Their Languages, Literature and Lives. Proceedings of the 20th Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association, Chicago Illinois, November 11-13, 1987*, eds. Dominic Candeloro, Fred. L Gardaphe, Paolo A. Giordano (New York: American Italian Historican Association, Inc., 1990), 43-50.
[267] Dorotea Manti, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

In both examples, the narrator employed language as a tool for asserting themselves within their identity as Campani and as immigrants through language alone. This appropriation of an experience that for many can be difficult, alienating, and often victimizing, becomes, through language, an empowering one ("al uso nostro," "in our own way").[268]

An oral history methodology elucidates the fact that language is not merely a tool of communication. Nor is it a process of slow shift from one linguistic system to the other. These conclusions are too simplistic. Rather, a much more accurate and interesting way to see language is as a dynamic cloud of possibilities, where the two or more languages of each immigrant play with and off of each other, where they are heightened or lessened depending on the situation, and where each serves its own unique purpose in differing circumstances. This interpretation also brings to light the autonomy of the immigrant, who is constantly negotiating, whether consciously or unconsciously, between these possibilities. If seen in this way, a much more lively picture emerges of ethnic identity formation, one which is more accurate and representative of the lived experience of Campani immigrants and their descendants.

[268] "Al Uso Nostro" Biblioteca Nacional. Aguero 2502, Ciudad Autonoma de Buenos Aires. Visited November 13, 2015.

Chapter 5: Ethnic Foodways

Adriana DiPaola arrived in Toronto in 1956, one year after her husband had travelled from their small hometown of Agropoli to build a new life in the Canadian city. With two small children in tow, Adriana quickly found a job as a seamstress and settled into her new life on Margueretta Street, among the friends and family she knew from home. Shortly after her arrival, she was asked to cook lunch for her extended family. Back home, she had learned to cook simple soups and sauces with her mother, who always chastised her for lacking a natural predisposition in the kitchen. Nevertheless, she had learned to prepare basic meals for her small family of four. Away from her mother and alone at home while her husband worked, Adriana panicked at the thought of feeding twelve, and it showed. When her sister-in-law arrived shortly before lunch, she found Adriana in the sparkling and modern kitchen, with gnocchi on every available surface: on the table, on the counters, and in the sink. Covered in flour with her hair in disarray, Adriana began to sob. Her sister-in-law rolled up her sleeves and dug her hands into the gnocchi. One by one, the small spools of pasta found their way into the pot, and by lunchtime, the table was set and heaping with homemade pasta and sauce. Adriana watched as *paesani* devoured her meal. She quietly said a prayer of thanks, and allowed herself a small moment of pride before digging in.

Five decades later, Adriana's memories of her first years in Canada are vivid and playful, and they have a distinctly dominant theme: food. Weaving her testimony masterfully, Adriana reflects, among others, upon: the application of Old World skills in the New World; the intimate relationship among immigrant women; the transition to an

unfamiliar city and the importance of family there; the fear and isolation that accompanies immigration; the primacy of religion; and notions of success and satisfaction in the immigrant experience.

This chapter argues that food is mobilized as a means of expression of ethnic identity. The iconic gastronomic culture of Naples and its surroundings is affected by the process of immigration, and vice versa. It argues that Campani in Ontario and Buenos Aires used the traditional Neapolitan food that they had in common as a means of reaffirming connections with their homeland, but also as a way to engage with local customs abroad. It explores foodways back home, their immigration abroad, and the interplay between traditional foodways and those of the settlement societies. Lastly, it argues that Campani abroad employed food as a form of granting (or denying) authority, control, and consent in the interview process, thereby protecting the legacies and testimonies of Campani. As such, it explores the permeability of food not only as a "resource for generating memories, histories, and interpretations of the present," but also as a means of connecting to "a particular kind of social space."[269]

This chapter has two aims. First, it seeks to understand the culinary world to which Campani were exposed, and the ways they navigated this system. It explores foodways and customs back home, their immigration and presence in the settlement regions, and the interplay between traditional foodways and those abroad.[270] It explores the gendered components of such foodways, and the mobilization of food as a system of meaning and ethnic identifier. But the chapter seeks to look past this preliminary goal. It

---

[269] Ana Croegaert, "Who Has Time for Cejf? Postsocialist Migration and Slow Coffee in Neoliberal Chicago," *American Anthropologist* 113, 3 (2011) 464.
[270] I employ the term foodways as "a term that encompasses the eating habits and other food-related cultural and social practices of a particular group, region, or historical period." Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, & Marlene Epp, eds., *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

examines how food continues to be employed in the present day as a tool for storytelling. It explores not only how food is discussed and remembered in immigrant testimony, but how it forms part of the act of remembering, and of the interview process itself. In the same way that language can be considered what Claude Levi-Strauss called a "universal form of human activity," so is food.[271] Much like they used language, Campani used food to navigate ethnic identity and the immigrant experience.

Natalia Milanesio has observed that "food politics, food consumption, and food imaginaries are some of the most undeveloped aspects of Argentine historiography,"[272] a startling fact considering the weight and social life of food in the Argentine imaginary. In Canada, food has more recently become a topic of interest, yielding a new collection of materials on the matter.[273] These works (and the one that follows here) depart from the seminal advances made in other fields such as anthropology and economics. A field as rich as food studies is served particularly well by interdisciplinarity. As Carole Counihan observes, food studies "manage to rise above the dualisms that threaten to segment most fields of study. This field resists separating biological from cultural, individual from society, and local from global culture, but rather struggles with their entanglements. Food and culture studies have somehow made interdisciplinarity workable."[274]

---

[271] "It would seem that the methodological principle which inspires such distinctions is transposable to other domains, notably that of cooking which, it has never been sufficiently emphasized, is with language a truly universal form of human activity: if there is no society without a language, nor is there any which does not cook in some manner at least some of its food." Claude Levi-Strauss, "The Culinary Triangle." In *Food and Culture: A Reader*, eds. Carole Counihan Penny van Esterik (New York: Routledge, 2013) 40.
[272] Natalia Milanesio, "Food Politics and Consumption in Peronist Argentina" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, 1 (2010) 77.
[273] See, for example: Iacovetta, et al, *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*; Ian Mosby, *Food Will Win the War: The Politics, Culture, and Science of Food on Canada's Home Front* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014).
[274] Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik, eds., *Food and Culture* (New York & London: Routledge, 2013) 1.

Food became a "critical ground" where Campani could navigate the "complex process of material and cultural adjustment" of their new lives abroad:[275] it provided a ripe field of deep play,[276] where Campani could engage with the daunting and unfamiliar through safe and comforting channels, as Adriana DiPaola's testimony above shows.[277] Furthermore, in the production of oral histories and constructed testimonies, food has remained a conduit with which vulnerable subjects can, to this day, "designate 'safe spaces'" and "share subjective lives."[278]

For Italians, food is pervasive. In her edited collection of food histories, Franca Iacovetta writes about the "personal stake in food" that we all share.[279] More recently, Dan Nosowitz played on this personal stake: "Foods and curse words linger longer in a disrupted language. […] If you can't eat them or yell them, foreign words don't often stick around."[280] Food did not figure in early outlines for this project, nor was it part of the line of inquiry for the oral testimonies collected here, or a searchable term in the archives I visited. And yet, this personal stake, and the prevalence of discourses around food in testimonies, archival documents, and secondary literature persisted. It became clear that such conversations about identity, ethnicity, and transnationalism must necessarily involve a reflection of one of the most fundamental and significant ways in

[275] Nadia Postiglione, "'It was just horrible': the food experience of immigrants in 1950s Australia," *History Australia* 7, 1 (2010) 09.2.
[276] Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai defines the term deep play as "a species of competitive encounter within a shared framework of rules and meanings in which what is risked are profound conceptions of self and other, high and low, inside and outside. […] Transactions around food represent […] perhaps the central currency of such "deep play" precisely because food is built into such a variety of arenas. Thus, whenever food is exchanged in one domain, it carries some of the meanings of its roles into other domains." Arjun Appadurai, "Gastro-Politics in Hindu South Asia," *American Ethnologist* 8, 3 (1981) 509.
[277] Clifford Geertz as cited in: Appadurai, "Gastro-Politics in Hindu South Asia," 509.
[278] Nadia Jones-Gailani, "Qahwa and Kleiche: Drinking Coffee in Oral History Interviews with Iraqi Women in Diaspora," Global Food History (2017) 1.
[279] Iacovetta, et al, *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics.*
[280] Dan Nosowitz, "How Capicola Became Gabagool: The Italian New Jersey Accent, Explained." http://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/how-capicola-became-gabagool-the-italian-new-jersey-accent-explained?utm_source=facebook.com&utm_medium=theatlantic. Retrieved January 20, 2017.

which those ideas permeate everyday life. Each and every narrator interviewed for this project brought up the issue of food unprompted, and displayed a readiness to discuss and reflect upon it, despite the fact that I did not actively pursue the subject. Furthermore, food figured in their narratives not simply as a material good, a product of consumption, a trade, or an item of enjoyment or entertainment. It also served to contextualize, authorize, and navigate interviews. These processes will be described below. Once I stepped back and allowed my sources to speak to me, it became clear how prevalent and dominant food is in the immigrant experience of Campani.

What follows does not purport to provide a history of Italian food, or of the foods of Campania. Such a history would simply distract from the questions posed here, and has been done far better elsewhere. John Dickie's *Delizia! The Epic History of the Italians and their Food*, for example, challenges the long-accepted notion of Italian food as a cuisine of the peasantry. Instead, Dickie convincingly posits that Italian food is actually *city* food: "from early in the second millennium, the hundred cities of Italy hogged the produce of the countryside and used it to build a rich food culture. For centuries, Italy's cities have been where all the things that go to create great cooking are concentrated: ingredients and culinary expertise, of course, but also power, wealth, markets, and competition for social prestige."[281] Naples was no exception, and Neapolitan cuisine developed a distinctive style based primarily on foodstuffs grown in the area and its surrounding regions, including the *mozzarella di bufala* from Caserta, seafood from the Bay of Naples, citrics from the Amalfi Coast, and nuts from Avellino. Cuisines varied by region of course, taking advantage of the products harvested locally whenever possible. But a distinctly Neapolitan tradition took hold and spread from the

[281] John Dickie, *Delizia! The Epic History of the Italians and their Food*. New York: Free Press, 2008.

city outward. John Mariani's *How Italian Food Conquered the World* reminds us that food was not simply a question of agriculture and foodstuffs, but that the social component of eating is also historically marked. Food markets were often based within city walls, and were, "after the church, the social center of the populace." Furthermore, the church established feast days "as a way both to maintain the people's link to their religion and to allow for a display of excess now and then." Religion, public life, urban infrastructure, and celebration, then, were all tied to food in deep ways.[282]

Distinctly Neapolitan traditions emerged. Pizza, a Neapolitan 'invention,' was the quintessential food of the poor, and the craft of the pizza-maker (*pizzaiolo*) rose in prominence. In recent years, the craft of the *pizzaioli* has been under increasing demand and scrutiny. Pizza schools have cropped up all over Naples and abroad, draft bills have been presented to Parliament to discipline the trade,[283] and most recently, advocates of the craft are petitioning to achieve a spot on UNESCO's List of Intangible Cultural Heritage.[284]

Narrators are also quick to recall the ways in which they engaged with food before migration, a relationship that affected Campani's concepts of placehood, time, and community. Most narrators recall working the land; many did so to earn a living (such as Paolo Sofia who harvested olives and hazelnuts, and made olive oil at home),[285] but more commonly, they did so as a form of subsistence farming. Campani's relationship with food began quite literally from the ground up, a process that would be deeply affected with migration. In the small town of Montesarchio, Luca and Cecilia Alba owned a

---

[282] John F. Mariani, *How Italian Food Conquered the World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) 8.
[283] Rossella Ceccarini, "Food Workers as Individual Agents of Culinary Globalization: Pizza and Pizzaioli in Japan," in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, eds. Carole Counihan Penny van Esterik (New York: Routledge, 2013) 442.
[284] https://www.change.org/p/la-globalizzazione-non-distrugga-l-arte-dei-pizzaiuoli-napoletani-la-tua-firma-perch%C3%A8-diventi-patrimonio-unesco, Retrieved Feb. 8, 2016.
[285] Paolo Sofia in conversation with the author, March 2016. Author's translation.

cheese shop before moving to the outskirts of Toronto. They reminisce often about the culinary rhythms in Italy, where customers were more likely to shop at small specialty stores for freshly delivered ingredients, and where shop owners relished their long lunch hours at home before returning to the business for the afternoon shift.[286] Campani's relationship to food, then, dictated patterns of behaviour that were sensitive to place and time, and which would ultimately be affected by migration. Eventually, this special relationship to food would colour the ways that Campani formulated their immigrant experience as well, serving as a mnemonic device in the process of testimony recording by bringing narrators' memories back to them, or serving as purveyor of authority or consent between narrator and interviewer.

In his Introduction, John Dickie points out that "Italian food has been shaped at least as much by its promiscuous traveling as it has by its steadfast roots in the soil of the peninsula."[287] And travel it did. Immigrants embarking on transatlantic journeys took their prized possessions with them, and nothing was more prized than the foods from their homeland. Of his journey from the small town of San Pietro Infine in 1958 to Pier 21 in Halifax, Antonio Pagano's most vivid memories revolve around food: "One of the men travelling with us on the boat kept saying that he was bringing with him a beautiful prosciutto that he made himself and could not wait to eat it with his family when he got to Toronto."[288] Food was a source of nourishment, but also a source of pride, of comfort, and a promise of continuity amidst a sea of change. Such memories also bring to light the role that gatekeepers such as immigration officials had in dictating how settlement abroad changed Campani's foodways and customs. The man described above ultimately had his

[286] Luca and Cecilia Alba in conversation with the author, November 2014.
[287] Dickie, *Delizia! The Epic History of the Italians and their Food*, 9.
[288] Antonio Pagano, "Italian Immigrant, Antonio Pagano," Canada's Immigration Museum Pier 21.

prosciutto confiscated, and Pagano continues: "I remember there being a long table in the warehouse and the table was full of items that the new immigrants were not supposed to bring to Canada such as prosciuttos, sausages, cheese, salamis and liquor bottles."[289] The table full of confiscated items is a familiar presence in most immigrants' testimonies, a symbol of sacrifice, so to speak, where newcomers surrendered a part of themselves (as many believed food to be) in exchange for entry.

Figure 13. Immigration officers discover stowed cured meats and other food items in the luggage of newly arrived Italians in Canada. Scene from *Caffe Italia, Montreal*, dir. Paul Tana (1985) digital film.

To navigate potential setbacks such as these, immigrants found ways to subvert gatekeepers' policies. Some immigrants surveyed the scene and skilfully smuggled food items past the border guards. Others worked strategically. After arriving in Toronto in

[289] Pagano. See also: Jan Raska, "Food Wars! Immigration and Food Confiscation at Pier 21." http://www.pier21.ca/blog/jan-raska/food-wars-immigration-and-food-confiscation-at-pier-21. Retrieved February 7, 2017.

1955, Goffredo DiPaola wrote letters to his wife to teach her basic English skills in case she needed to defend herself upon arrival. Inevitably, the words he taught her were always food-based. His wife recalls: "He told me that *aqua* was called water, and [*pane* was] bread. The bread, they call toast. Toast is bread. And milk. *Latte* was called milk."[290] In these ways, food was a ripe field for navigating authority and control. Through food, the nation-state attempted to dictate the behaviour of new immigrants; similarly through food, new immigrants wrestled control back and exercised agency through secret or hidden channels. Given that this contentious relationship was established from early on in the immigration experience, it is not surprising that the concept of food as an avenue for contesting or wrestling control from an established authority figure is present in the practice of providing one's testimony, where immigrants challenge the interviewer's position as the authority figure through the use and refusal of food.

While agricultural concerns were cited to invoke and justify border restrictions, the popularity of Italian cuisine (and Neapolitan cuisine in particular) grew abroad. In Buenos Aires, "the major gastronomic heritage of European immigration, fundamentally pasta and risotto, [...] primarily flourished in big cities […] that became famous for the cosmopolitan nature of their foods."[291] In Toronto, the *Corriere Canadese* regularly published reflections and recipes displaying the riches of Naples, such as the December 1955 article "The Seven Lofty Pillars of Neapolitan Cuisine"[292] or, five years later,

[290] Goffredo DiPaola in conversation with the author, November 2014.
[291] Milanesio, "Food Politics and Consumption in Peronist Argentina," 102.
[292] *Corriere Canadese*, 23 December 1955.

"Naples in the Kitchen".[293] Neapolitan food had migrated with its consumers, and the foods of Campania had undeniably found roots across the ocean.

Those foodways found unique expressions in different parts of the world, and yet they remained linked in important ways. One such way was the Associazione Verace Pizza Napoletana (AVPN). Founded in 1984 and based in Naples, the AVPN strives to "promote and safeguard the traditional pizza of Napoli as a response to the rise of fast-food pizza chains and industrially-made pizzas often marketed as 'Pizza from Napoli.'"[294] The AVPN offers membership to pizzerias worldwide that meet their standards for ingredients, preparation, and presentation. Mapping AVPN's members, then, is instructive for understanding the diasporic nature of Neapolitan cuisine. Whereas Canada boasts thirteen accredited restaurants (four of them in the Toronto area alone), Argentina is home to only one accredited restaurant, located, notably, in the trendy and tourist-friendly Palermo neighbourhood in Buenos Aires.[295] This distribution illuminates the fact that whereas the Neapolitan gastronomic tradition migrated to both countries with equal force, it evolved in markedly different ways in each country. In her study of Goan foodways, Marta Vilar Rosales outlines this trajectory by reflecting on food and foodways as cultural materials. She writes:

> All (human) movements are immersed in materiality, since they necessarily involve processes of expropriation and appropriation, of desire and expectations regarding specific things. Furthermore, movement changes materiality, not only because it entails the transference of objects and practices from one geographic location to another, affecting their uses and users, but also because different movements often result in different migrant

[293] *Corriere Canadese*, 13 September 1960.
[294] Ceccarini, "Food Workers as Individual Agents of Culinary Globalization," 441.
[295] http://www.pizzanapoletana.org/. Retrieved April 10, 2017. Palermo is located in the north-east of Buenos Aires capital. It is characterized by its high-end shops, clubs, cafes, and restaurants, and attracts a large tourist population. Although I was not offered statistics for the demography of this restaurant's patrons, the owner did acknowledge that his clientele is made up of many international tourists, and that it has been a challenge to attract local patronage.

> materialities […] given that identical objects and products may take different meanings and positions depending on the paths they have travelled.[296]

Rossella Ceccarini takes a similar approach, seeking to understand the "glocalization" of international foods, and how they are "domesticated or tailored to local contexts."[297] Pizza (and Neapolitan cuisine in general) underwent significantly different processes in Ontario and Buenos Aires, on the way acquiring different methods of preparation, meanings, and motivations.

Jose Moya explains that for many Argentines, the country's beef-rich diet "was a sign of richness," one that was often compared "with the 'potatoes-and-garlic' fare of the European peasant."[298] In the 1940s, the Peronist government marketed beef consumption as the remedy to the immigrant's diet, which they considered to be "deficient in proteins, primarily vegetarian, and generally poor."[299] But Italian food was quickly absorbed into the culinary canon of the nation, as were the European rhythms of food consumption, such as the establishment of small specialty shops for produce, meats, and starches respectively. By the 1950s, European culinary influences had infiltrated the national cuisine; continental breakfasts and pizza, among others, proliferated. In Buenos Aires, the Neapolitan pizza brought over by Campani decades earlier had evolved into a distinctly

---

[296] Marta Vilar Rosales, "My Umbilical Cord to Goa: Food, Colonialism, and Transnational Goan Life Experiences," *Food and Foodways* 20.3–4 (2012): 235.
[297] Ceccarini, "Food Workers," 437.
[298] Jose C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998) 372.
[299] She continues: "The protection of national health was one of the arguments the government used to persuade people to eat less beef and to diversify their diet; the defense of tradition was the other. In 1949, Perón declared, 'Our *criollos* in the interior, attracted by the salaries paid by major industrial firms, abandon their herds, their fields, and their small orchards and move toward the economic centers. This change in both place and job brings a change in eating habits: these men, in fact, soon replace the *locro, mazamorra, humita,* the grilled *achuras,* and the *puchero* "with a little bit of everything" sold at the local grocery store, packaged preserves and cold cuts.' Although Perón's argument contradicted his assertion that Argentina before his presidency had been deprived, and mystified the role of the regional popular sectors as reservoirs of the national culinary tradition, it offered a synthesis of a development that had attracted public attention since the early 1940s: the abandonment of traditional Argentine meals. The transformation of popular food habits as the consequence of urbanization, migration, and industrialization was a compelling topic in the media throughout the 1950s." Milanesio, "Food Politics," 86-100.

Argentine dish, linked to its predecessor by virtue of its simple execution and choice of ingredients, but sufficiently removed from the original to reflect the taste of the growing metropolis.[300] Other dishes from Campania that migrated to the Americas included traditional *struffoli* pastries and limoncello.[301] If Buenos Aires lacks AVPN-certified pizzerias, Argentine-style restaurants are everywhere, rendering the traditional Neapolitan style superfluous (since it does not represent a dish sufficiently distinct from the local cuisine to be considered exotic or gourmet in any way), and such a formalized association unnecessary.

The immigrant foodways of Campani followed a different trajectory in Ontario. There, a diet heavily reliant on grain and vegetables (and limited in meat) clashed with the "strong British influences and a heavy reliance on meat" of the local Canadian diet, and the Campani who arrived with very limited funds were nevertheless unable to afford feeding their young families with healthy cuts of beef.[302] At a loss for ingredients for their native dishes, Campani in Canada learned to enjoy local foods (hamburgers, for example, were a more economical choice for families wanting to consume beef), or they created niches to cater to their tastes exclusively. In *Gatekeepers*, Franca Iacovetta recounts that immigrant women often felt pressure to serve Canadian foods from their own children, who came into contact with such foods at school and longed to experiment with North American gastronomy. Mothers often acquiesced since such foods were more

[300] See Milanesio for a fascinating discussion of pizza in Argentina as a 'democratizing' food, 105-7.
[301] Curiously, the popular Argentine dish *milanesa napolitana* (a breaded veal cutlet topped with tomato sauce, ham, and cheese) did not migrate from the Campani capital. Journalist Dereck Foster explains that the dish originated in an Argentine restaurant in downtown Buenos Aires run by a Neapolitan immigrant named, fittingly, Jose Napoli. Gabriel H. Cortes and Pablo Rodriguez Leirado, "Dereck Foster al margen: El sabor de una Buena historia." Al Margen (August 2001). http://www.almargen.com.ar/sitio/seccion/entrevistas/foster/. Accessed March 23, 2017.
[302] Postiglione, "'It was just horrible': the food experience of immigrants in 1950s Australia," 09.8.

convenient, "inexpensive, and reasonably healthy as well as being a hit with the kids."[303] Conversely, this period also saw a boom in grocery stores catering to Italians specifically. In 1948, Johnny Lombardi opened perhaps the most well known of these, Lombardi's Italian Foods, which imported products directly from Italy for the growing community; others, such as the Sorrento Food Market on St. Clair Avenue, flourished as well. Improved access to native Italian ingredients meant that original recipes were 'glocalized' only to a limited degree; the incorporation of local ingredients was minimal, and the roles played by such foods and their accompanying traditions did not extend past the immigrant community itself.

Figure 15. Sorrento Food Market advertisement. Source: *Corriere Canadese* 16 April 1957.

[303] Franca Iacovetta, "Culinary Containment? Cooking for the Family, Democracy, and Nation," in *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006) 161.

The testimonies of Campani abound with examples of culinary traditions that have steadfastly endured the passing of generations. Fabia Morello explains that her immigrant parents continue to grow a medley of vegetables in their Toronto backyard, and the products they make from them are kept in a cantina in the basement. She explains that they "still do the traditional *lasagne*, the roasts, the *aniello* and *patate*, the gnocchi, and the tortellini," but she adds that "back then, you did everything traditionally because it wasn't here. Now everything's imported. You don't have to do it."[304] In Ontario, the scarcity of Italian ingredients necessitated a labour-intensive and traditional preparation of food, separating the food traditions of Campani sufficiently from local foodways. The need for particular ingredients in turn propagated the growth of specialty food stores that catered to these populations. Recently, Neapolitan food has acquired a global cache that has raised its status as a gastronomic contribution of considerable status; it has, it seems, come into fashion in Toronto, its outskirts, and on a global scale. This rise in popularity helps to explain the large number of AVPN-certified restaurants, which today cater to Italian and non-Italian communities equally. In Ontario, the presence of such an association, combined with the stark differences between the immigrants' and the host food, the abundance of specialty food stores, and the maintenance of domestic food preparation traditions, have meant that Neapolitan food has retained its shape far more noticeably than it has in Buenos Aires.

The Campani who arrived in Ontario and Buenos Aires brought culinary traditions from the peninsula with them, but they also entered into an existing system of foodways. In Argentina, local foodways were already coloured by a Neapolitan influence by the end of the Second World War. Large gastronomical corporations in the country

[304] Fabia Morello in conversation with the author, November 2014.

were established and owned by Neapolitan-descended families, such as Freddo, one of the largest ice cream manufacturers founded in 1969 by Campani from Sant'Agnello.[305] Exposure to local foodways is another way in which Campani use food to navigate their immigrant testimonies. Daniele Colombo arrived in Buenos Aires from the village of Piaggine in 1951. Like many others, he recounts his arrival via his introduction to *yerba mate*, a steeped tea-like infusion served in a hollowed gourd from a metal straw that is pervasive in Argentina:

> It was so cold when I arrived, […] so I was freezing when I arrived at the house. My host saw me and put a *mate* in front of me. 'Drink a *mate*,' she said. 'What?!' I had seen it on the boat, seen them sucking on the straws. That was the first thing she did, she made me a *mate*. I thought it was horrible! But by the next morning, I was drinking *mate* without trouble. My host laughed and told me, 'Now that you've learned to drink *mate*, you won't go back.[306]

Colombo's testimony is significant for a variety of reasons. It is an excellent example of how food is used by a narrator to navigate and remember a significant life experience; in this case, Colombo's fear of a new, unknown reality, including the landscape, the people, and his now uncertain future, are embodied in the *mate*. Once he is able to 'dominate' the drink, he regains control of these things once more. Moreover, drinking *mate* is a highly ritualistic practice that generally involves more than one person. It comprises of boiling the water to a precise temperature, sifting and soaking the leaves, forming a circular configuration in which the vessel is passed from one user to the next, and using a defined set of terms to communicate intent with other *mate* drinkers. In Colombo's eyes, mastering this ritual implied a sense of membership and permanence in his adopted country, and a sense of ownership and pride over his new home, and his role within it.

[305] Marco Marea, in conversation with the author, February 2016. Author's translation.
[306] Daniele Colombo, in conversation with the author, January 2014. Author's translation.

Colombo's testimony is an excellent example of how food is used as a mnemonic device to remember significant elements of the immigration experience, how food is used as a means of wrestling authority and control, and how the study of food highlights the delicate and contested nature of consent and authority in the practice of oral narrative.

In their new homes, Campani encountered new ingredients and methods of food preparation, but they also faced a system that sought to regulate behaviour through prescribed foodways. Franca Iacovetta explains that women in particular were targeted because it was believed that "a better informed and Canadianized [or Argentinized] wife and mother would have a positive influence over the rest of her family."[307] As consumer activists, household managers, and nutrition-conscious chefs, immigrant women's behaviour was informed, prescribed, and mediated by mass media, state policy, and corporations. Andrew Junor notes that newspaper editors (usually male) "invariably cordoned off the women's pages as a frivolous ghetto of social notes, cookery hints and advertisements for kitchen and laundry products," but these frivolous pursuits reflect deep behavioural prescriptions.[308] In the Italian-language papers of Toronto, articles such as "Baking Fish," "The Art of Making a Cup of Coffee," and "Some Ways to Cook Eggs" (a two-part series!) were not simply resources for the culinary-minded.[309] They also served to dictate the behaviour that was expected of young Italian women entering into the social, cultural, and economic life of the cities. In Argentina, Campane new to the country could rely upon the media empire of Doña Petrona Gandulfo, a culinary celebrity and domestic expert with cookbooks, a radio spot, magazine spreads, and a

[307] Iacovetta, "Culinary Containment? Cooking for the Family, Democracy, and Nation," 138.
[308] Andrew Junor, "The meat and veg complex: food and national progress in Australian print media, 1930–1965," History Australia, 13,4 (2016) 477.
[309] *Corriere Canadese* 18 June 1957; 1 March 1957; 1-8 June 1956.

wildly successful television program that taught Argentines (women especially) how to cook and entertain on a budget.[310] Doña Petrona's brand appropriated the idea of the North American housewife, but infused it with a uniquely Argentine quality "in that she was also believed to possess the expertise to tailor her consumption in response to the frequent waves of recession and recovery that made consumption in Argentina unstable."[311] Petrona's empire is indicative of the social, economic, and cultural influence and power that women exercised as homemakers and consumers. The supposedly 'frivolous' and 'ghettoized' women's pages and programs were paradoxical, given that editors and producers knew well that these channels provided ideal opportunities through which to prescribe and mandate the behaviour of women and therefore influence the entire family unit. In these ways, food was used as a language of instruction, acclimatizing new immigrants via recipes, personalities, and culinary guides.

Men also entered a complex gendered system of foodways upon immigration. Men arriving in Buenos Aires learned to make *asado*, a traditional barbecue cooked on a grill over an open fire: "requiring the manipulation of raw meat, knives, and fire, it is an activity associated with true male expertise," notes Natalia Milanesio. "By securing beef for the internal market, the Peronist administration symbolically recovered the historical sustenance of national masculinity."[312] Whether men subscribed to these ideals and

[310] "In addition to giving live cooking presentations, she penned her own magazine column, hosted a national radio program, and published the first editions of her extremely popular cookbook, *El libro de Doña Petrona.* Because she had successfully established herself as a culinary celebrity during the previous two decades, many eagerly invited her into their homes on television in 1952, just one year after television became available in Argentina. Petrona presented her cooking program in new or prior versions for the next ten years before settling into the women's variety show *Buenas Tardes, Mucho Gusto* in 1962. With Doña Petrona as the show's lead home economist, it became Argentina's longest-running television program to date, remaining on air for 22 years." Rebekah E. Pite, "Entertaining Inequalities: Doña Petrona, Juanita Bordoy, and Domestic Work in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 91, 1 (2011) 104.
[311] Pite, "Entertaining Inequalities: Doña Petrona, Juanita Bordoy, and Domestic Work in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina," 105.
[312] Milanesio, "Food Politics," 84.

engaged in food practices such as the preparation of the *asado* (which, like *mate*, is highly ritualized), the reality of postwar immigration meant that oftentimes, young single men found themselves alone abroad with little to no food preparation experience. As Nadia Postiglione explains,

> Single males reorganised their foodways according to their needs and lifestyle and after a few years even ventured into food production. Many began to make wine and some made tomato sauce. Around the mid to late 1950s, with the arrival of young wives, fiancées, mothers and sisters, the diet of Italian men underwent a new systematisation, with women taking control of the domestic food practices and bringing with them a more elaborate culinary knowledge.[313]

Immigration thus afforded both men and women engagement with new systems of food preparation and consumption.

[313] Postiglione, "'It was just horrible'," 09.11.

Figure 15. Advertisement for La Campagnola tomato sauces. Source: *Corriere degli Italiani* 5 December 1949.

In much the same way that state policies and popular media dictated women's engagement with local foodways, women's bodies were used to sell the products with which they engaged in both receiving countries. Products seeking to represent themselves as genuinely 'Italian' used images of young, smiling, sun-kissed women, often dressed in peasant garb. The fantasy of a beautiful woman providing for her family (and yours, the consumers) with the bounty that she cultivated, harvested, and elaborated herself evoked a sense of freshness, quality, and nostalgia that spoke to increasingly fast-paced,

industrialized, cosmopolitan families.[314] These images tellingly reflect an attempt to soften the transition to (or unease with) increasing exposure to North and South American foodways, such as the use of canned, bottled, jarred, and ready-made or frozen products.

Figure 16. Advertisement for Angelina branf zinfandel. Source: http://bloggers.iitaly.org/files/56image/angelinaLABEL.jpg.

For Campani abroad, food was an effective way to engage with personal and collective ideas of community and belonging, and with engaging with their *Italianità* (Italianness). It is worth noting, for example, that almost one quarter of the narrators who participated in this project worked in the gastronomic sector to some degree, whether as restaurateurs, canners, or shop owners.[315] As Nadia Jones-Gailani writes, "identity is a rhetorical performance in which language, commodities, and aesthetics are modes through which we present ourselves to others depending upon the social situation."[316] Italians employed ideas of food, as well as food customs and established foodways, to

[314] The Angelina advertisement included here is from a California-based fruit seller that exported locally-grown fruits throughout North America using images of Italian peasant girls on their crate labels. Laura E. Ruberto, "Californians Sell Little Italy, One Crate at a Time," i-Italy (2 December 2009) http://bloggers.iitaly.org/node/12016.
[315] Examples include: Roberto Villano, Cecilia Alba, and Paolo Sofia, all in conversation with the author. November 2014-March 2016.
[316] Jones-Gailani, "Qahwa and Kleiche: Drinking Coffee in Oral History Interviews with Iraqi Women in Diaspora," 6.

exert their Italian identities abroad. In her study of Serbian migrants and their relationships with mothers back home, Ivana Bajic-Hajdukovic explains that "being a vegetarian in a predominately meat-eating society is often interpreted as 'not being one of us', or not being Serb(ian) enough."[317] Similar viewpoints were expressed in almost every testimony collected here. When I asked Pietro Olivieri (who went to Toronto from Andretta as a child in 1968) what it means to be Italian, he enthusiastically responded, "Food is everything for Italians, you know that!"[318] His response is telling in two ways. First, he associates his Italianness with the concept of food almost immediately. It is a powerful symbol, a commodity that stands in place for other, more difficult to articulate notions, and one that unites Italians globally through this shared characteristic. Secondly, he harnesses his response to the comment 'you know that,' granting the interviewer intra-group access as a fellow Italian. If I am part of the group, there is no need to explain this correlation further; it is implied and understood. Marco Marea, owner of what he argues is the only Italian (Neapolitan) bakery in Buenos Aires, explains: "Bread has always been part of our traditions. Italians always have bread. […] Bread is… everything. It is always present, because it is the culture from whence we came. It is… fundamental."[319] Marea's unique position as the owner of a Neapolitan bakery in a city lacking distinct food options from Campania sheds light on one peculiarity that Campani in Buenos Aires share with their Canadian counterparts: the consumption of traditional *taralli*, hard dough rings that can be sweet or salty. Marea proudly displays his original *taralli*, and explains, "Here, I cannot change this recipe. They don't even make this in Italy anymore. […]

---

[317] Ivana Bajic-Hajdukovic, "Food, Family, and Memory: Belgrade Mothers and Their Migrant Children" *Food and Foodways*, 21 (2013), 50.
[318] Pietro Olivieri in conversation with the author, May 2015.
[319] Marco Marea in conversation with the author, February 2016. Author's own translation.

There is a reason they are this hard. These days, people don't want them this hard, but the customers we have here are accustomed to it. When they go to Italy, they don't like how they make them there."[320] Although the bakery caters to Argentines, Italians, and their descendants, Marea explains that its Neapolitan name and baking tradition resonates especially with Campani in the neighbourhood and around the city, who stop in for bread but stay to chat with *paesani*. Numerous other narrators in Buenos Aires attest to the bakery's popularity as an informal gathering place, and to the unique quality of the *taralli* made there.

Narrators in Ontario share similar memories of foods that are continued in the regional tradition, such as Giovanna D'Agnolo who fondly remembers her mother's homemade *taralli*, or a host of narrators who recount the ritualistic practice of making sauces, wines and preserves in the traditional fashion.[321] They acknowledge that these foods are no longer prepared in the same way back home, but they remain markers of an ethnic identity in their new homes. As Appadurai has noted, "the idea of homogenization is formalized in a variety of commensal concepts and rules, which emphasize the sharing of some sort of identity between those within the circle and some important distinction from those outside the circle."[322] Customs such as the highly ritualized patterns of food preparation and consumption of Campani at home were replicated abroad as a means of emphasizing this shared identity with those within circles of kin, while simultaneously distinguishing those outside of it.

[320] Marco Marea in conversation with the author, February 2016. Author's own translation.
[321] Giovanna D'Agnolo, "Italian Immigrant, Giovanna (Joanne) D'Agnolo (nee Iannetta)," Canada's Immigration Museum Pier 21.
[322] Appadurai, "Gastro-Politics in Hindu South Asia," 508.

In the foreword to Mariani's monograph, cookbook author and restaurateur Lidia Bastianich writes, "Italian food has certainly found its way onto our tables and into our hearts and, ultimately, has stopped at nothing short of conquering the world."[323] Such an inference is based on the increasing popularity of Italian cuisine over the last few decades, culminating in an explosion of gourmet Italian and Italian-inspired restaurants, cookbooks, and television programs, and the elevation of Italian cooking as a desirable, healthy, and cultured culinary alternative. It also, however, promotes a myth of a supposedly all-powerful, unifying (conquering?) force of food serving as an identifier to a group of people (thereby identifying those outside of it as well), and in turn designates their experience to be, ultimately, one of success. Furthermore, this myth seems to have been so pervasive and so effective that Italians abroad incorporate it into their own immigration story freely and proudly. When asked if they 'felt' Italian, almost every narrator interviewed here drew on the maintenance of food preparation and consumption patterns as an example of unity and group success. Giovanna D'Agnolo's written memoir does this as well: "my father brought his passion for wine making and sausage and prosciuto making with him from Italy and enjoyed sharing his talents with many friends and family. Over the years we have watched and learned from our father, and today he is passionate about sharing his talents with his grandchildren."[324]

This myth, however, does little to explore the ways in which food identities followed deviating paths (such as is the case in Ontario and Buenos Aires), or the ways in which foodways provided avenues for transnational connections between Campani at home and abroad. The latter case will be explored below. What is significant here is that,

[323] Mariani, *How Italian Food Conquered the World*, x.
[324] Giovanna D'Agnolo, "Italian Immigrant, Giovanna (Joanne) D'Agnolo (nee Iannetta)," Canada's Immigration Museum Pier 21.

although it is relatively easy to identify the ways in which foodways diverged abroad (consider, for example, that pasta as a diet staple is ubiquitous in Argentine cuisine today, whereas it continues to be seen as a distinctly Italian dish in Canada), this myth serves an important purpose for Campani when reflecting upon their own ethnic identity. A narrative of success, of 'conquering,' provides the narrator a position of authority and control over a memory and a moment that may otherwise invoke vulnerability and victimhood.

Perhaps the most dangerous consequence of this myth is its potential to obscure or erase the regional subtleties, and more importantly, the transnational connections, created by the migration of foodways (particularly those of Campani) abroad. Studied carefully, testimonies and other source materials point to a transnational network of nodes and streaks in which customs, recipes, and foodways traveled. In her study of the foodscapes of Pacific Islanders and the effects of migration, Nancy Pollock argues that "food reinforces ties between Pacific peoples and their island homes, while linking them to a wider world. Food globalises while it localises, thereby crossing national boundaries. It links families through exchanges and shared ideologies and diversifies over time and space."[325] Food serves much the same purpose in the immigrant experience: Campani abroad also use the foodways at their disposal as a means of engaging with their new localities, and affecting traditional customs simultaneously. When asked what surprised her the most about her new life in Argentina after leaving the village of Piaggine in 1952, Gia Colombo replied: "*Mate*. And *asado*. But now they make *asado* there too.

[325] Nancy Pollock, "Food and Transnationalism: Reassertions of Pacific Identity," in *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives*, eds. Helen Lee & Steve Tupai Francis (Acton: ANU Press, 2009) 103.

Pucheros[326] too, which they didn't have in Italy. But I made one when I visited my relatives, and again when they visited us."[327] Ingredients, recipes, methods of cooking, and even flavour preferences were not simply adapted in the new environment; most Campani's relationship to food included a consistent deep play that in turn affected patterns of preparation and consumption back home as well. As a bakery owner, Marco Marea adds that when *paesani* from Sorrento visit Argentina, they bring him products from home to sell in his shop. Conversely, when he travels there, he brings products from Argentina for family and friends. Lastly, taking advantage of my Canadian provenance, he shows delighted interest in the products being sold in Toronto, and asks to be put in touch with the customs and products used there.[328] This echoes Rossella Ceccarini's research on the "double-flow of transnational food workers" between Italy and diasporic countries like Japan.[329] When Marea seeks to connect with Ontarian foodsellers, and when Colombo's family in Piaggine, despite never having left the village, begin to eat *asado* and *puchero*, food serves "much more than just [an] identitarian role in migrants' lives;" instead, it becomes "instrumental in the process of cultural transmission" and in the creation and fostering of a transnational network of foodways."[330]

[326] A type of stew that uses ingredients native to the region. In Argentina, *puchero* is beef-heavy, but also incorporates potatoes, onions, squashes and corn.
[327] Gia Colombo in conversation with the author, January 2014. Author's translation.
[328] Marco Marea, in conversation with the author, February 2016. Author's translation.
[329] Ceccarini, "Food Workers," 446.
[330] Bajic, "Food, Family, and Memory: Belgrade Mothers and Their Migrant Children," 47.

Figures 17 & 18. Advertisements for Fernet Branca. Source: *Corriere degli Italiani* 26 December 1957 and 23 December 1957.

These foodways become transnational in many ways. In *We Are What We Eat*, Donna Gabaccia illuminates the ways that American food could mimic the trajectory of blended American music forms such as jazz. She writes: "key to identity and culture in both American music and eating is the tension between people's love of the familiar and the pleasure they find in desiring, creating, and experiencing something new.[331] Transnational foodways allowed Campani to engage with the familiar goods and processes from home, experiment with the local forms of their settlement countries, and play with the intersections of the two. In 1957, the liqueur brand Fernet Branca ran a peculiar set of advertisements for its Argentine subsidiary. Fernet is a bitter (*amaro* in

[331] Donna Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 1998) 229.

Italian) produced in Italy, typically drunk on its own as a digestif. The campaign sought to entice readers of the Italian dailies to try the drink in the Argentine fashion. Brought to Argentina by previous generations of Italians, Fernet Branca was by then a staple in the country. There, it was more commonly enjoyed as a mixer with other traditional drinks. The series of advertisements presented traditionally Argentine images, such as that of the *gaucho* (a country dweller who specializes in cattle ranching work) or the *china* (his female counterpart)[332], and local terms ("lindazo," for example, to mean "super nice") enjoying fernet in the Argentine way, such as mixed with other traditional drinks like *mate*. The company sought to attract customers who knew their product back home, and introduce new ways of enjoying their products in their new homes. In so doing, the consumption of Fernet Branca became not merely the retention of Old World traditions, but it also became an exercise in acclimating to the patterns of behaviour and traditional modes of consumption in the new host country. Once again, such deep play allowed immigrants to navigate the unsettling or challenging aspects of life abroad through a safe and reassuring channel.[333]

Perhaps the most compelling reason to explore the ways in which foodways affected the immigrant experience is that they continue to do so today. Food, like language, appears not only as a topic of reflection in the constructed testimonies of narrators, but it also colours the shape and form of the narration itself. That is to say, food is not only talked about, it is also shared, denied, and exercised in the interview process.

---

[332] For further information, see: Emilio P. Corbiere, *El Gaucho: Desde su origen hasta nuestros dias* (Seville: Facsimiles Renacimiento, 1998).

[333] Fernet Branca's transnational reach extends beyond Buenos Aires. A recent article by Christine Sismondo uncovers the history of a cocktail called the Toronto, one that mixes Canadian whisky and Fernet Branca (among others) and dates back to the pre-Prohibition era. In 1922, a London-based bartender named Robert Vermeire published the recipe in his book *Cocktails: How to Mix Them*, citing that Canadians from Toronto 'much appreciated' the drink. Furthermore, the more recent Argentine propensity to mix Fernet Branca with Coca-Cola has become a sensation not just in Argentina, but in Italy (and abroad) as well. https://www.thestar.com/life/food_wine/2016/10/14/the-torontoa-namesake-cocktail-youve-never-heard-of.html.

When Daniele Colombo recalls life as a shepherd in Piaggine, discussions about labour, about pride in one's work, and about the legacy one leaves for one's children, are inherently discussions about food. When his wife agrees to speak with me about her experience of immigration, she indicates her consent by bringing *struffoli*[334] to the table we share. Adriana DiPaola brings to our gathering two coffee cakes, and proudly tells me that she improvised the recipe that morning ("I was creative," she says). Paolo Sofia recalls arriving in Buenos Aires on 1 July 1949, and starting work as a general labourer the very next day. When he tells this story, he centres it around the lunch hour, recalling in detail who was responsible for cooking, what was made, and how it tasted. Anna Vinci does not accept my request for water alone, and accompanies it with a soft drink and cookies, so that we can talk in a more intimate sphere. Food, then, is a mnemonic device, one that "emphasizes memory and distinctions of time[…], place (here and there), and people (those who left and those who remain)"[335] but that also sets a scene and creates a space for an exchange between the narrator and the interviewer.

Moreover, food is a repository of authority. In much the same way that "European mothers […] protested social workers and summer camp counselors who challenged their authority as family food providers,"[336] as Franca Iacovetta writes, and that mothers who sent traditional foods to children abroad "reiterate[d] their role as 'mothers' within a wider social network and society," as Ivana Bajic observes,[337] narrators choose to extend or reject their consent (and my authority as investigator) through food. Numerous studies have elucidated some of the ways that the practice of food in the interview process shapes

[334] Sweetened deep-fried dough separated into small balls, mixed with honey and decorated with sprinkles.
[335] Croegaert, "Who Has Time for Cejf? Postsocialist Migration and Slow Coffee in Neoliberal Chicago," 465.
[336] Iacovetta, "Culinary Containment?," 159.
[337] Bajic, "Food, Family, and Memory," 46.

the experience itself. Ana Croegaert's study of Bosnian immigrants to Chicago observes that the slow process of coffee preparation among interview participants "draws our attention to the fact that we are being served." For Croegaert, Bosnian coffee "provides both the means to experience pleasure and to negotiate status."[338] Nadia Jones-Gailani elaborates further on this concept in her study of Iraqi women. She observes that "the way in which coffee was served, and importantly when it was served, was often a silent signal that the formal interview was over and that women wanted to transition into a more intimate and informal sharing of memories – in most cases over coffee and sweets."[339] Campani followed a similar pattern. Food was employed consistently to delineate between formalities (for example, signing consent forms and answering structured questions) and moments of intimacy (discussing more private recollections off the record). Food was used as a means of extending consent to the interviewer as well. It was clear to me early on, for example, that narrators who chose to meet in public places and ordered a take-away drink were reluctant to share their experiences to the same degree of depth and intimacy as those who welcomed me into their homes. Furthermore, those who welcomed me into their homes at first with some reticence displayed their eventual acceptance by offering baked goods or homemade dinners at the conclusion of the interview, or by asking me to return at a later date for a pleasurable meal unrelated to the research at hand.

Foodways traveled across countries as part of the migration experiences of hundreds of thousands of Campani in the postwar period. Abroad, they evolved and transformed into new iterations of themselves, and collided with local forms to create still

[338] Croegaert, "Who Has Time for Cejf?," 464.
[339] Jones-Gailani, "Qahwa and Kleiche," 1.

new permutations. They were affected by the immigrants' own sense of ethnicity and identity, as well as the policies of their new countries of settlement. Studying these foodways not only illuminates a compelling and pervasive element of the immigrant experience. It also provides a lens into how immigrants managed and negotiated moments of vulnerability and risk through food to ultimately engender a degree of control or autonomy over said situations. Lastly, studying food in the context of oral history illuminates the ways in which authority and consent are delicate and highly contested concepts, ones whose presence and contestation must be at the forefront of the interviewer's method. To ignore or bypass these considerations is to miss a large part of this story. As Fabia Morello so clearly summarized of our time together: "It's always food. You gotta eat."[340]

[340] Fabia Morello, in conversation with the author, November 2014.

Chapter 6: Music and Popular Culture in Buenos Aires

Music has always been an integral component of the immigration experience. It holds such deep and varied significance that it is curious how little intersection exists between historians of music and of immigration.[341] In Italian culture, music serves an immensely important purpose. It is woven throughout the fabric of life, and has played an integral role in the migration of its people. The ensuing two chapters argue that popular music was a means of ethnic identity formation that fostered a common group identity across borders. They explore how Neapolitan celebrity tours, the introduction of RAI abroad, and the popularity of cover records and music festivals produced a transnational imagined space with which Campani could identify.

The Neapolitan musical custom of mixing traditions was replicated in the new sites of settlement, and Neapolitan culture filled a role as a connecting device among the disparate communities of Campani abroad. This chapter examines how music was used to navigate the immigration experiences of Italians (and Campani in particular) in Buenos Aires, and argues that music was used as a means to gain agency, to find existing spaces of belonging, and to carve out new ones.

Musical traditions were pervasive in virtually all immigrant households. Testimonies speak of the ubiquitous nature of folk and popular music within and outside of the home, and the weight that these traditions carry. Paola Antonini, whose parents immigrated in 1950 (she was born some years later) recounts that music was a constant part of daily life growing up in Buenos Aires with Italian parents. During large family

[341] Exceptions include Eduardo Cormick, "From Cuyo to the Seaboard: Irish Roots in Popular Argentine Music," trans. Claire Healy, *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* 7, 2 (2009), and Sergio Pujol, *Las Canciones del Inmigrante* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Almagesto, 1989).

gatherings, someone would inevitably rise up singing, accompanied by the ever-present guitar or mandolin.[342]

For Italians abroad, music served many different purposes. It was, for example, a tool for community bonding, a trait that stems from the already central and deeply communal character of Italian musical culture. Ilaria Serra has pointed to the "centrality that church bells, music bands, *canzonieri scout*, amateur and professional chorals, work songs and *sagre* (country fairs) had, and still have" in all of Italy, and Emilio Franzina notes the significance of song and singing in group gatherings, noting that songs which everyone can sing along to are "often the tip of the iceberg of memories revived by harmony… a spiritual dimension inclined to a collective self-recognition of a group".[343]

This musical culture accompanied all Italians who travelled abroad, and was particularly marked for Campani who were raised in the regional tradition of music and song. Campania has a rich musical tradition; from the revered legacies of the conservatories of Naples (founded in the sixteenth century and today some of the most renowned in the world) to the wildly popular compositions of Neapolitan *cantautori* (singer-songwriters whose creations were disseminated at festivals and through radio) to the extensive songbook of Neapolitan folklore (anonymous tunes that are so deeply ingrained in the life of Campani that most everyone knows the melodies, the lyrics, and even accompanying dances). Although most immigrant lives (and certainly most Italian immigrant lives) can be studied as musical ones, and although many of the proceeding research affected other Italians in important ways as well, the case of Campani is particularly ripe for investigation due to the rich and vast musical tradition into which

---

[342] Paola Antonini, in conversation with the author, March 2016.
[343] Ilaria Serra, "Teaching Italy Through its Music. The Meaning of Music in Italian Cultural History" *Italica* 88, 1 (2011): 108.

these immigrants were born. Anna Vinci, for example, remembers that when she first arrived in Buenos Aires, many families would come together in the evening after a day of labour to celebrate with music. She explains: "At that time, there was no record player, it was just music, harmonica, all that. […] Amongst neighbours, children, we all gathered together and danced."[344] Music was a way to bring together immigrants who were living similar stories abroad, away from their families, traditions, and villages. This chapter thus does not claim that Campani were unique or alone in their reverence for Neapolitan music, nor does it argue that they engaged with music exclusively via their regional identities. It merely seeks to explore the ways that a musical tradition distinct to Campani was shifted and adapted to represent the realities of Campani abroad.

Music also served these immigrants as a token of nostalgia. Ian Chambers explains that when traditional Italian songs travelled to immigrant communities abroad, "they seemingly [remained] immune to the musical and cultural stimuli of a fresh context. They [remained] museum pieces, soaked in nostalgia, evoking a particular city and the voice of Enrico Caruso; the sound of a largely imagined community living by a sunlit sea beneath a volcano."[345] Antonini's testimony develops this idea poignantly. She recalls that as a young child, she became aware of how much these songs, which provided her a sense of belonging, were a great source of pain for her father. Although he participated in the family's musical gatherings, she heard her father sing only once, when he performed the song 'Mamma, sono tanto felice.' Antonini recalls her father's voice breaking, the tears in his eyes, and as a young child, she felt his pain although she could not understand it. Although music could bring a deep sense of joy and belonging to the

[344] Anna Vinci, in conversation with the author, January 2014 & December 2015.
[345] Ian Chambers, "Some Notes on Neapolitan Song: From Local Tradition to Worldly Transit" *The World of Music* 45, 3 (2003): 24.

immigrant experience, it was a tool for tapping into more painful and isolating aspects of it as well.

When Campani arrived in Buenos Aires, they encountered a culture deeply immersed in a rich and complex musical tradition.[346] Neapolitan figures and symbols had crossed the Atlantic with previous influxes of migration throughout the nineteenth century, and by the twentieth century, these figures were firmly entrenched in Argentine custom.

Many popular cultural symbols in Argentina share a similar humour and wit with Neapolitan symbols. The *sainete criollo*, for example, a theatrical interlude that combines circus, theatre, and comedy, reflects on life in the *conventillos* (tenement houses) and plays with humour, sentimentality, and tragedy to achieve its goal.[347] Early Argentine theatre and comedy also borrowed heavily from the Italian *macchietta*, a caricature or parody that deforms the character to highlight its vulgar, grotesque, or ridiculous elements. The Neapolitan *villanella* and *canzonetta*, simple traditional tunes that played with satire and comedy to highlight social or cultural inequalities, also travelled abroad and found eager audiences who mixed these customs with their own.

Perhaps the deepest Neapolitan influence came from the *canzone napoletana*, Neapolitan folk songs that required few instruments and a solo voice. Despite their apparent simplicity, Neapolitan *canzone* were rooted in the *canzonette* and *villanelle* of previous generations, and were a veiled reflection on social and cultural life in Naples and its surroundings. Goffredo Plastino explains that this legacy is best exemplified not

[346] Previous migrations had infused the local musical traditions with their own, including the European polka and mazurka, African rhythms such as the candombe, and many more.
[347] For more, see Osvaldo Pelletieri, *El Sainete y el Grotesco Criollo: Del Autor al Actor* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna, 2008).

by the lyrics, but by the performance of these songs in their original state. He argues that the prevalence of street musicians was an important part of the *canzone* tradition:

> These performers functioned as mediators between the Neapolitan song as expression of the middle classes and the folk and popular aesthetic. […] This vocal performance style rather than the musical composition itself is what from that day to this has distinguished Neapolitan song from all others – even, and above all, from that of 'official' performances by professionals whose style is influenced by *bel canto*. In other words: it is not what is sung, but how it is sung; Neapolitan song exists wherever there is a voice in which resonated this complex musical mediation between folk music qualities and the aesthetic sensibility of the citizenry.[348]

The *canzone* were an effective and enchanting way of mediating the crossing of ideas, styles, and even people between the different ethnic and class groups in metropolitan Naples. The popularity of the *canzone* was not unique to Campani, as they were beloved by Italians throughout the peninsula and music lovers around the world, but their popularity worldwide represented one means by which the tradition of blending and mediating endured in the Campani that travelled abroad. They also provided Campani a sound that was distinctly 'from home,' a sentiment of ownership echoed by numerous narrators who speak about such songs as their own.

The *canzone* quickly became popular throughout the Italian peninsula due to their accessibility and reproducibility, and by the mid 1800s, most of the peninsula was acquainted with these songs. They became an important part of Italian culture, even to those outside of Naples. These songs were often class-based, and their history demonstrates a constant tension between high- and low-class art forms.[349] The songs became instantly recognizable, and Italians across the peninsula and even abroad felt an

[348] Goffredo. Plastino, "*Lazzari felici*: Neapolitan Song and/as Nostalgia," *Popular Music* 26, 3 (2007): 431.
[349] Plastino, "*Lazzari felici*".

affinity with them. The universality of the *canzone* meant that Italians abroad (Neapolitans or otherwise) adopted these songs as their own. Writing to the *Corriere Degli Italiani*, reader Pino LaMantia from San Isidro exclaimed:

> Neapolitan songs are the most beautiful in Italy, the most well known, the most sentimental, and the ones that please Italians most. […] In the South and in the North, these are beautiful songs, and when we hear one, especially abroad, […] we must listen to them with pride and with patriotism, because more than Neapolitan, Sicilian, Calabrian, or Piedmontese, they are Italian.[350]

Despite the fact that they were borne out of a particular environment, and despite the fact that they were often sung in a regional language, Neapolitan songs were adopted by Italians abroad as their own. They adopted them so eagerly and thoroughly that by the nineteenth century, Italians in countries like Argentina often believed *'O Sole Mio* was the national anthem of their young country.[351]

When Campani arrived in Argentina, the cultural and musical symbols they brought with them had a profound effect on the popular culture of their new country, and specifically of its capital city of Buenos Aires. In the late nineteenth century, the crowds of immigrants arriving in the port of Buenos Aires from Italy brought with them the *canzone* of their *paesi* (hometowns). They combined these with the dance and music trends that were developing in the social spaces they inhabited.

In the *conventillos* (popular refuges for immigrants with nowhere else to go), the newly arrived Italians found cheap settlement, often in the poorest parts of town or in the outskirts. The dining halls and restrooms were shared by as many as thirty families, and conditions were cramped, unhygienic, but cheap. *Conventillos* were also the site of

---

[350] Corriere Degli Italiani, December 8, 1958. Author's translation.
[351] *Mostra Storica della Canzone Napoletana* catalogue, as cited in Julia Volpelletto Nakamura, "Canzone Napoletane: The Stories Behind the Songs," *Italian Americana* 15, 2 (1997) 147.

intense cultural mixing. Newly arrived Italians mixed with Spaniards, Germans, Jews, and Syrians, and the musical and cultural traditions they brought with them mixed as well. The tango, for example, which originally began as a genre for violin, guitar, and flute, appropriated the *bandoneón*, a German instrument. This penchant for mixing traditions suited the newly arrived Campani very well. The Neapolitan musical custom was one developed from a constant blending of musical and cultural traditions. Ian Chambers notes, for example, that "the melisma and quarter notes so crucial to the lamenting tonalities of the Neapolitan voice historically owe far more to the musical scales of Arab *maqamat* than to the school of *bel canto*."[352] Buenos Aires offered an environment ripe for the adoption of new traditions.

By the turn of the century, the Neapolitan *canzone* had traveled across the ocean and found an eager second home there. In 1902, the *payador*[353] Manuel Vargas published a small booklet, notably titled "Canciones Napolitanas y Criollas" ("Neapolitan and Creole Songs").[354] The booklet was sold at corner kiosks, bookstores, and newsstands throughout the city, and was designed as a portable method of bringing folk and popular music to a general audience. Notably, the booklet lumped local traditional *payadas* alongside Neapolitan ditties, implying that the latter were held in similar esteem or, more significantly still, were in equal demand.

[352] Chambers, "Some Notes on Neapolitan Song," 25.
[353] A *payada* is an improvised performance of structured verses accompanied by a guitar. They are usually performed by two people, called a *payador*, in the style of a competition between the two, where the goal is to answer questions posed by each other in an eloquent and witty manner. Manuel Vargas was one of the most well known *payadores* in the history of Argentina.
[354] In Argentina, the word *criolla* has evolved as synonymous with 'local' or 'homegrown.' It is in this sense that it is employed in Vargas' booklet. Manuel Vargas, *Canciones Napolitanas y Criollas* (Buenos Aires: 1902).

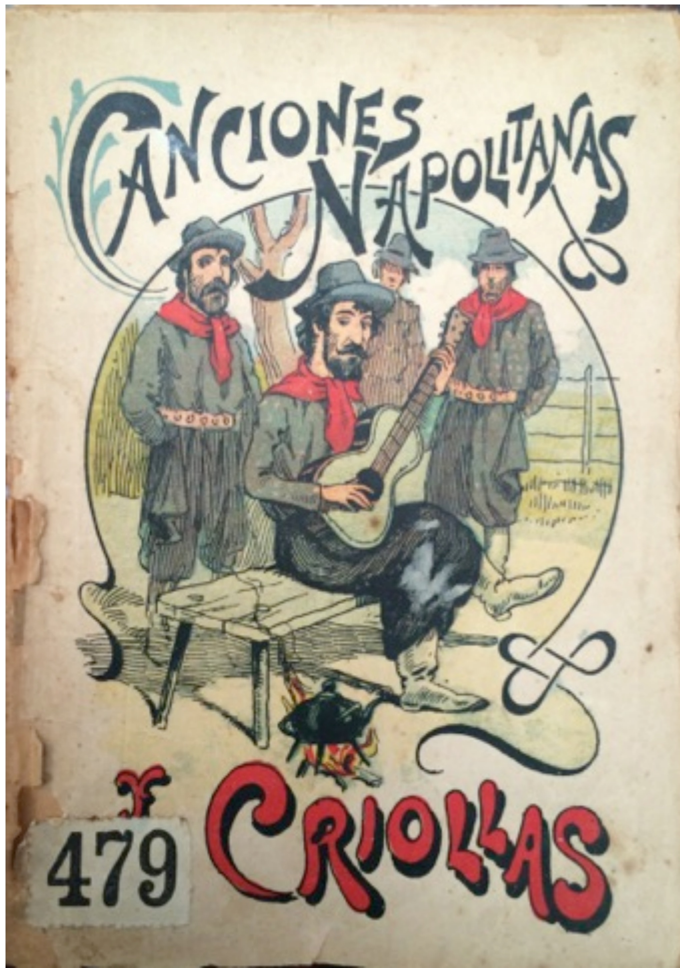


Figure 19. "Canciones Napolitanas y Criollas" booklet written by *payador* Manuel Vargas, 1902. Source: Academia Porteña del Lunfardo Archives.

Vargas' *payadas* unabashedly incorporated Neapolitan musical elements such as melodies, turns of phrases and even characters, making them very much of their time. One of his beloved characters, *Chioccolato the Neapolitan*, had a recurring appearance in the narrative songs. In a jumbled mixture of Italian, Neapolitan, and *porteño* Castilian, *Chioccolato the Neapolitan* sings:

[…] Io non so caucho arquentino,	I am not an Argentine gaucho
Perche in Napoli sun nato.	Because I was born in Naples
Ma istoy naturalizato	But I was naturalized
In tiempo de Pellegrino.	In the time of Pellegrini.
È canto anche de lo fino	So sweetly I sing
Cun la viguela in la mano.	With my *viguela* (an instrument) in hand.
No creigan que isto es parata	Don't think this a symptom
Di pueblero cumpadrito	Of a cocky villager.
Io soy también pacarito	I am like a bird
Que canto nella ramata	Who sings from a branch,
Y salgo á la disparata	And I fly away
In quanto sento lu pito. […][355]	When I hear the whistle.

In his adventures, *Chioccolato* is Italian, but he is also very Argentine. He clarifies that he is not a *gaucho*, but that the use of instruments and musical formations native to his host country prove he is adequately naturalized. He sings in a hybrid of Spanish and Neapolitan, but his style is refined with such forethought and sophistication that Spanish-speaking audiences would comprehend his narrative with ease. *Chioccolato* was undoubtedly a caricature of sorts, written by Vargas and performed as a buffoonish character. But he was also universal in many ways: his stories are about love and about work; he knows his way around the countryside of Buenos Aires; he plays the guitar; and he drinks *yerba mate*. He is, in essence, a wonderful example of the ways in which Neapolitan humour and music embedded themselves in the Argentine musical tradition.

[355] Vargas, *Canciones Napolitanas y Criollas*, 7-8. Author's English translation.

Figure 20. Sheet music for the tango song 'Scrivimi.' Licensed in Milan, distributed in Buenos Aires. Publication date unknown. Source: http://www.magicasruinas.com.ar/ilustraciones/pieilustra196.htm.

This bleeding of cultures was not unidirectional. The growing popularity of tango in ensuing decades, for example, brought the genre to the dance halls of Europe, and by the first decades of the twentieth century, it had become an international craze. Just as Argentines adopted Italian musical traditions, Italians also adopted Argentine ones, best exemplified by the 1936 tango "Scrivimi," ("Write to Me") written by Italians E. Frati and G. Raimondo.

Scrivimi,
non tenermi più in pena.
Una frase, un rigo appena
calmeranno il mio dolor. […]

Write to me
Don't keep me in suspense
Just one phrase, even just one line
Will ease my pain […]

The song, written entirely in standard Italian but in the distinctive genre of an Argentine tango, is the desperate call of a man to his lover, pleading for her to write to him. By its blending of musical genre and language style, "Scrivimi" demonstrates the ongoing exchange of music and culture between Italy and Argentina, but its subject matter (the loss, isolation, and scorn of lovers separated by oceans) did far more to speak to Italians (not just Campani) at home and abroad suffering these same feelings.

Music had always been important to residents of the city, but this relationship deepened with the growing popularity of radio and cinema in the first decades of the twentieth century. David William Foster notes that the growing tourism industry fed the establishment of music halls and concert venues, all of which contributed to the growth of musical production in the decades following the turn of the century. Furthermore, Foster argues that a high level of cultural consumption during Argentina's economic 'Golden Years' "contributed to the ease with which musical phenomena with an immigrant basis could be incorporated into the cultural mainstream."[356] And for the first time, immigrants young and old were in an economic position favourable enough to contribute to this growing musical world. Record players became smaller and more affordable, and they were sold in music houses in accessible neighbourhoods (Pujol lists Fernando Iriberri's franchises on Florida Street and Charcas Street, for example), where immigrants and *porteños* alike could purchase players, records of every genre, and other paraphernalia. Music, in other terms, became more accessible than ever.

The effects of the Italian immigrations seeped into other cultural pockets as well: the local cuisine adopted Italian flavours; *porteño* musicians played with traditional

---

[356] David William Foster, review of *Las Canciones del Inmigrante*, by Sergio Pujol, *Chasqui: Revista de literatura latinoamericana* 19:2 (1990).

Italian chords and progressions; and the language of the city adopted Italian turns of phrases, vocabulary, and mannerisms. The word *Tano* for example, a pejorative derived from *Napolitano*, was used to describe all Italians, and continues to be used today.

The effects of the Italian immigrations on the music and culture of Buenos Aires was deeply felt in the ensuing decades. Italian works of so-called high culture (such as the Italian lyric operas or architectural styles) had been revered in the elite circles of the growing cosmopolitan city for some time, but there was no connection between these elements of high culture and the growing crowds of Italian immigrants arriving at the ports of the city. As Sergio Pujol notes, "for the large majority of subscribers to the Teatro Colón, the correlation between celebrated tenor Enrico Caruso and the modest organ player on the Paseo de Julio was a remotely distant abstraction."[357]

Slowly, the newly arrived Italians began to engage with the musical world in Buenos Aires more thoroughly. Some worked as composers, writers or performers, but many also broke into the music world as entrepreneurs and businessmen (the Neapolitan Vicente Spicacci, 1878-1920, is one example), starting out as administrators, and growing in the ranks to serve as talent agents or property owners. Many others arrived with musical training and experience but chose to devote themselves to other professions. Nevertheless, the centrality of music remained strong across the ocean, whether professionally fostered or maintained informally around dinner tables.

The tango was quickly growing in popularity, and musical troupes could be heard entertaining patrons at the bars and cafés in the city's La Boca neighbourhood, where a majority of Italians settled. In time, small theatres began to host tango performers, and Pujol has highlighted the important role played by the Italian community in the rise of the

[357] Pujol, *Las Canciones del Inmigrante*, 79.

popular musical form. Italian institutions (including social clubs, mutual aid societies, member organizations) were increasingly influential, and they lent their dance halls and salons to the tango craze, in the meantime adopting the patterns and sounds as their own.[358] It was here, Pujol argues, that the tango obtained the polish with which it exploded as a global phenomenon. In these dance halls, a more refined arena than the *bodegones*[359] of La Boca, the tango *criollo* became stylized; it became a social dance instead of a street ritual, a choreography and style designed for pleasure and socialization. Despite its rootedness in the local culture, tango, like the immigrants under study here, had transnational properties: consider, for example, that Carlos Gardel, undoubtedly its biggest and most enduring performer, was not only born in Europe but routinely performed the genre to eager global audiences.[360] In Buenos Aires and abroad, the genre readily and comfortably adopted the melancholic themes of isolation and alienation of its audience, and serves as yet another example of how the immigrant experience was not only shaped by, but also itself shaped, the burgeoning culture of the city.[361]

The Italians who settled in Buenos Aires at the turn of the century lived in this context, and the children they bore and raised carried these developing customs with them. Perhaps the most significant custom they propagated was the very custom of *mixing* traditions, bred from their exposure to the *canzone*, and honed during their upbringing in the *conventillos*. Many artists of the golden age of tango came from immigrant homes, some born to parents from Campania. Enrique Santos Discepolo was born in the Balvanera neighbourhood of Buenos Aires in 1901 to Neapolitan parents (his

---

[358] Pujol, *Las Canciones del Inmigrante*, 87-8.
[359] *Bodegones* are pubs, taverns, or restaurants where food is generally homemade, ambiance is scarce, and prices are lower. They were (and continue be) establishments catering to more modest socioeconomic classes.
[360] For more on Gardel and the 'Golden Age' of tango, see Simon Collier, *The Life, Music and Times of Carlos Gardel* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986).
[361] Pujol, *Las Canciones del Inmigrante*, 145-6.

father Santo was an accomplished musician himself). He became a tango musician and composer and produced some of the most iconic music pieces ("Cambalache," for example) in the Argentine art form. Discepolo infused those qualities into his work, in the form of particular words used, the melodic patterns employed, and the very musical styling of his opus. Over time, the oeuvres of this second generation became celebrated as quintessentially Argentine, and in doing so, the Neapolitan tradition became irrevocably tied to the Argentine one.

This generation of new Argentines also propagated the adoption of *lunfardo* in the music they wrote. Lunfardo is a linguistic system that was used by the lower classes in the Rio de la Plata region that borrowed the words, phonology, and morphology of Italian regional varieties (Neapolitan was especially influential). Historian of lunfardo Jose Gobello writes:

> Many times I've heard people ask in a lamenting or reproachful tone, why our national poets do not write tango lyrics. I don't believe this is something to lament, because when they do write them, they do so poorly. […] Popular music and tango in particular have nothing to do with conventional poetry. They constitute entirely different genres. To write tango lyrics, there must first exist a state of literary ignorance, a certain lack of pedigree, a wild and ordinary mind without which it is impossible to infuse the words with the candour and popular flavour they require. Of course, there are exceptions.[362]

In many ways, the popularity boom of the tango in this time period mimicked the evolution of the *canzone napoletane* in Italy in the last decades of the nineteenth century,

[362] María Gonzalez Rouco, "Inmigración y Literatura," accessed February 2, 2016. http://www.monografias.com/trabajos28/inmigracion-tango/inmigracion-tango.shtml, Author's translation. Original reads: "Más de una vez se oye preguntar, con tono de lamento o de reproche, por qué nuestros poetas no escriben letras de tangos, o de canciones populares. Yo creo que no hay que lamentarse tanto porque, cuando las escriben, les salen bastante mal. […] La canción popular y, particularmente, la letra de tango no tienen mucho que ver con la poesía convencional. Creo que constituyen géneros distintos; creo que para abordar la letra de tango es necesario cierto estado de inocencia literaria, cierto grado de incultura, cierta mentalidad silvestre sin los cuales no es posible poner en las letras ese ingrediente de candor que les da sabor popular. Por supuesto, hay excepciones."

and the tensions that those songs evoked between Neapolitans of different social strata who employed them by different means and with different aims. Similarly, the tango, despite its ascendancy to acceptance among the elites of Argentina and abroad, continued to be an art form *of* and *for* the common people. It may have been danced in the salons of Paris, but it continued to be danced in the *bodegones* of Barracas as well. Tango magazines such as *El Alma Que Canta* flourished in this period[363]: they brought the lyrics of popular tango classics into the homes of working-class people weekly (among them many immigrants, including those from Campania) and some have argued that these cheap (often free) and highly popular sources of entertainment not only reshaped the way music was consumed and reproduced, but may also have contributed to growing literacy rates of lower-class *porteños*. The tango, its undeniably popular roots, and its unabashed use of lunfardo, itself a 'low' vernacular, effectively mitigated this tension.

The end of war in 1945 saw another enormous surge of Italian emigration. Italians arrived in Buenos Aires with a very different set of skills and conditions than their predecessors, and they arrived into a tradition of music and culture enriched by the cultural exchanges of the previous generation. Between 1946 and 1976, 7.5 million Italians left their homeland and settled abroad, a process that was bolstered by relaxed Argentine immigration laws after 1947.[364] Overall, approximately 500,000 Italians settled in Argentina in the same period.[365] Stephen Gundle has observed the impact that the end of war, and the Allied invasion in particular, had on Italians in Italy:

> The Allied presence on Italian soil, from the landing in Sicily in July 1943 to the liberation of the northern cities in April 1945 and

[363] *El Alma Que Canta* reached its peak in 1961 with a subscription of 250,000, over the city of Buenos Aires, its boroughs, and select cities in the wider province.
[364] Pujol, *Las Canciones del Inmigrante*, 184.
[365] Gianfausto Rosoli et al, *Un Secolo di Emigrazione Italiana, 1876-1976* (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1976).

> beyond, brought many Italians into direct contact for the first time with an industrially more advanced society. In the south and rural areas the impact was most marked. Italians came into close contact with American abundance. Hollywood cinema and American music trends became an integral part of the experience of the transition from war to peace and recovery for many Italians. America positioned itself as a new democratic model but also as a model of modernity.[366]

This exposure to American models was subsequently transposed when Campani travelled west after the end of war. In Argentina, this time period saw enormous changes in the social and cultural environment that the new immigrants encountered. The accessibility of recorded music increased dramatically: prices dropped, and records (and players) were more widely available. Recorded music thus became more common in homes across the country. Although music had always been an integral part of the immigrant experience, it now found another form of expression in the records of younger immigrants. While the harmonica and the guitar continued to be paramount in new immigrant households, records also became a way of expressing ethnicity for immigrants abroad.[367] In Italy, this shift in the production and transmission of popular music and the technological developments it ushered in (the 45 rpm replaced the 78 rpm, for example) was palpable, and music became, as Roberto Agostini notes “definitively an industrial mass media

---

[366] Stephen Gundle, "Feminine Beauty, National Identity and Political Conflict in Postwar Italy, 1945-1954," Contemporary European History 8, 3 (1999): 360-1.

[367] Sergio Pujol explains that the development of the long-play record (and its growing popularity in the country) significantly altered the relationship between musicians and consumers of their product. The tunes that once entered Argentine homes as sheet music suddenly became more immediately available, they required no skill to execute, and provided a more ‘true’ communication between the musician/composer and their audience. He argues that this process, along with the technological advances that ushered in the extinction of previous record forms (including 78- and 45-revolution records) signalled Argentina’s entry into its “musical modernization”. Pujol, *Las Canciones del Inmigrante*, 177.

product distributed via records."[368] Italian music became a lucrative product of consumption, one with markets located across the globe, including in Argentina.[369]

There, the postwar period also coincided with the political rise of Juan Domingo Perón and Peronism. Under his first presidency which began in 1946, Perón nationalized the Central Bank, the railways, universities, public utilities, and public transport; he enacted laws to fund welfare projects, impose wage increases, extend social security, and he provided health care as a universal right via the Workers' Bill of Rights (24 February 1947). Eduardo Elena adds that "the first few years of the Peronist rule were boom times. Near-full employment extended the benefits of economic prosperity to nonunionized workers and sectors of the middle class. […] In areas such as the city and suburbs of Buenos Aires, spending power manifested itself in a vibrant commercial marketplace."[370] Perón was also the first president to conduct select official visits in his second language of Italian, a fact that did not go unnoticed in the Italian language newspapers and amongst the immigrant communities. Due to these and other changes, and thanks too to refined propagandist efforts, the Perón era provided an environment where labour became dignified, and the working classes began to act on the value their efforts represented. In his book on popular culture during the Peronist era, Matthew Karush argues that Perón's brand of populism offered "an identity and worldview that resonated with the experiences and attitudes" of the working people (we may include here the new immigrants, who

---

[368] Roberto Agostini, "The Italian *Canzone* and the Sanremo Festival: change and continuity in Italian mainstream pop of the 1960s," *Popular Music* 26, 3 (2007) 392-3.
[369] For an insightful study on the rise of consumerism in the Peronist era, see Natalia Milanesio, *Workers Go Shopping in Argentina: The Rise of Popular Consumer Culture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013).
[370] See Eduardo Elena, "Peronist Consumer Politics and the Problem of Domesticating Markets in Argentina, 1943 – 1955," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 87:1 (2007): 120-1. Elena goes into a much more detailed and insightful approach to workers as consumers and Peron's consumer culture than can be done here.

generally counted themselves among the working class).[371] The rise of Peronism, in short, contributed to an increasingly vocal and esteemed working class. As labourers and as Italians, many newly landed immigrants saw themselves reflected in this promise.[372]

The period brought great changes to the landscape of popular culture and the culture of celebrity in the country as well. In November 1950, one year before the first televised broadcast in the country brought the beaming faces of Juan and Eva Perón to the lucky Argentine households who owned an imported TV set, the monthly bulletin of SADAIC (Sociedad Argentina de Autores y Compositores de Música) celebrated the vast potential of this new medium for the world of music and culture. The magazine described a televised display held during a medical conference in Buenos Aires in August of that year, which concluded with performances by musicians and performers, among them Pepe Iglesias (better known as El Zorro) and the folk group Hugo Díaz y Las Palomitas.[373] The broadcast (and ensuing press) was a harbinger of the decade that followed, hinting at the mounting media frenzy and the role of television in the musical culture of the country.[374]

[371] Matthew B. Karush, *Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina, 1920-1946* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 14.
[372] For more on Peronism, see Mariano Plotkin, "The Changing Perceptions of Peronism," in *Peronism and Argentina,* ed. James P. Brennan (Wilmington: SR Books, 1998), 29–54.
[373] Monthly magazine of SADAIC (Sociedad Argentina de Autores y Compositores de Música), 62 (November 1950): 29.
[374] See Mirta Varela, "Media History in a 'Peripheric Modernity': Television in Argentina 1951-1969," *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 4, 4 (London: University of Westminster, 2007): 84-102 for an insightful discussion of media and modernity in Peronist Argentina.

Figure 21. Pepe Iglesias (*El Zorro*) performing at the television broadcast display during the VII Congreso Mundial de Cirugia in Buenos Aires, August 1950. Source: SADAIC monthly bulletin, November 1950.

Porteños had eagerly consumed the celebrities of music and cinema for decades (certainly the golden age of tango in the twenties and thirties ushered its own crop of musicians and actors renowned for their beauty and talent), but the postwar period brought with it a boom in this area as well, due in part to the heightened accessibility of these stars through the new technology of television, coupled with an economic boom that gave Argentines (and especially young adults) increased disposable income. The fascination with North American popular culture peaked in the postwar period. In December 1958, for example, readers of the *Corriere Degli Italiani* eagerly learned about the new American craze taking over Naples, the hula-hoop. Months later, Gary Cooper's conversion to Catholicism was widely covered by Italian-language newspapers in Buenos

Aires as a moment of pride, and Louis Armstrong's visits to Rome that same decade always attracted the media, who reported the goings-on to readers in the south.[375]

Although Italians in Buenos Aires were eager to consume popular North American media and the stars it produced, it paled in comparison to the veneration for the up-and-coming celebrities of Italian music and cinema. These stars were celebrities in their own right; they were extremely mobile; and improved networks of press and media allowed news from back home to arrive to Italian Argentines more quickly. The apex of this cult of celebrity was undoubtedly the international visit, and Argentina received its fair share of Italian stars throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Film star and bombshell Gina Lollobrigida visited Mar del Plata on 28 November 1954, where she was lavishly welcomed as a guest of honour by president Perón. As Reka Buckley has observed, "Gina was internationally well known, beautiful and represented Italianness. She became, therefore, a sort of 'uncrowned queen' of Italy."[376] But the popular obsession with Lollobrigida in Argentina was due to more than just her physical beauty. Especially in Mar del Plata, 400 kilometres south of Buenos Aires and one of the largest hubs of Italian immigration in the province, Lollobrigida had an eager audience. She displayed beauty, sex appeal, success, and glamour, but also a pride in her humble upbringing. Lollobrigida's public image was largely based on her rags-to-riches story of a young girl from a modest agrarian family who had found success in a modern, fast-paced world. As such, the Italians of Mar del Plata (and of course, those who read about the arrival around the country) saw themselves reflected in her. She was a source of

---

[375] Various articles from *Corriere Degli Italiani*, ranging from November 28, 1949 to April 27, 1959.
[376] Reka C.V. Buckley, "National Body: Gina Lollobrigida and the Cult of the Star in the 1950s," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, & Television* 20,4 (2000): 537.

pride as an Italian, but also as worker and farmer. That she deemed Argentina worthy of a visit only exacerbated her star power among the Italians there.

Nothing did more to bring Campani into orbit with Italian and American celebrities as the arrival of the Italian television network RAI in Argentina.[377] As early as July 1954, RAI offered Argentines programming every day of the week in current affairs, sports, political discourse, and of course, music. Music programming included coverage of opera, the Neapolitan classics, and the rising trend of Italian ballads and pop songs.[378] Personal testimonies attest to the centrality of the network in the home (Roberto Villano recalls: "As soon as RAI came, we had to buy the antenna").[379] Others recount that as children, they knew very well that when RAI was on, they were to be disciplined, well-behaved, and most of all, quiet: "When RAI came, we got cable. And when RAI was on, nothing else existed at home," recounts Enzo Sacco of his childhood with parents from the Campania. He gets emotional remembering how his parents watched the station avidly, serving as a sort of lifeline, ("God help us if the cable went out while they were watching the Sanremo festival on RAI!"), and he adds that even after retirement and into old age, his parents continued to engage with RAI on a daily basis.[380] Aside from providing a connection to the world and an outlet for expressing ethnicity in their adoptive country, those lucky enough to have RAI explain that the act of watching Italian television at home in Buenos Aires, in a way, made them feel closer to relatives back home ("things began to change when we got RAI. We were connected.")[381].

---

[377] For an insightful analysis of the arrival of television and the creation of a domestic sphere, see Inés Pérez, "La domesticación de la "tele": usos del televisor en la vida cotidiana. Mar del Plata (Argentina), 1960- 1970," *Historia Crítica* 39 (2009).
[378] Corriere Degli Italiani, July 16, 1954.
[379] Roberto Villano, in conversation with the author, March 2016.
[380] Enzo Sacco, in conversation with the author, February 2016.
[381] Daniele Colombo, in conversation with the author, January 2014.

The changing landscape of musical culture in Buenos Aires provided a multitude of avenues for connection, and it was a phenomenon that was clearly of general interest. The Perón government (1946-1955) brought to the foreground the issue of internal migration, which had, until then, been seen from a nationalistic perspective as a threat to the prosperity and safety of the country's major cities. With an active campaign to remedy the perspective on internal migration as a source of pride and a return to the country's proud provincial roots, Perón's presidency also set in motion a renewed interest in the music and cultural expression that came with those migrations: the folklore of the provinces. In much the same way that tango had defined the popular classes years before, the folk songs of the 1940s and 1950s depicted the lifestyles and nostalgia of provincial Argentines and their slow integration into the urban landscapes.[382]

This new music was, however, not entirely representative of the new immigrants who were arriving from Italy in the same period. Nor could they feel identified by the tango of previous decades, which expressed the lifestyles of those who came before them and experienced things (life in the *conventillos*, a young Buenos Aires and intense cultural mixing) with which they were not familiar.[383] Instead, these new immigrants (made up largely of young families) found other new forms of music that spoke to their experience. They brought some of it from home, were influenced by trends abroad and at home, and ultimately blended all of these together to create a distinct expression of postwar immigrant identity.

---

[382] Pablo Vila, "Tango, folklore y rock : apuntes sobre música, política y sociedad en Argentina," *Cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien* 48 (1987) 82. See also Pujol, *Las Canciones del Inmigrante*, 180.

[383] "Los sectores migrantes que arriban en « aluvión » a Buenos Aires […] y se constituyen en una de las principales apoyaturas del peronismo, no se sienten representados por una música, el tango, que expresa las vivencias de otros actores sociales que los precedieron en la vida ciudadana : aquellos que se forjaron al calor del conventillo y su increíble mixtura de razas y nacionalidades." Pablo Vila, "Tango, folklore y rock : apuntes sobre música, política y sociedad en Argentina," *Cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien* 48 (1987) 84.

The traditional *canzone napoletana* had undergone many evolutions, and it fed the rock and pop music that emerged in postwar Italy, a genre that also gained much of its characteristic flair from the global surge in popularity of (and access to) North American music and culture. The transition of the Italian music industry to a mass media product of consumption had what Roberto Agostini calls aesthetic consequences: the process of recording and broadcasting music, which in the postwar period became more affordable and accessible, "enabled the mass distribution of music, putting emphasis on features relevant in oral communication (and not easily conveyed in traditional notation), such as impromptu variation and ornamentation, sound, grooves, textures, agogic nuances, inflection of pitch and dynamic."[384] Songs coming out of the Italian musical tradition became more indelibly linked with the singer who performed it. Whereas the traditional *canzone* had stood on the strength of its compositional quality and its effusive and universal nature, Agostini explains that the new music that emerged from this burgeoning industry "began to be indissolubly associated with a particular singer *and* a particular recording."[385] This phenomenon did much to further the cult of celebrity and the importance of the performer (Domenico Modugno, for example) as someone the audience related to on a personal level, and the song became tied to its performer. This music and the performers it spawned found eager and excited audiences in the Italians abroad, including those in Argentina.

Italians there consumed the new medium and made it their own. In July 1959, Renato Carosone stopped in Buenos Aires for a leg of his tour at the Teatro el Nacional, with the cleverly titled concert "Buongiorno Argentina," an open call to the Italians

---

[384] Agostini, "The Italian *Canzone* and the Sanremo Festival," 392-3.
[385] Agostini, 392-3.

residing in the city and its surroundings. Carosone was already well known as an engaging musician and entertainer, and was received by throngs of screaming fans upon his arrival. His music was universal, and its playful treatment of language, ethnicity, identity, and modernity spoke deeply to Campani navigating these issues in postwar Argentina. Carosone's unrepentant Neapolitan stage personality (he sang in the regional language and borrowed heavily from Neapolitan musical traditions) in particular spoke to Campani abroad. One month later, Domenico Modugno, hailed as "the most famous singer in all of Italy," visited Buenos Aires, stopping for photos at an Italian-style café surrounded by adoring fans before performing his signature hits (including 'Volare,' of course) at the same theatre in the heart of the city.[386] Modugno was a certified star at the time, and his visit came on the heels of a tour of the United States. His stay in Argentina did not go unnoticed by the Italian community, whose ethnic identity could be vindicated as a source of pride from the highly publicized visits from the biggest names in Italian pop music. Anna Vinci, who was a young adult at the time, recalls that the music of Carosone and Modugno were constantly around her, and that their songs felt written directly for her. "I always felt identified by them, and I still do today."[387]

The two singers are also good examples of the burgeoning trend of cover records that grew exponentially throughout the 1950s and 60s. In Italy, cover records were usually popular English-language songs re-recorded in Italian. They allowed young Italians to be exposed to the same music that was dominating western airwaves, like folk-rock, Motown and the Beatles. In doing so, they also connected young adults from all over, from Australia to Argentina to the south of Italy, all listening to the same record in

---

[386] Corriere Degli Italiani, August 10, 1959.
[387] Anna Vinci, in conversation with the author, January 2014 & December 2015.

similar conditions, despite their distance. For Italians in Italy, “cover versions […] played the role of ambassadors of Italian music abroad and of Anglo-American music at home.”[388] Cover records were also popular in Argentina, where young *porteños* relied on them to get their hands not only on new Beatles records, but Italian pop staples as well, such as Carosone’s *Malafemmena* (or *Mala Mujer*, the Spanish translation). Records such as this one, pressed by EMI Odeon in Buenos Aires, brought Italian pop and rock songs that were dominating airwaves back home into the hands of immigrant youth and their parents.

Figure 22. Cover record of Renato Carosone's 'Malafemmena,' translated to Spanish as 'Mala Mujer.' Pressed in 1959 by Odeon Argentina. Source: ebay.com (accessed 8 February 2016).

---

[388] Paolo Prato, "Selling Italy by the Sound: Cross-Cultural Interchanges Through Cover Records,” *Popular Music* 26, 3 (2007): 444.

Perhaps the most telling example of the musical landscape of Italians in Argentina is the case of Nicola Paone. Born in Pennsylvania in 1915 to Sicilian parents, Paone moved to Sicily at a young age, and then back to the US as a teenager. He began singing traditional Italian folk songs and developed his repertoire to include original compositions. By the 1940s and 1950s, Paone was a bonafide superstar among Italian communities worldwide, lauded for his amusing and compelling songs, which often detailed the challenges and pleasures of immigrant life.

Arguably Paone's largest hit, "Ue Paesano" ("Hey Countryman") was debuted to an adoring crowd of 750,000 in Buenos Aires in May 1954, upon an invitation by the Italian community there. Like Paone's other songs, "Ue Paesano" "advocates a spirit of commonality among all Italian emigrants far from home, overriding even strong regional ties that might tend to divide the community." Its lyrics are in the style of a lament, but one could argue also in the style of a rallying cry:[389]

Uei paesano (uei uei uei paesano)
Uei paesano come stà?
L'italia è piccolina, c'è gente in quantità
E questa è la rovina che non si può campar'
Ogni uno vuole andare al'estero si sa
Per guadagnare del pane per babbo e per mamma
E lascia la famiglia, di casa se ne và
Guadagna il pane e si va perder' la felicita
(Chorus) […]

Hey, countryman (hey, countryman!)
Hey countryman, how are you?
Italy is small, and full of people
And it's impossible to avoid this ruin
Everyone wants to go abroad
To earn the daily bread for mom and dad
They leave the family and leave the home
He earns the bread but loses happiness.

(Chorus) […]

Ma lei è forse piemontesse, lombardo, genovese
È veneto, o giuliano, friulentino, emiliano
Dalle marche o pur' toscano, forse unbro

Maybe you're from Piedmont, Lombardy, or Genoa;
Venice, Giulia, Friuli, Emilia, from the Marche, Tuscany, or Umbria, my

[389] Victor Greene, *A Passion for Polka: Old-time Ethnic Music in America* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1992): 215.

mio paesano	countryman;
Dal abruzzo, dalla materna quella nostra roma eterna	From Abruzzo or from our eternal Rome;
È di napoli, pugliese, forse sardo o calabrese, Luccano, siciliano	From Naples, Puglia, Sardinia, Lucania or Sicily;
Cosa importa, è italiano !	It doesn't matter, you're Italian!
E se è italiano basta già !	And if you're Italian, enough is enough!
Perché italia è tutta bella	Because all of Italy is beautiful,
E anche questo è verità	And since this is true,
Senza alcuna distinzione	With no distinction
Dia la mano e venga qua, E dica	Take my hand and say:
Uei paesano […]	Uei paesano! (Chorus)

The effects of Paone's superstardom among Argentina's Italian community was staggering, and his influence extended past the borders of ethnic community and into the wider popular music scene. Countless Argentines (Italians and others) who came of age during Paone's height recall his songs, if not Paone himself. They recall adopting Paone's ubiquitous lyrics for soccer chants ("Ue Paesano, campeón Americano!"), and they recall, decades later, the cover version of the same song by popular rock band Divididos, who were, by the 1990s, staples of the Argentine music scene and well known for fusing rock and folk elements in new ways. In short, Paone's Italianness was happily adopted not only as a symbol of Italian Argentina, but of Argentina itself.

A decade after Paone's dazzling visit to Buenos Aires, locals were no less enthralled by his influence, and they reflected on its significance amid a moment of significant social change in the country. In August 1964, reader Antonio Russo wrote to the editor of the *Corriere Degli Italiani* explaining that he had seen Paone on Channel 9:

> Finally! Finally, after so many frenetic singers, […] I was able to once again hear someone who sings in our style, a singer who interprets truthfully our popular sentiments, who has a melodic voice, and who sings from the heart. Some may say that every era has its tastes, and that Nicola Paone is not longer in fashion. He may not please those of the 'new wave,' but he pleased me very much, and I believe I am in good and strong company. My

> nephew, who is of the 'new wave' because he is 18 years old, argues that it does not do justice to us Italians for Paone to sing as our representative, because he is not Italian (since he was born in the United States) and because he portrays a folksy and impoverished Italy. But I counter that in this case, the numerous Italian films that have been screened here don't do us much justice either…[390]

Unknowingly, Russo reflected on the changing tide of the music scene in Buenos Aires, speaking to a shifting idea of what constituted acceptable *Italianitá* as well as *Argentinidad* for the younger generation. Younger Argentines, including the young adults who had immigrated as children, or those born to Italian immigrants, were, once again, looking either to new avenues of ethnic identity expression, or were reformulating older ones.

During this period, *lunfardo* saw a resurgence in popularity. An ongoing national debate on language purity and propriety had imposed a severe censorship on the *koine* in the media in 1933, and the ban was effectively lifted in 1953.[391] Nine years later, in 1962, the Academia Porteña del Lunfardo (APL) was founded to promulgate and defend the esteemed position of *lunfardo* in Argentine culture. At the same time, tango re-emerged as a revered national art form, and saw a surge in popularity, represented best by the New Guard and Astor Piazzolla. Maria Susana Azzi wrote the following about the tango: "The purpose of the tango has changed, since it is no longer the tango that once facilitated the

---

[390] Letter to the editor from Antonio Russo in Buenos Aires to Corriere Degli Italiani, August 10, 1964. Russo's letter introduces the fascinating theme of Italian films and their place within the immigrant communities abroad, and although this is an area ripe for investigation, it falls outside of the purview of this chapter. Original reads: "Finalmente! Finalmente dopo tanti cantanti frenetici, […] ho potuto ascoltare nuovamente uno che canta all'uso nostro, un cantante che interpreta veramente I sentimenti popolari, che ha voce melodiosa e canta con il cuore. Si dirà che ogni epoca ha I suoi gusti e che Nicola Paone non e più di moda, che non piace più. Non piacerà a quelli della 'nueva ola' [in Spanish], ma a me e piaciuto e credo essere in buona e numerosa compagnia. Mio nipote che e della 'nueva ola' perché ha 18 anni sostiene che non ci fa onore a noi Italiani che Nicola Paone venga qui cantare come se rappresentasse l'Italia, anche perché lui non e italiano essendo nato negli Stati Uniti e poi perché mostra un'Italia popolaresca e poveretta. Ma io gli ho risposto che in questo caso non ci fanno onore nemmeno tanti film italiani che vengono proiettati qui…"

[391] For more on lunfardo censorship, see Enrique Fraga, *La prohibición del lunfardo en la radiodifusión argentina, 1933-1953* (Buenos Aires: Lajouane, 2006) and Arcángel Pascual Vardaro, *La Censura radial del lunfardo, 1943-1949, Con especial aplicación al tango* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Dunken, 2007).

assimilation of thousands of migrants. It is now an extremely strong tool of cohesion."[392] This statement is problematic in that it asserts that the role of tango as tool of assimilation to be *de facto*, and this is not the case. Rather, tango has always been a *product* of immigration, and the conduit through which the immigrant's search for an identity was realized, a product that did justice to the intricacies of the immigrant experience. In this way, the tango, and the popular music that arose in Buenos Aires throughout the twentieth century, continues to be a tool of negotiation in the immigrant experience and the search for ethnic identity.

The best example of this negotiation is the song *Canzoneta*, conspicuously written and copyrighted with one *t* (in the Spanish linguistic tradition) and not two (*Canzonetta*, as in the Italian word). Written and composed by Erma Suarez and Enrique Lary, the song is built as an original tango composition, interlaced with musical interludes and melodic phrases from popular *canzone*, most notably the popular 'O Sole Mio'. It is performed by a solo tango voice, a refined style that involves its own particularities, but also incorporates stylistic flairs associated with the Neapolitan sound. The lyrics too offer a muddled mess, both in their significance, and their very structure. The song interchanges between Spanish, Italian, and the ever-present *lunfardo*. It begins by situating the listener in the Buenos Aires district of *La Boca*, the district along the southern port that housed the majority of newly arrived immigrants. There, the narrator situates the character Genaro (a distinctly Italian, not Spanish name, and one that is extremely common in the Campania and in Naples in particular, due to local patron saint

[392] María Susana Azzi, "La Contribución de la inmigración italiana al tango" April 22, 2012, accessed February 2, 2016 (http://www.tintaroja-tango.com.ar/2012/04/la-contribucion-de-la-inmigracion-italiana-al-tango/.

San Gennaro). Genaro appears with an accordion, an instrument whose sound was, by that time, evocative of Buenos Aires.

La Boca... Callejón... Vuelta de Rocha...Bodegón... Genaro y su acordeón...	La Boca... Alley... Vuelta de Rocha... Diner... Genaro and his accordion...
Canzoneta, gris de ausencia, cruel malón de penas viejas escondidas en las sombras del figón. Dolor de vida... ¡Oh mamma mia!... Tengo blanca la cabeza, y yo siempre en esta mesa aferrado a la tristeza del alcohol.	Canzoneta, grey absence Cruel raid of old pain Hidden in the shadows of this diner. Pain of life... ¡Oh mamma mia!... My head is white And I, always at this table Clinging to the sadness of alcohol.
Cuando escucho "Oh sole mio" "Senza mamma e senza amore", siento un frío acá en el cuore, que me llena de ansiedad...	When I hear "O Sole Mio" "Without mother and without love," I feel a shiver here in my *cuore* ("heart" in Italian) That fills me with anxiety.
Será el alma de mi mamma, que dejé cuando era niño. ¡Llora, llora, Oh sole mio; yo también quiero llorar!	It must be soul of my mother, That I left when I was a child. Cry, cry, O Sole Mio, I want to cry too!
La Boca... Callejón... Vuelta de Rocha... Ya se van Genaro y su acordeón. […][393]	La Boca... Alley... Vuelta de Rocha... Diner... Genaro and his accordion. […]

The narrator goes on to sing a lament for his lost home, which he embodies in the figure of his mother. Although he longs for his homeland, he is very much tied to the place in which he now resides, and his identity (read: the physical and geographic markers that he uses to situate himself to his audience) is firmly rooted in this new place. He insists, at the end, that although he has dreamt of returning home, he will remain firmly entrenched in La Boca, and with no regrets, his 'sad soul' will live on there.

The narrator chooses to convey his message in the form of a tango, by this time, a quintessentially Argentine musical form. He also chooses to sing in Spanish. The Italian

[393] "Canzoneta," http://www.todotango.com/musica/tema/1061/Canzoneta/. Author's English translation.

aspects of this song are not stylistic additions, nor are they afterthoughts. They are intricately woven as part of the very structure, both melodically and lyrically, of the piece, so that the two cannot be separated.

The 1960s and 70s increasingly introduced cross culture in the musical traditions of Italians in Argentina. Aside from the rise of American influence that took hold, a new form of music culture was taking form in the genre of *Rock Nacional* (National Rock). It would have a profoundly deep impact on how immigrant communities employed music as ethnic expression. During this time, the "modernizing tendencies" that were taking hold in North America and Western Europe "faced strong opposition from the traditional landed elite and the military, who targeted the counterculture's young people and staged numerous coups."[394] These decades saw what Adriana Premat has called "one of the least democratic and most repressive periods of Argentine history," which included a series of military dictatorships interspersed with short periods of democratic rule. During his rule from June 1966 to June 1970 for example, and "claiming to protect the country from the threat of communism and immorality, [Juan Carlos] Onganía started an unprecedented cycle of repression that involved direct attacks against university students and professors and included the banning of beards, miniskirts, and avant-garde cultural expressions."[395] His regime also "implemented a policy of cultural control including the censorship of books, periodicals, shows and films."[396]

Ana Sanchez Trolliet explains the effects of these social and political changes on the musical landscape of Buenos Aires and the rise of *Rock Nacional*:

---

[394] Timothy Wilson, "*Un pájaro progresivo:* Pop Music, Propaganda, and the Struggle for Modernity in Argentina," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 33 (2015): 90.
[395] Adriana Premat, "Popular Culture, Politics, and Alternative Gender Imaginaries in 1960s and 1970s Argentina," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 33 (2015): 44.
[396] Ana Sanchez Trolliet, "'Buenos Aires Beat': A Topography of Rock Culture in Buenos Aires, 1965–1970," *Urban History* 41, 3 (2014): 518.

> During the early 1960s in Argentina, rock was chiefly identified with TV stars and media idols who constructed a model of happy, cheerful youth. But from 1965 onward, a transformation took place, and rock came to be an alternative means of expression to conventional understandings of society. In tune with the new musical manifestations arriving from Great Britain and the United States, the poetic sensibility of the Beat Generation, concern for ecology, counterculture, 'free love' and pacifism, Argentine rockers (*rockeros*) rejected mainstream values and promoted a type of identity characterized by a new youth consciousness.[397]

This new youth consciousness meant that young adults became "the center of public scrutiny and suspicion," and marked a distancing between the goals of earlier morality campaigns to protect an 'innocent youth,' and new campaigns geared towards the repression of a 'lost youth'."[398] *Rock Nacional* was sung in Spanish; its stars were not classically trained, and the music and lyrics carried decidedly political messages against the repression and violence of the time. Notably, these campaigns were not targeted to all youth unilaterally. Valeria Manzano explains that, "conservative and liberal actors were interested, fundamentally, in middle-class youths, who allegedly embodied the promises and fears of modernization." It was the young adults of the middle classes, living in urban centres, attending concerts, and listening to the music of the counter culture (all of which were only accessible to those who could afford the privilege), which posed the biggest threat.[399]

Most importantly, these activities provided an avenue for social engagement for its fans, many of whom were the children of postwar immigrants. Subscription to *Rock*

---

[397] Trolliet, "'Buenos Aires Beat," 517. For more on the development of a new musical identity and particularly its adoption of a transnational repertoire, see Valeria Manzano, "Rock Nacional" and Revolutionary Politics: The Making of a Youth Culture of Contestation in Argentina, 1966-1976," *The Americas* 70 (2014): 393-427.
[398] Valeria Manzano, "Sexualizing Youth: Morality Campaigns and Representations of Youth in Early 1960s Buenos Aires," J*ournal of the History of Sexuality* 14, 4 (2005): 436.
[399] For more on external and internal Rock'n'Roll influences in Argentina, see Deborah Pacini-Hernandez, Héctor Fernández L'Hoeste, and Eric Zolov, eds., *Rockin' Las Américas: The Global Politics of Rock in Latin/o America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004).

Nacional and the counterculture movement became a way for the country's youth to become involved, or what Pablo Vila has described as the "socialization and re-socialization of ample sectors of Argentine youth during the military coup, restoring true communication about the true country, rescuing a sense of life in a context of lies and terror, and consolidating a collective actor" in a counter youth movement. To Vila, rock in Argentina served as "a refuge, a world of resistance, and a channel for participation in the context of a closed authoritarian society in crisis." Through this music, Argentine youth were able to engage with their environment in a new and profound way.[400]

At the same time that *Rock Nacional* was dominating the record players of many Argentine youth, a curiously and radically different phenomenon was also developing. The era saw an enormous surge in the popularity of Italian pop singers across the Atlantic, and especially in Argentina. The genre was a decidedly safer choice for Argentine youth, since it echoed the "TV stars and media idols who constructed a model of happy, cheerful youth" described by Manzano above.[401] Performers like Rita Pavone became verifiable stars on the local and ethnic radio and TV channels of Argentina, singing mostly in Italian but sometimes in Spanish as well. Older generations spurned these performers and deemed them decidedly inferior to the greats of the Italian musical canon,[402] but their popularity among the younger generations (and especially among the young adults who had immigrated as children or had been born in Argentina to Italian-born parents) was undeniable. These performers touched on the nostalgia for a lost home, but did so using tropes borrowed from a decidedly modern musical style. It therefore

[400] Vila, "Tango, folklore y rock," 91.
[401] Trolliet, 517.
[402] "Ci hanno fatto onore cantanti come Beniamino Giglio, Tito Schipa, Carlo Buto che cantavano anch'essi con il cuore come fa Nicola Paone, e non urlavano come indemoniati come fa Rita Pavone." Letter to editor from Antonio Russo in Buenos Aires to Corriere Degli Italiani, August 10, 1964.

appealed to Italian youth who could identify with this tension between affinities for the old (of their parents and of their home life) and the new (experienced at school, with friends, and through Argentine media). As early as the 1950s, Italian performers such as Mario Lanza (1950, 1951), Silvana Mangano (1953), and Domenico Modugno (1958) had attained gold records in Argentina (over 1 million copies sold). Connie Francis, an Italian-American whose songs played with this duality of old and new, had 8 records reach gold in Argentina between 1958 and 1961 alone.

Growing up in Buenos Aires to Italian immigrant parents in the 1960s and 1970s, Paola Antonini reflects on another purpose this music served for her:

> When I was thirteen and my cousin came from Italy, she let me listen to her Italian rock collection. I said, "What is this? Rock is Italian too?" She listened to Zucchero. And that's how I started. I started to listen to some of that music, and it also helped me with language. They said words that I couldn't understand, and she would translate them for me. She would play Zucchero tapes for me and I would learn."

Antonini was introduced to the music that was in fashion in Italy by family living there. It provided not only a way for her to develop relationships with family members whom she had just met, but also allowed her to develop her limited Italian language skills. This music, and the rise of its popularity in Argentina, reflected on and provided resources for many of the unique experiences Antonini and her contemporaries lived as the children of immigrants.

Silvana DiLorenzo is an interesting example of this growing trend. DiLorenzo was born in Argentina, but moved to Naples as an infant. As a child, her parents moved several times between the two cities. As a teen, she became very well known in both countries as a pop singer, singing in Italian and in Spanish, both for alternating audiences.

When she settled in Buenos Aires as an adult, her Argentine audiences still requested her Italian ballads above anything else, and she released numerous albums of Italian songs exclusively for Argentine audiences (she continues to sing sporadically, most recently publishing a collection of songs called *Italia en Español*). She has publicly battled with defining her personal ethnic identity (at times she rejects an Argentine identity, and other times she embraces it), although she has never publicly identified as a Campana. Regardless, she has become a symbol of ethnic crossing for many Campani[403] and Italians alike, a way of being not one or the other but somehow both Italian and Argentine. She is a symbol of duality, of hybridity, of nostalgia, and of pride.

Immigrants in the postwar period engaged with the burgeoning musical and cultural scene in Buenos Aires and its surroundings to negotiate their ethnicity and their identity. They did so from the first generations that settled in the *conventillos* of the city, to the young adults coming of age in the last decades of the twentieth century. The relationship between music and immigration is hardly a new one, but its weight has not been reflected in the scholarship. Particularly in Buenos Aires, the immigrant experience fed and was fed by a deeply personal and involved relationship with music and musical culture. Through music, new immigrants could seek out avenues of ethnic expression; they could convey nostalgia, memory, and pride; they could navigate complicated class tensions and conflicts. Most importantly, music offered a means by which to engage with Argentina as a real and imagined construct without giving up the homeland. Music, in essence, was a way to mix, lend, confuse, and blur lines, and nothing conveyed the immigrant experience better.

[403] Most narrators in Argentina knew that DiLorenzo was Neapolitan, and if her name came up in conversation, this fact often did as well. It is not clear whether her provenance is as readily evident to non-Campani Italians, or to what extent Campani identify with DiLorenzo distinctly because of this.

Chapter 7: Music and Popular Culture in Toronto

In 1976, Peter Goddard's sassily titled article 'Rock Rolls With an Italian Accent' was published in the *Toronto Star*, a review of the Italian music scene in Toronto. Goddard's full page spread, replete with an imposing photo of Italian stars Rocco Severino, Jolanda Veltri, and others, reflected on the ubiquitous popularity of Italian pop music since the close of the Second World War. Thanks to the tireless work of entrepreneur Johnny Lombardi and the talent and heart of gifted Italian performers, Goddard reported, a changing tide of Italian music, one which would reflect the changing Italian community of Toronto, was at hand: "The parents and grandparents still like to watch little Rocco Severino dance. He calls himself Rocco del Sud, Rocco of the South, and he reminds them of the good old days. […] But the younger generation, kids born in Toronto, want the music that reflects their lives, not their parents'. […] In the evening along College St., and in Weston, along St. Clair Ave. W. and in Mississauga, you can hear the throb of bands like The Cardinals, the Originals, the Satellites and any of 100 others playing rock and singing in Italian."[404] This chapter examines how music was used to navigate the immigration experience of Italians in Ontario, and argues that music was used as a means to gain agency, to find existing networks of belonging, and to carve out new ones. The deep relationship Campani have to music is certainly not unique among Italians, and much of this chapter speaks to the greater Italian experience (of which Campani were a part), but narrators present an alluring case study due to their intimate relationship to the *canzone* of the region and the sense of pride with which they discuss them.

[404] Peter Goddard, "Rock Rolls with an Italian Accent," *Toronto Star*, Saturday April 10, 1976, H1.

By the time Goddard's article was published twenty-one years after the close of the Second World War, the landscape of popular music in Toronto had radically changed, due in large part to the similarly upended demographic profile of its citizens. These two changes were indelibly linked.[405] The enormous popularity of the *canzone napoletana* in Toronto, the creation of ethnic cultural spaces such as CHIN Radio, and the nature of musician's tours, cover records, and music festivals in Toronto provided Campani there with a transnational imagined space of ethnic identity formation.

The end of the war in 1945 brought about huge changes in how leisure was produced and consumed in Canada and abroad. Changing political attitudes combined with technological advances brought people across oceans closer together, and this changing tide was reflected in the popular music of hyphenated communities like the Italians of Toronto. Long living between two social, cultural, and physical worlds, Italians in Toronto began to engage with popular music and culture differently. In many ways, they were active participants of the tidal wave of popular Italian music that swallowed the city (and much of the world). Their participation was evident in the enormous popularity of the *canzone napoletana*, a staple of Italian culture best marked by its constant evolution and reinvention. For the Italians of Toronto, the *canzone napoletana* was a tool for managing and navigating a personal and collective hyphenated identity. It was a way to express identity, reformulate it, engage with it, and to find pride

---

[405] This chapter adopts the perspective of Rachel Rubin and Jeffrey Melnick in their collection, *Immigration and American Popular Culture*. They explain that "We could simply 'add' immigrants and popular culture and develop a neat chronicle of how one clear activity ('immigration') engaged with another ('popular culture'). The problem as we define it […] is that you cannot separate 'immigration' from 'popular culture': if we agree that immigrants were at the very heart of popular culture imagery and production […] and popular culture helped produce and define various moments of immigration history […] then it starts to come clear why our 'and' is more than a little unstable. Ultimately, the biggest problem with our 'and' is that it hints that what really matters is the boundary separating 'immigration' from 'popular culture.' But what *Immigration and American Popular Culture* will truly argue is that 'immigrants' and 'American popular culture' have created each other." Rachel Rubin and Jeffrey Melnick. *Immigration and American Popular Culture*. New York: New York University Press, 2007. P.3.

in it.

Canzone napoletana (Neapolitan song) refers to a traditional form of music, usually a solo voice, accompanied by traditional instruments such as the mandolin, and almost always in the Neapolitan dialect. Songs like ''O Sole Mio', 'Funiculi Funicula', and others continue to be popular around the world today, even with non-Italian audiences. *Canzone napoletana* has deep roots in Italy, incorporating elements of *commedia del'arte*, *bel canto*, and *opera buffa*, all genres of performance and music that held a deep and intricate historical relationship with the city Naples.

In 1924, Walter Benjamin lauded Naples for what he considered to be its most significant quality: its porosity. In scientific fields, porosity refers to the void or empty spaces in a material that permit substances to flow through it; the more porous a material, the more deeply it is changed and affected by the substances that traverse it. Benjamin adopted the notion of cultural porosity to refer to places that by their nature are more affected by the so-called substances that traverse them. He explained that "from architecture to music and […] to Neapolitan culture in general," the porous nature of Naples allowed it to be deeply affected by the peoples, practices and customs that traversed it: "as porous as [its] stone is the architecture. Building and action interpenetrate in the courtyards, arcades and stairways."[406] As Stavros Stavrides has explained, "porosity is… an essential characteristic of space in Naples because life in the city is full of acts that overflow into each other. Defying any clear demarcation, spaces are separated and simultaneously connected by porous boundaries, through which

[406] Walter Benjamin, "Naples," in *One-Way Street and Other Writings* (London: NLB, 1979) 169-175.

everyday life takes form in mutually dependant public performances."[407] Essentially, Benjamin argues that urban space (specifically in Naples) had the potential to become an avenue for expression and encounter, a merging of customs, cultures, and habits.[408]

Artists and intellectuals took up this call as a way to define the 'duplicity of Naples', a quality that they could not mirror anywhere else.[409] And with due cause. A city with long historical roots, Naples has been many things: the capital of a kingdom, a hub of organized crime, and one of the largest and most influential ports in the world.

In the late 1880s, a shift occurred in Naples. A cholera epidemic ravaged the city, claimed thousands of lives, and brought about a sanitation movement that reworked the very infrastructure of the growing metropolis. This sweep of change was eerily reflected in the Neapolitan song. Whereas traditional songs and melodies had long been sung by strolling street musicians as vernacular of the common people, now new songs were composed and presented by well-known authors and poets, and even opera composers. They were presented in newspapers, in theatres and hotels, and performed by big brass bands and famous singers. This act of making music maintained its deeply communal activity.[410] Much like jazz in the United States,[411] Neapolitan music became a site of blending between urban lower and middle classes. Neapolitan song became something respectable, something nostalgic. New songs were written and accepted as canon, and the qualities they possessed, such as the grain of the Neapolitan voice, the lyrics, and the use of techniques such as the Neapolitan chord made the Neapolitan song a fertile ground for

---

[407] Stavros Stavrides, "Heterotopias and the Experience of Porous Urban Space," in *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life*, eds. Karen A. Franck & Quentin Stevens (London & New York: Routledge, 2007) 174-5.
[408] For a rather different discussion of cultural porosity in the context of religion in Brazil, see Andrew Dawson, *New Era, New Religions: Religious Transformation in Contemporary Brazil* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007).
[409] Goffredo Plastino, "Lazzari felici: Neapolitan Song and/as Nostalgia," Popular Music 26, 3 (2007) 429-440.
[410] Ilaria Serra, "Teaching Italy Through its Music. The Meaning of Music in Italian Cultural History," Italica 88, 1 (2011) 108.
[411] Julia Volpelletto Nakamura, "Canzone Napoletane: The Stories Behind the Songs," *Italian Americana* 15, 2 (1997) 147.

what Goffredo Plastino has called "reflective nostalgia."[412] Neapolitan song thus became something different: a far cry from its roots as a song of the people, it became something organized, sanitized, and accessible to those who could afford it.

This sense of duality represents the *canzone* well. A Neapolitan, Angelo Casale recounts that his love of the old *canzone* was rooted in the sweetness and innocence of their lyrics, which were often romantic, passionate, woeful, or nostalgic. For him, this sweetness was in direct contradiction to how he was treated as a Neapolitan, and the negative stereotypes that accompanied this identifier. He recalls that his status as a Neapolitan meant that others (especially other Italians) treated him as a criminal, but that he could always take comfort in the fact that Neapolitan would always be associated with the beautiful lyrics of the *canzone* as well.[413] Perhaps this connection is the most fascinating aspect of their popularity: for all the sweetness of the *canzone*, they are born of a place that is rife with dualities, and that has endured hardship. They carry this weight with them and speak to the coexistence of hardship and beauty, and for this reason, they resonate with many audiences in Italy and abroad. This reason may also explain their immense and enduring popularity among communities of Campani abroad, who often speak of their experiences as a constant tension between hardship and success, and who embody the *canzone* of their homes as a tangible means of managing this tension.

The long history of the *canzone napoletana* is beyond the scope of this dissertation,[414] but after centuries of existence, its evolution throughout the twentieth century is most intriguing. The songs that started filtering through home radios in the

[412] Plastino, 430.
[413] Antonio Casale, in conversation with the author. August 2014.
[414] For more information, see Ian Chambers, "Some Notes on Neapolitan Song: From Local Tradition to Worldly Transit," The World of Music 45, 3 (2003): 23-27; Julia Volpelletto Nakamura, "Canzone Napoletane: The Stories Behind the Songs," *Italian Americana* 15,2 (1997) 143-156; Goffredo Plastino, "Lazzari felici: Neapolitan Song and/as Nostalgia," Popular Music 26, 3 (2007) 429-440.

1920s were considered by many as a significant shift from the Neapolitan songs of bygone eras. Whereas the songs of the wartime generation had paralleled the "slow strategic movements of thousands of marching men on the mountainsides" by producing "a proliferation of rhythmic songs that are still chiseled in the collective memory of [the] country," and whereas the melodies and lyrics of the early 1920s engaged with Fascist, Catholic, Leftist, and other groups as methods of cohesion and communication, by the end of the Fascist period, critics such as the Leftist Michele Straniero rejected the new modern ditties as "moaning and wishful songs that advocated no social change."[415] This predilection for simple songs that were accessible to the masses, certainly a characteristic descendant of the *bel canto* legacy, persisted into the twentieth century, but the end of war in 1945 brought about significant changes in the character of Neapolitan song.[416]

In Italy, these changes were characterized by the predominance of American taste. Stephen Gundle explains that "the desire for escape and amusement brought by the end of war fuelled a huge development of leisure."[417] In Italy, new American products like chewing gum and nylon stockings ushered in by the fresh-faced American soldiers painted a picture of North American modernity and prosperity. American movies presented alluring and attractive images that, as Gundle notes, "pointed the way forward, not just to recovery but to modernization."[418] They were complemented by a trove of magazines, products, and fashions that created a channel of cross-culture between Italy and the Americas. This exchange was not one-sided. In North America, the effects of this

---

[415] Serra, "Teaching Italy Through its Music," 107.
[416] For a more in-depth examination of debates surrounding the authenticity and evolution of folk traditions, see Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1994.
[417] Stephen Gundle, "Feminine Beauty, National Identity and Political Conflict in Postwar Italy, 1945-1954," Contemporary European History 8,3 (1999) 360.
[418] Gundle, "Feminine Beauty, National Identity and Political Conflict," 361.

cultural reawakening were starting to be felt as well. By 1947, Canada removed Italy from its Enemy Alien List and relaxed its immigration requirements. The decades that followed saw a significant increase in immigration from the peninsula, largely from the Mezzogiorno. Southern Italians were escaping severe overpopulation, landscapes that had been devastated by war, a country that had swallowed its resources with no sign of improvement, and they faced severe economic uncertainty and the impending possibility of a return to war. These and other factors, including continued connections with previous immigrants, made emigration an appealing choice for Campani.

The decades following the end of the Second World War brought approximately 450,000 Italians to Toronto, including many from the Campania region, the Neapolitan peninsula, and its surrounding areas. The Italians who arrived after the war came into an existing Italian community. Toronto had experienced an influx of Italian immigration at the turn of the century, and this generation of immigrants had created thriving social clubs, mutual aid societies, and ethnic associations to serve the small community. But the influx of Italians in the postwar period resulted in an explosion of services aimed specifically at acclimatizing new Italian immigrants, providing information, and offering leisure opportunities.[419] It attempted to do so via channels that would be appealing and accessible to the incoming immigrants, whose modest socioeconomic status, restricted connections, and financial capital limited access to social or political participation in the same way as more established members of the community. As a result, free or affordable resources were set in place by government agencies, community groups, and religious

[419] See Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006).

organizations with the aim of reaching this target audience.[420]

Cecilia Alba recalls eagerly snatching the Italian-language *Corriere Canadese* when she needed help getting settled in Toronto. When she finally decided to get her driver's license, she did not think twice about running to her local Italian bakery for a copy of the *Corriere*: it was nearby, it was free, and it was full of advertisements and articles that provided useful information. Most importantly, it was in a language she could understand. From an advertisement in the *Corriere Canadese*, she quickly hired an Italian-speaking driving instructor. The fact that the paper was free of charge, and its prime post at the local bakery (a regular stomping ground for many of the city's Italians), meant that new immigrants, short on cash and on English skills, had some connection to their new city.[421]

The *Corriere* also provided an alternative to the Anglophone dailies in the city, which often depicted a less-than-welcoming environment for new Italians. Casale recalls that the difficulties he and his family experienced upon arrival were not due to the existing Italian community, but due to the media available: "I understand that for Canadians in 1945, 1946, we were the enemy. But it was Canada that waged war on Italy, not the other way around. Italians in Canada suffered the consequences quite deeply, and so did their children. And just because of our last names! I suffered a lot here."[422] As

---

[420] Rubin and Melnick contextualize the importance of physical space in the relationship between ethnic identity and popular culture: "The cultural geographer Michael Laguerre has offered as an axiom that 'in order to have ethnic minorities one must also have a minoritized space'. Laguerre is interested above all in actual immigrants and their neighbourhoods: in his estimation location is the 'elementary' aspect of marginalized identity because it is what 'fixes individuals to specific niches where they get their early socialization, where their memories are buried, and from where they read the outside world and interact with it'. We have no quibble with Laguerre's insight as it applies to immigrant settlement in the United States, but simply want to emphasize his final phrase here ('from where they read the outside world and interact with it') and suggest that much of this 'interaction' with the 'outside world' takes place through the multiple vehicles of popular culture. (Rubin, Rachel, and Jeffrey Melnick. *Immigration and American Popular Culture*. New York: New York University Press, 2007. P.6)

[421] Cecilia Alba, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

[422] Antonio Casale, in conversation with the author. August 2014.

opposed to many of the messages that could be found in the Anglophone media at the time, the *Corriere Canadese* and other Italian dailies offered a safe and welcoming social space for new immigrants to simultaneously get settled in Canada, and still live as Italians.

For leisure, Italian immigrants revelled in the Italian programming that occupied modest timeslots on the smaller radio stations, such as *L'Italianissimo Radio Programa* presented by Frank Carenza on Radio CHVC 1600. Like Carenza's, most of the smaller programs played Italian songs from back home and not much else.[423] Live theatre, Italian movies, and later, Italian-language albums were certainly options for those who arrived with some money, who could go to the theatres in the city and in other cities around the Golden Horseshoe that played ethnic films, such as the Pylon and Studio Theatres on Toronto's College Street, the Paradise on Bloor Street, the Major on Corso Italia, or for those living outside of Toronto, the Cinema Playhouse in Hamilton or Kent Theatre in Windsor. Others had to be satisfied with the dreamy and fantastical advertisements for movies and concerts that could be found in the free Italian dailies.

Most, however, depended in some way on kin networks to learn about local news and events, and were happy to spend their leisure time enjoying the traditional Neapolitan classics they had learned back home during street parties around the neighbourhood on College Street, singing songs blocked on shaky guitars by reunited family members who had little to celebrate or share other than their music.[424] Adriana DiPaola recalls: "There were always a lot of parties in the house. […] All family, all friends, we [would] go into the basement, with the harmonica, with the recorder. Dancing, singing. This was a very

[423] "Canzone d'Italia," *Corriere Canadese*, Tuesday May 21, 1957, 10.
[424] Raffaela & Allegra Spinelli, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

good time."[425] Most narrators have similar recollections. Pietro Olivieri recalls that "music was a big part of it. Especially the old-fashioned tarantellas."[426] This form of leisure was free, fun, and nostalgic, and most narrators mark it as a significant aspect of their early days (and musical engagement) in Canada.[427] Across the Atlantic, the *canzone napoletana* rejected its loftier evolutions and once again became the song of the populace.[428]

The music landscape in Toronto changed with the premiere of CHIN Radio in 1966.[429] Founded by Italian-Canadian businessman Johnny Lombardi, CHIN became Toronto's first foreign-language radio station, transmitting in Italian day and night. Michael Amatiello writes that the station "featured Canadian and international news coverage and paid particular attention to events in Italy." As such, "it simultaneously worked to assist new Canadians to learn about Canadian culture and customs."[430] For these efforts and much more, Lombardi became a venerable icon in the community, and continues to be remembered as such.[431] With CHIN, Italian music truly had arrived. For Luca and Cecilia Alba (like most narrators interviewed), CHIN played a very important role in their daily life as new Canadians:

> Cecilia: That was the only station we [could actually understand] when we came here.

---

[425] Adriana DiPaola, in conversation with the author. November 2014.
[426] Pietro Olivieri, in conversation with the author. May 2015.
[427] Adriana and Goffredo DiPaola spent any spare income they had on Italian movies on College Street theatres, they watched live Italian theatre, and bought Italian music albums. Still, their primary source of leisure was listening to the radio or singing alongside kin at family events.
[428] Luisa Del Giudice engages in a fascinating discussion of folklore and folk music among the Italians in Toronto. She distinguishes between 'low' musical forms such as the common folk songs sung around kin circles, and the more public musical events within the community. She seeks to understand how these folk songs are made to be "a significant prism through which to observe the dynamics of survival of an ethnic immigrant culture in Canada." Luisa Del Giudice, "Italian Traditional Song in Toronto: From Autobiography to Advocacy," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'Etudes Canadiennes* 29, 1 (1994) 76.
[429] Various narrators, in conversation with the author. May 2013 to May 2015.
[430] Michele Amatiello, "CHIN Radio and its Listeners: A Negotiation in the Post-War Commerce of Ethnicity," Quaderni d'italianistica, 33, 1 (2012) 63, 67.
[431] Allegra Spinelli, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

Author:	Did they play music you were familiar with?
Cecilia & Luca:	Yes!
Author:	Do you remember any of them?
Cecilia:	Any music from that moment.
Luca:	Most of them that were popular.
Author:	The same stuff you heard in Italy?
Luca:	Yes, they mixed. […]
Cecilia:	They brought people from Italy, they brought them here.[432]

For Luca and Cecilia, their engagement with the music played by CHIN (generally pop standards imported from Italy) was based not specifically on particular taste or preference for some artists over others. Instead, the music was taken 'as a whole' in a way, used as a tool in the act of defining themselves by (and aligning themselves to) an activity that defined what it meant to be Italian. In short: if you were Italian in Toronto, you were listening to CHIN.

This affiliation was not restricted to the moment of arrival either. Amalia Campi's father was born in Toronto to immigrant parents from the Caserta region. Her mother moved to Canada from Avellino as a young girl. As Amalia's parents get older, she explains that her father's connection to the musical culture of Italian Toronto has deepened:

> He listens to CHIN Radio, he goes to all the Italian concerts, whenever they bring singers here. He goes and has coffee with all the Italian men like him at bakeries. And he just watches the Italian channel at home. For someone who was born here, […He's] the one who is more attached to that culture.[433]

Amalia's father, like many of the newcomers who settled in Toronto, used the CHIN airwaves as a means of adhering to an ethnic identifier. For newcomers and their young children, CHIN provided an avenue to participate in the entertainment at their

[432] Luca and Cecilia Alba, in conversation with the author. November 2014.
[433] Amalia Campi, in conversation with the author. December 2014.

disposal, a way of belonging, and a means of publicly defining their ethnic identity in new surroundings.

For Italians in Toronto, the diffusion of Italian popular music was a cathartic experience, and in many ways it reflected and supported the traumatic and difficult experience of immigration. In doing so, the oeuvre of singer and songwriter Renato Carosone, a hugely successful artist of the postwar period and hailed as the King of Neapolitan Rock'n'Roll, became a verifiable representative of the struggle they faced.[434] A Neapolitan, Carosone spent the first decade of his career performing abroad, and in time he developed a loyal following. In Italy, Carosone was relatively unknown for the first decade of his career, despite his extensive borrowing of Italian musical traditions in his songs. After a successful decade performing abroad, he resumed his career in Italy playing piano at various dance halls with a band of international musicians, infusing his music with the influences he had acquired during his travels. Eventually, his success in Italy travelled to the Americas with the streams of immigration in the early and mid-twentieth century. Luca and Cecilia Alba listened to Carosone often, and they would have loved to see him perform live, but they recount that the concerts of Italian singers were always completely sold out: "I remember the first time I came to Canada, there was this guy, […] an Italian singer. It was [at] Maple Leaf Gardens, [it] was full, because all the tickets were sold."[435] They were not exaggerating. On 28 May 1972, the *Toronto Sun* published a photo of pop singer Little Tony (whom they dubbed "Italy's Tom Jones") performing at the Royal York Hotel's Canadian Room. The caption explains that "police had to be called because fans crashed the concert by sneaking in kitchen and fire exits.

[434] "Renato Carosone fa ballare anche gli ammalati di sciatica," *Corriere Canadese*, Tuesday December 31, 1957.
[435] Luca and Cecilia Alba, in conversation with the author. November 2014.

[…] Teenagers ripped the singer's clothes off before he escaped."[436] The Italian music scene in Toronto was wildly popular among youth and adults alike, largely because it served numerous purposes.

'I think I over-advertised,' said CHIN's Johnny Lombardi after about 4,000 Italians swamped the Royal York's Canadian Room to hear Italy's Tom Jones – pop singer Little Tony (inset). Police had to be called because fans crashed the concert by sneaking in kitchen and fire exits. At the end of two hours, teenagers ripped the singer's clothes off before he escaped. Lombardi, who promoted the concert, doesn't know yet if he made any money. Photo by Dave Cooper, Sun.

HAPPINESS. You can be happy in spite of anything. Take A New Slant On Life. A book by L. Ron Hubbard $1.25. Why suffer more order now. The Bookstore, 124 Avenue Rd. 922-9030.

Figure 23. Little Tony performs at the Royal York's Canadian Room. Source: *Toronto Sun* 28 May 1972, CHIN Archives.

Carosone's songs, and in particular his hugely successful 'Tu vuo fa l'Americano,' openly play with the tension of cross culture, something that would have spoken quite deeply to many Campani abroad. He borrows from the traditional Neapolitan *macchietta*, a theatrical genre, but also with American rock'n'roll. He sings in Neapolitan dialect intertwined with American slang:

<table>
<tr><td>…Tu vuoi vivere alla moda
Ma se bevi 'Whisky and Soda'</td><td>…You want to live in style
But if you drink 'Whisky and Soda'</td></tr>
</table>

[436] The Toronto Sun, 28 May 1972. CHIN Archives Collection.

Po’ te siente ‘e disturba’	Then you feel hung over.
Tu abball’ o’ rocchenroll	You dance to Rock’n’Roll
Tu giochi a baisiboll	You play baseball
Ma e solde p’ e’ Camel	But the money for your Camel [cigarettes]
Chi te li da? La borsetta di mamma![437]	Who gives it to you? Mama’s purse!

Carosone believed that modernization and the adoption of global cultures need not be accompanied by the loss of heritage, and that, ironically, the rebirth of Neapolitan song could come about precisely from what he called a marriage to North American rhythms. By engaging with American culture, he reinvigorated the tradition of Neapolitan song and made it something new.[438] In doing that, he was an example of cross-cultural, or transnational, expressions of identity and ethnicity, which became hugely important for Italians abroad.

The example of Renato Carosone is an interesting one. Carosone’s music had become well known across Italy and its diasporic communities by the time CHIN went on air in 1966. Much the same way that Carosone revived the Neapolitan song in Italy, he also served as a beacon for Italians struggling with questions of identity listening to CHIN Radio in Toronto. Carosone was like them: he intermixed English with Standard Italian and Neapolitan dialect; he toyed with American customs, all the while maintaining traditional ones; he lived among and between two cultures, and seemed to be happy to do so. Pino Daniele once said of Carosone: “Renato taught us how to remain Italian even while being American, African, Oriental, Latin… He is the father of the modern Neapolitan Song, contaminated, proud of her roots and yet still open to the sounds of the

[437] Renato Carosone, *Tu vuo fa l’Americano*, Audio recording, written by Renato Carosone & Nicola Salerno, 1956. Author’s English translation.
[438] Antonio Scuderi, “Okay Napulitan! Social Change and Cultural Identity in the Songs of Renato Carosone,” Italica, 87, 4 (2010), 620.

world."[439] In many ways, this perfectly personifies the Italians who listened to him on CHIN. Carosone's music served as a tool for identifying with something in between, and for poking fun and even finding humour in the process of finding and constructing this cultural space. Carosone's music made the tense symbiosis of an admittedly difficult, isolating, and enduring immigration experience bearable, and even popular.

Italians in Toronto cared a lot about Renato Carosone. The *Corriere* followed his first American tour closely and boasted about his achievements abroad and at home. In a 1957 article titled "Carosone's Big Hit in Central America," the *Corriere* wrote:

> Renato Carosone's band will perform at Massey Hall next January. The Italian colony here, which has been celebrating the successes of the likeable singer-musician-poet through the Italian radio as well as through his numerous discs, awaits this musical spectacle impatiently.[440]

After a brief stop at Carnegie Hall in New York City, Carosone finally arrived in Toronto in January 1958, and subsequently traveled to Hamilton and Montreal.[441] At each stop, he was received by cheering crowds at sold-out venues. His popularity throughout the Americas was undeniable.

[439] Scuderi, "Okay Napulitan!," 632; author's translation.
[440] Corriere Canadese, Tuesday December 10, 1957.
[441] Corriere Canadese, December 24, 1957.

Figure 24. Carosone arrives in Toronto for two concerts on 10-11 January 1958 at Massey Hall.

But what's even more intriguing is that Italians in Toronto had a vested interest in Neapolitan culture in general, even when it was not tied to the dazzling and charming persona of Carosone. The unique and nostalgic characteristics of Neapolitan tradition translated well to a community of expatriates who longed for home and struggled to forge a sense of home abroad. More importantly, Neapolitan culture seems to have filled a role as a connecting device among the disparate Italian communities abroad, and the news the Torontonian Italians received on the matter always reflected the global impact of their beloved artistic culture, one which was enthusiastically appropriated by Italians, Neapolitan or otherwise. They were kept well informed about anything and everything that had to do with their beloved Neapolitan song.

When Enrico de Leva, famed novelist and lyricist, passed away in 1955, Italian Canadians knew about it from the full-page spread in the *Corriere*. The article made sure

to note that De Leva's songs were renowned and sung all over Europe and the world, and for that reason, could be considered truly Italian songs. When, in 1957, Neapolitans learned about a potential museum for Neapolitan song and theatre, Italian Canadians learned about it too, and they were simultaneously reminded of the droves of verses that dear Napoli had sent to the world, music that had allowed people all over the world to sing their joy and their pain. Campani living in Toronto in the postwar period were invested in finding connections between their circumstances and those of other Italians abroad. Paolo Prato has explored how this search for connections was mirrored in Italy by those who had remained, primarily through the use of cover records of hit American and British songs.

In Italy, cover records were at their height in the 1960s. Through them, young Italians were exposed to the same music that was dominating western airwaves, among them folk-rock, Motown, and the Beatles. For Italians at home, "cover versions […] represented a shortcut to importing and exporting songs across national borders. By breaking language barriers, these records […] played the role of ambassadors of Italian music abroad and of Anglo-American music at home."[442] In doing so, they also connected young adults from across the globe, from Australia to Argentina to the south of Italy, all listening to the same record, despite their distance, in very similar conditions. Cover records were for Italians at home a powerful way of connecting with the larger Italian community abroad.

[442] Paolo Prato, "Selling Italy by the Sound: Cross-Cultural Interchanges Through Cover Records," Popular Music 26,3 (2007) 444.

Figure 25 & 26. Sample Italian cover records of popular North American artists. Sources: http://www.beatlesbible.com/discography/italy/, and http://www.pinterest.com/pin/371054456773500812/ (accessed 14 July 2017).

Another way in which Italians worldwide connected with each other was through the immensely popular music festivals that reached the height of popularity in the 1950s and 60s. One of the earliest, the Piedigrotta Festival was founded in 1835 and reached the peak of its popularity at the turn of the century. It was designed as an outlet to celebrate new compositions of Neapolitan *canzone*. Julia Nakamura tells delightful stories of the festival's popular traditions:

> After the indoor festivities, singers and musicians climbed on carts and went about the principal streets of the city singing and playing the songs most applauded—the best of which became 'the song(s) of the year'. Immediately, bakers, barbers, butchers, washerwomen, shoemakers, and street singers picked up the melodies. […] The Piedigrotta festival was more important to the Neapolitans than Christmas or Easter. When in the 1920s victrolas became popular, the homesick Neapolitan in America eagerly anticipated the arrival from Piedigrotta of the new songs on discs.[443]

Piedigrotta and the ensuing festivals it spawned were yet another way in which

[443] Nakamura, "Canzone Napoletane," 145-6.

Campani abroad could take part in a custom that was distinctly theirs; furthermore, its prevalence in the Italian community media meant that it was equally accessible to those who could not afford more luxurious forms of entertainment. Music festivals were, essentially, for *all* Italians, just like the *canzone* they produced.

The sudden abandonment of Piedigrotta in 1950 paved the way for the popularity of the Festival of Neapolitan song, and then for the Festival of Sanremo, which opened in 1951, and continues to run yearly to this day. In the 1960s, the Sanremo Festival became an international phenomenon, hosting a musical exchange in which two singers would sing the same song, one in Italian and the other usually in English. This decision was explained as a method for showcasing the quality of the composition, but has since been observed by Paolo Prato as an "experiment in linguistic and musical exchange".[444] The fact that all of this took place on television and was seen by Italians at home and Italians abroad through RAI International, made the Sanremo Festival yet another way in which Italians worldwide came together in the name of Neapolitan culture.

American entertainers were also flocking to Naples to participate in the festival, and this was no small matter. Italian Canadians were fascinated by this phenomenon, and they devoured any gossip they could find on the matter. When The Platters arrived in Italy in June of 1958, the *Corriere* boasted the event as a coup for a modernized and prosperous Italy. Even more significant was the message that, despite the worldwide success, the festival was ultimately designed by and for Italians living anywhere, and the organizers hoped that the festival could serve as a conduit for all Italians, those from Naples and abroad, to know the city more deeply. They proudly wrote that "when all of

[444] Prato, "Selling Italy by the Sound," 455.

Italy is Neapolitanized, we will have reached a classic level of taste and purity."[445] Neapolitan culture was mobilized as a marker of identity for all Italians, and, in a wonderfully ironic twist, it was considered not a marker of criminality or nefarious activity as it had long been, but instead it was marketed as a marker of taste, purity, and pride. To embrace all things Neapolitan was, in essence, to embrace *Italianità*.[446]

Increasingly, the festivals themselves took on the same transnational bent that was consuming the music industry and the ethnic communities abroad. Their increasing flair for mixing languages, cultures, and genres spoke deeply to Italians abroad, who were experiencing these same processes in their everyday lives. In 1964, the Sanremo Festival welcomed singers from other countries to perform. Americans like Frankie Avalon and Paul Anka arrived alongside the Cuban group Los Hermanos Rigual and Chilean Antonio Preto. Paolo Prato interprets the festival as a sort of informal Ministry of Fine Arts, whose Foreign Legion had finally arrived to revolutionize and revitalize the Neapolitan tradition as a New Babel.[447]

The interest and demand for these festivals and the days-long celebrations of music and Neapolitan culture did not take long to reach a fever pitch in Toronto. Johnny Lombardi's role as representative of ethnic culture in Toronto, and of Italians in particular, made him the perfect conduit for what came next. In the 1950s, Lombardi began producing blowout shows of Italian culture at Massey Hall, designed to bring popular Italian music, and especially the songs that were made popular in the music festivals in Naples, to the Italians of Toronto. One such example was the Festival of

---

[445] "La Canzone Napoletana," *Corriere Canadese*, Tuesday January 26, 1960.

[446] Jan Sverre Knudsen reminds us to consider "the complex processes of adaptation, redefinition and reconstruction that musical expressions undergo when confronted with the new and unfamiliar cultural environment of a foreign country." Jan Sverre Knudsen, "Dancing cueca "with Your Coat On": The Role of Traditional Chilean Dance in an Immigrant Community." British Journal of Ethnomusicology 10, 2 (2001) 62.

[447] Prato, 441-2.

Italian Songs series featuring Luciano Tajoli (billed 'Italy's Bing Crosby') who maintained a good working relationship with Lombardi and guest-starred in the series often.[448]

Figure 27. "Luciano Tajoli's American Adventure" 1956 magazine. Source: CHIN Archives.

Lombardi made a habit of attending the Festival of Song abroad as well. His presence was diligently reported by the Italian newspapers in Toronto, who lauded him as an informal diplomat and representative of Canada in the important cultural event. There, Lombardi participated in the closing ceremonies, often distributing prize cups to the winners. Then, he liaised with winners and participants and worked his charm to recruit

[448] CHIN Archives Collection, various documents.

them for his Toronto festival.

He was quite successful. Throughout the late 1950s and early 60s, his Massey Hall concerts occurred yearly, bringing huge stars like singer Aurelio Fierro, comedian Beniamino Maggio, singer Giacomo Rondinella, and perhaps his biggest coup, the Italian star Sergio Bruni to the Italian communities in the Golden Horseshoe. Narrators recall the frenzy of these concert announcements, the push to get tickets, and the excitement they propelled in the community.[449] These concerts were relatively pricy for families who were living on very little and sending most of their earnings back home. Once again, this expression of Neapolitan culture in Toronto was one of distinctly middle class leisure and status. In the price of admission to the Massey Hall concerts, Neapolitan culture underwent the same changes as centuries earlier: it was transferred from the hands of the common people to the hands of those who could afford it.

These events were such big affairs that they were reported regularly by the English language media. In 1955, Toronto's *Telegram* reported on one of Tajoli's festivals, detailing the itinerary of the visiting singers. After an open-car traditional parade through Bay Street (including a lead-in by the St. Mary's Bugle Band and a line of attractive girls from the Italian community), the musicians were to meet with mayor Nathan Phillips for an office visit and dinner at the Royal York Hotel before they moved on to other stops along their tour of the GTA.[450] It is clear that the non-Italian public maintained interest in these celebrations, and if nothing else, the Italian community in Toronto was sizable enough to merit a traditional parade through one of the city's main thoroughfares. Most significantly, the public parade once again brought the music of the

[449] Cecilia and Luca Alba, in conversation with the author. November 2014.
[450] "Song Festival by Italians," The Evening Telegram, 1955.

Italians to the streets of Toronto, where immigrants who did not have the luxury of seeing Tajoli and his co-stars at Massey Hall could still participate in the celebration of what was clearly a notable moment in the life of Toronto's Italian community.

Figure 28. Advertising the upcoming Festival of Italian Songs along the streets of Toronto. Although the photo is not dates, the dates listed on the poster indicate that the photo was likely taken in 1960. Source: CHIN Archives.[451]

Lombardi's festival of song had its foundation in the Festival of Song held in Naples, and was accordingly centered on those artists and their melodies. But he also understood that his audience lived in inherently transnational circumstances, which he sought to reflect in his repertoire. By the early 1960s, the concerts boasted an incredibly diverse field of music, including South American Rock'n'Roll, traditional Italian songs,

---

[451] Although Massey Hall archives do list some Italian festivals in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, none of the listed events match the dates on this photograph.

and American jazz music. Lombardi's festivals reflected the shifts that were occurring in the Italian communities of Toronto and surrounding areas. Although they increasingly engaged with the cultures and sounds of other countries, the community remained separate and distinct from its host society: for all the influences the community borrowed from other rhythms, it did not meld and mix with the local culture in the same way. It is worth noting, for example, that the North American music market seemed to lack an interest in the major Italian recording artists, with the exception of Italian Americans (singing in English, of course) such as Connie Francis and Dean Martin. Although gold and platinum record status was not measured in Canada until 1975, there is little evidence in the music industry (including Billboard and RPM magazines) that the big Italian stars of the time, among them Carosone and Domenico Modugno, (who saw enormous successes in mainstream sales in Argentina) made a splash outside the small Italian communities in Canada. Italians in Toronto, as opposed to those in Buenos Aires, found the musical outlet for their ethnic identity in a distinctly separate sphere from their Canadian neighbours.

Of course, these patterns were deeply affected by the audience in question. Aging immigrant parents were more likely to remain within the confines of CHIN and RAI to satisfy their musical tastes, whereas the younger children of those immigrants were increasingly engaging with the local musical culture. The gendered dimension of the practice of music and the maintenance of musical tradition is also noteworthy. Narrators often recount unquestioned memories of musical engagement with a gendered perspective: women are often regarded as the bearers of tradition, whereas men are often considered primary producers. Angelo Casale explains that in his old age, he has come to

appreciate the role his mother played in transmitting to him the Neapolitan songs that have always felt a part of him: "I am starting to give much more credit to my mother, a true Neapolitan for so many generations, for showing me how rich we are" (Casale uses the word *rich* to denote the rich cultural heritage of the *canzone* he has gained due to his mother's influence).[452] Fabia Morello instead recalls that as a young girl, music was always paramount in her immigrant family, but instrumentation was largely a male domain: "My dad always liked the accordion, and he forced it on my brother. But he didn't like it too much. And then he quit, and dad says, 'Okay, let her learn it'. I can barely touch the keys, and [I'm thinking], 'I don't think it's gonna work'."[453] Men were typically seen as producers, and women took the role of consumers in the musical tradition.

Some scholars have asserted that the expansion of mass commercial culture (magazines, movies, products) was largely a feminine phenomenon.[454] They argue that "women shopped and went to the cinema more than men and, therefore, images of women had a central place in the collective culture." In Italy, the country's improving economic situation of the 1950s partially explains the proliferation of feminine imagery in Italian culture at that time.[455] In Toronto, this imagery was replicated without restraint. Italian magazines such as *Donna Magazine* imported the photo-romances from Italy, a sort of soap opera graphic novel, and published them locally out of Toronto. These magazines provided an avenue for women to consume popular culture, music, politics, and much more in a distinctly feminized space. This space became increasingly common,

---

[452] Angelo Casale, in conversation with the author. August 2014.
[453] Fabia Morello, in conversation with the author. November 2014.
[454] See Valerie Korinek, *Roughing it in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000; Stephen Gundle and David Forgacs, *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.
[455] Reka C.V. Buckley, "National Body: Gina Lollobrigida and the Cult of the Star in the 1950s," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, & Television* 20,4 (2000) 527-547.

with newspapers such as the *Corriere* dedicating full pages to female audiences and subjects.

Figure 29. ***Donna*** **magazine. No date. Source: CHIN Archives.**

The deep impact of female consumers can be seen alongside a developing fascination with the female form in popular culture, particularly in Italy. Gina Lollobrigida, the Italian movie star who incidentally got her start as a model in the photo-romances, was often praised as the ideal Italian woman. This ideal was fostered in her films, where she was often presented as a wholesome peasant Italian girl dressed in rags, who "offered Italians a picture of themselves as poor and backward but full of spirit and

determination."[456] Other times, the example was set through her personal life. "She represented an icon of Italianness: with her dark hair and eyes, her Italian temperament, her Catholic morality and her humble Italian origins. […] Lollobrigida remained, despite her international jet-setting and her partially Hollywoodized star image, fundamentally Italian."[457] Mass media outlets worldwide remained fascinated with Lollobrigida's public and personal life for years, and the women (and men) who had settled across the ocean were equally interested as those back home.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this argument, however, is the concept of the woman as national symbol. Reka Buckley notes that the rivalry between Lollobrigida and Sofia Loren, for example, had a decidedly regionalist element. Whereas Lollobrigida was the quintessential Italian girl in her peasant movie costume and in her personal life, Sofia Loren was a Neapolitan through and through. The *Corriere* reported on her almost obsessively, often by the nickname 'La Napoletana.' She was depicted as a wild, untameable, and dangerous woman, a depiction of Naples itself. As such, she could not, at least to Italians, serve as a national symbol for Italy as a whole. Loren's star status was undeniable however, even abroad, where she was greeted by Italians and Neapolitans with open arms.

To this day, Neapolitan culture fulfills a conflicting but important role among the Italians in Toronto. We might turn here to Goffredo Plastino to understand this phenomenon. He writes about music as an 'indirectly nostalgic' but 'reiterable' object of nostalgia. For him, music "permits us to experience 'intermittent gusts' from the past to

[456] Buckley, "National Body," 532.
[457] Buckley, 536.

the present”.[458] Put simply, music serves as a tool for living and renegotiating pasts. For some, music is intricately tied to the concept of family and the kin network. For others, it takes a gendered perspective, or connects them with an intra-group dynamic. For an immigrant community looking for home, it is no surprise that music, and popular culture in general, has served as an important tool in the search for a ‘home.’

[458] Plastino, 429-440.

Conclusions

This dissertation proceeds from the belief that the everyday experiences of a group of people are important, rich, and have much to teach us about large complex processes such as identity formation and immigration patterns. These experiences point to identity formation as a family-centred and transnational phenomenon, one that develops primarily in unorganized spaces and within a network of nodal points and streaks of movement. It points to the creation of a multi-directional and transnational network, a mental map that included nodal points across the globe. It explores the networks of traffic this group created in two of the most significant receiving regions (Ontario and Buenos Aires), and how they developed their own perceptions, manifestations and expressions of ethnic identity. It has surveyed some of the outlets that Campani used to exert their identities abroad.

Campani lived within networks that included the sending region and other nodal points of migration abroad, networks that maintained contact across borders and beyond the first generation. They were created and fostered via remittances, sister city status, ethnic newspapers, and family reunions. These networks were fundamentally transnational experiences that set the stage for how Campani understood their ethnic identities. They did so via numerous outlets, and this dissertation has explored those that occurred from the ground up, free of organization and association, within the private sphere of the family and the immediate community.

Campani used the numerous languages at their disposal, for example, to provide a form of emotional support during and after the immigration experience. These languages

also allowed them to connect to other Campani abroad, and their manipulation and consistent negotiation allowed Campani (and even their descendants) to assert different elements of their ethnic identities strategically. Food products and customs were used as a form of granting authority, control, and consent in the interview process, as the elaboration of a distinct identity and an expression of intra-group status. Campani around the globe engaged with global food and foodways to explain, contextualize, and transmit the immigrant experience. The forms of leisure, and primarily the music that Campani were exposed to also contributed to the development of a transnational ethnic identity. Both receiving regions engaged in a transfer of cultures and music patterns between Italy and even amongst themselves. In each of these processes, the enormous shift in the values, customs and norms of Campane as understood through the concept of the *lignee de femmes* highlights the unique experiences of women immigrants, who defined themselves not only in terms of their ethnicity, but also by their gendered experiences as Campane abroad. The unique experiences that female immigrants faced as workers, as mothers, and as women coloured their ideas of ethnicity differently than their male counterparts. Ultimately, this dissertation hopes to have enriched our understanding of the immigrant experience and the development of an ethnic identity through the lens of these everyday realities.

This dissertation contributes to new understandings to the study of Canadian history, Argentine history, and the movement of peoples between Europe and the Americas. It also engages with the study of social history (by writing the experiences of Campani from the ground up), oral testimony (by exploring oral history as method and not only as source), and hopes to add complexity to diverse fields such as linguistics (by

problematizing language negotiation under a transnational social context), musicology (by studying music formation and consumption as part of a larger immigrant identity), and gender studies (by understanding how gender intersects with other categories of analysis such as ethnicity), among others. These contributions are explored below.

The dissertation is indebted to the work of pioneering historians of immigration and identity who have wrestled with the diverse identifiers available to their subjects, and it expands upon their contributions. In 1988, John Zucchi sought to understand how new migrants who identified primarily with their hometowns or districts "came to identify strongly with an 'Italian' community" upon settling in Toronto.[459] Similarly, Fernando Devoto explored how Italianness was 'invented' as a new identifier only upon settlement in Argentina in the nineteenth century.[460] Other immigration scholars explored the hyphenated identities created by influxes of immigration, exemplified by Frances Swyripa's 1993 work on Ukrainian-Canadian women, and Peter Li's 1988 work on Chinese-Canadian communities.[461] Another group of scholars departed from the national framework to explore the diverse identities that their subjects inhabited: the rise of labour histories saw an explosion of research on immigrant identities hinged on their status as working peoples, including important contributions by Bruno Ramirez, Gabriele Scardellato, and Donna Gabaccia, among others.[462] Robert Orsi and Roberto Perin's subjects defined themselves not simply by ethnic terms, but by religious ones as well.[463]

---

[459] Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto*, 5.
[460] Devoto, "Inventing the Italians?".
[461] Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Peter S. Li, *The Chinese in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988).
[462] Ramirez, *On the Move*; Gabriele Scardellato, "Italian Immigrant Workers in Powell River, B.C.: A Case Study of Settlement Before World War II" in *Labour/Le Travail* 16 (1985) 145-63; Donna Gabaccia and Fraser Ottanelli, eds., *Italian Workers of the World:* Labor Migration and the Formation of Multiethnic States (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001).
[463] Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Roberto Perin, "Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity: Placing the Immigrant Within the Church," in *Canadian*

Similarly, the study of ethnic identity benefited greatly from women's and gender studies, with scholars such as Franca Iacovetta exploring the gendered aspects of immigrant life and the distinct experiences of female immigrants.[464] This dissertation does not claim to leave these debates behind. It engages with this myriad of ways of studying ethnic identity to underline the fact that immigrant groups possess numerous identities that are neither complementary nor exclusive, and adherence to any one of these demonyms over another is problematic for people with experiences of migration that have complicated connotations attached to each. National identities are problematic for people whose lives and families circumvent national or political borders. Hyphenated identities are also often unsatisfactory, since they rely on a linear connection between two places and deny or obfuscate the existence of other nodal spaces in the formation of identity. This project has not argued that Campani defined identity by their regional demonyms exclusively, although it does contribute to the growing research on immigrants and regional identities, such as the work of Amalia Scarci and Gabriele Scardellato.[465] Instead, this project acknowledges that Campani had multiple identifiers at their disposal, and that they adopted them strategically to navigate the situation at hand. It does not contradict or negate the presence of hybrid or hyphenated identities; rather, its contribution is to complicate them by considering the vast but understudied transnational network that provided Campani with a domain for ethnic identity formation.

Issues/Themes Canadiens vol 7.: *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies*, ed. William Westfall et al (Ottawa: Assocation for Canadian Studies, 1985) 212-229.

[464] Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*; Betty Boyd Caroli, Robert F. Harney and Lydio F. Tomasi, eds., *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association. Toronto, October 28-29, 1977* (Toronto, 1978); Marlene Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada: A History* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008).

[465] Amalia Scarci and Gabriele Scardellato, *A Monument for Italian-Canadian Immigrants: Regional Migration from Italy to Canada* (Toronto: Department of Italian Studies, University of Toronto, 1999).

It does so by building on the work of migration and mobility scholars such as Jose Moya, Dirk Hoerder, and Donna Gabaccia by exploring movement as a natural and normal part of human society. Instead of focusing on physical placehood as central to our understanding of identity formation (such as the work of Jordan Stanger-Ross and Samuel Baily)[466], this dissertation accepts that places of migration are significant, but employs them as nodal points on a larger mental map. It moves away from an emphasis on the unidirectional (or bi-directional) nature of migration, and instead explores the fluidity of space and the multi-directionality of migration systems. By doing so, it contributes to transnational research that moves away from the permanence or intransience of physical sites of settlement, and away from the concept of migration as a fundamental division between two worlds. In taking a more global approach, it heeds Donna Gabaccia's call for an exploration of the more complex patterns created by the movement of people: nodes of settlement and streaks of movement, and how these patterns contribute to our own understanding of personal and ethnic identity.

The dissertation also contributes to the study of immigration history by contextualizing the role of the family as a fundamentally transnational one. It builds on previous research on the family unit advanced by scholars such as Franc Sturino, Suzanne Ziegler, and Lydio Tomasi, who outlined well the central role of the family and kin unit within the immigrant experience.[467] It argues that a dissatisfaction with the numerous identities at the disposal of Campani (i.e., Canadian, Argentine, Italian, Campani, etc.) and their inability to represent such a complicated and transnational experience forced

[466] Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian*;); Samuel L. Baily and Franco Ramella, eds., *One Family, Two Worlds: An Italian Family's Correspondence across the Atlantic, 1901-1922* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988).
[467] Sturino, "Family and Kin Cohesion;" Ziegler, "The Family Unit and International Migration;" Lydio Tomasi, *The Italian-American Family: The Southern Italian Family's Process of Adjustment to an Urban America* (Staten Island: Center for Migration Studies, 1972).

Campani to turn to other identifiers for constancy, such as the family network. In oral testimonies and even in written sources, discussions of identity inevitably centre on the family, or use familial terms to describe that tension. One of this dissertation's contributions is thus to demonstrate the ways in which the concept of the family, long studied as an essential and centralizing value in Italian culture, is an inherently transnational one.

The dissertation forms part of the growing research on postwar migrations in both receiving countries, phenomena that have received relatively little attention compared to their demographic weight. It joins other authors who have studied this period in collecting archival documents as well as oral narratives and serves as a repository of testimonies that are increasingly unavailable. By bringing both receiving countries into one cohesive study, the focus on the national framework in each country is put into a larger global context, and the process of immigration is seen in a broader light. Immigration to Canada and Argentina was affected not only by the policies of the countries to which Campani went; they were also affected by policies, events, and the social, cultural, political, and economic circumstances in *other* receiving countries as well. Lastly and perhaps most significantly, the immigration of Campani was largely regulated by networks of family members, information, and resources. Campani see their families, their histories, and their identities hinged on a transnational network, and this dissertation is an attempt to study the immigration experience in this expansive context.

The focus in this dissertation on the group of immigrants from Campania that settled abroad in the postwar period expands Canadian and Argentine history by problematizing interpretations of identity that rely on a national framework. It also

expands the field of immigration history by demonstrating that immigration is not the artless narrative of movement between two points, nor is it simply the economic shift of labour to capital. Rather, it explores the concept of immigration as one of non-linear mobility, a process that transcends borders by creating nodes of settlement and streaks of movement that together create a global picture of what and how identity is defined.

To do this, the dissertation engages with scholars in the fields of comparative history, transnationalism, mobility studies, and other related areas. It explores the concept of placehood as a mechanism for understanding historical immigrations, and employs the concept of transnationalism as a lens with which to view them. In doing so, it hopes to advance Thomas Faist's mission to explore how "transnational ties between individual and collective actors become regularized and established principles, or a code of conduct that governs a crucial area of social (political, economic, cultural) life."[468] It employs this concept of transnationalism and rejects "the mutual embeddedness of geographic space and social space" as a unit of analysis.[469] Since Campani did not organize under political or national labels, and since even hyphenated identities seem to be insufficient or even inexistent in their testimonies as a way of defining their ethnic identity, the more complex concept of transnational identities is a more accurate representation of their lived experience.

The breadth of comparative work between the two countries studied here (or even including one of the two) is staggeringly small. Michael Werger and Benedicte Zimmermann argue that "when societies in contact with one another are studied, it is

---

[468] Thomas Faist, "The Border-Crossing Expansion of Social Space: Concepts, Questions and Topics" *Transnational Social Spaces: Agents, Networks and Institutions*, eds. Thomas Faist & Eyup Ozveren (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004), 1-2.

[469] Ludger Pries, "The Approach of Transnational Social Spaces: Responding to New Configurations of the Social and the Spatial" in Pries, Ludger, ed. *New Transnational Social Spaces: International Migration and Transnational Companies in the Early Twenty First Century* (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), 4.

often noted that the objects and practices are not only in a state of interrelationship but also modify one another reciprocally as a result of their relationship."[470] Initially imagined as a comparative project, it quickly became clear that this approach did not take into consideration the complexity of the immigration experience of Campani. Instead, Werner and Zimmermann's theory of *histoire croisee* better reflects the problem at hand: "whereas comparison favours the implementation of a synchronic reasoning, and transfer studies tend toward an analysis of diachronic processes, […] crossed history, in contrast, enables the synchronic and diachronic registers to be constantly rearranged in relation to each other."[471] The experiences of Campani in Ontario were informed, after all, not only by their counterparts in Buenos Aires, but also by the experiences of Campani at home, or in the United States, or Australia, or even by Campani that had gone to Ontario several generations before. The ways Campani chose to speak, entertain, dress, or eat were motivated by processes back home in Italy, in their new cities of settlement, and also by the evolution of those same trends in the United States, the Americas, and across the globe. These customs then became the threads with which Campani wove their identities. The immigration experience is not comfortably maintained within national, or even chronological, limits. Instead, the experiences of Campani worldwide are necessarily linked, and studies thereof should reflect these connections. The dissertation draws

[470] Michael Werner & Benedicte Zimmermann. "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisee and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45 (2006), 35.

[471] Werner and Zimmermann. "Beyond Comparison," 50. Werner and Zimmerman elaborate on the challenge of comparative work: "The comparative approach assumes a point of view external to the objects that are compared. In addition, to limit optical illusions, the vantage point should ideally be situated at equal distance from the objects so as to produce a symmetrical view. Finally, logical consistency in the comparison implies the point of observation be stabilized in space and in time. In the area of observation of social and cultural facts, however, such a vantage point, even if it is theoretically imaginable, is impossible to attain in the practice of research. Scholars are always, in one manner or another, engaged in the field of observation. They are involved in the object, if only by language, by the categories and concepts used, by historical experience or by the preexisting bodies of knowledge relied upon. Their position is thus off centre. It is also subject to variations in time and is never perfectly stabilized. The question of positioning leads to seeking corrective procedures that would make it possible to account for these dynamics.

inspiration from works that build these connections, such as Jose Moya's *Cousins and Strangers*, Samuel Baily's *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, and Federico Finchelstein's *Transatlantic Fascism*, the latter of which was released in Spanish and English, and can just as easily be found in libraries on Corrientes Street in downtown Buenos Aires and in the bookstores of Toronto universities. Aside from their insightful approaches to comparative and transnational history, these works engage with and immerse themselves into the historiographic tradition of two or more societies, an ambitious task in and of itself.

Lastly, this dissertation speaks to the incredible advantages of working with oral testimonies in historical research. It underlines that testimony is not merely a methodological approach, but that it shapes the questions and answers we as historians ask of our work. Alessandro Portelli writes that 'the telling of a story preserves the teller from oblivion; the story builds the identity of the teller and the legacy which she or he leaves for the future."[472] In essence, the very act of telling one's story is a means for Campani to exert control over the transmission and significance of their legacy, and to define and re-define themselves and their identities as Italians, Campani, Argentines, or anything in between. "The unique and precious element which oral sources force upon the historian and which no other sources possess in equal measure is the speaker's subjectivity," Portelli reminds us. If this dissertation has searched for the ways in which immigrants and their descendants considered ethnicity and formed ethnic identities, the interplay between the events themselves and the meaning of their testimony serve as fertile ground for understanding this phenomenon. Ultimately, oral testimony is, I hope to have demonstrated, at the heart of the transnational immigration experience. The fact that

[472] Alessandro Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History," *History Workshop Journal*, 12 (1981), 59.

Campani *believe* their experiences to be linked to those of others abroad (whether or not this can be quantified), and the fact that they imagine, or actively foment, the persistence of these connections through the passing of years and generations, is at the root of how they define themselves, and as such it remains at the root of how to understand their experience.

This is one of the most important contributions of this dissertation: namely, the use of empathic oral history and the active and unabashed placement of the researcher within and among the research process. Historians of migration have by and large respected a traditional approach to research that requires the investigator to assume as objective and removed a role as possible. It is curious, to say the least, that the distinguished historians who have lent their expertise to the field of immigration history have rarely (if at all) discussed their own personal relationship with their subjects and ensuing legacies. Happily, this is beginning to change.[473] This dissertation aligns itself with a growing body of literature that consciously chooses to do the opposite: by locating the researcher and their subjective stance squarely within the research, data collection, and analysis process, this new practice of oral history contributes to three themes that complicate, augment, and enrich our understanding of immigration history.

1) Forgotten Narratives:

At its core, I use this term to describe elements of the historical record that have been omitted as unimportant or insignificant and which have thus become part of the ways in which we discuss the past. I include here elements of the migration experience

[473] Some examples are Stacey Zembrzycki, *According to Baba: A Collaborative Oral History of Sudbury's Ukrainian Community* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2014), and Roberto Perin's research on Pesaresi.

that are not commonly discussed in dominant narratives: virtually all narrators are able to quickly list off the date they left Italy, the name of the ship they embarked, and the location of their first job abroad. Few, however, are able to recount who watched their young children while both parents worked, for example. Childcare, maternity, and daily life administration have not yet been considered significant parts of immigration history. In *Oral History Theory*, Lynn Abrams explains the gendered component of this concept, mainly that female narrators "mediated their stories through the activities of their menfolk."[474] The responses that Abrams received ("I didn't do anything important;" "I haven't got anything interesting to tell you") mirror my own experiences with female narrators almost verbatim, whereby female immigrants assume their own experiences are insignificant or, worse still, not representative. Abrams explains that "respondents do not compose their stories by drawing upon cultural constructs at random. Cultures contain a range of possible identities, some of which will be dominant or hegemonic, ideal or desirable, others will be alternative or subversive."[475] A narrator whose experiences do not fit into these moulds, or who feels that their memories have no currency within these cultural constructs, is likely to withhold, downplay, or simply bypass such forgotten narratives, even when explicitly asked about them. By exploring these narratives within the oral interview process overtly and in detail, and by inquiring about topics (such as folk songs, foodways, and linguistic varieties) that are not usually part of a larger discussion of immigration, this dissertation contributes to the process of uncovering forgotten narratives by decentring perceived notions of what an immigrant testimony looks like. In their open-ended, conversational style and their narrator-focused and at

[474] Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2010) 71.
[475] Abrams, *Oral History Theory,* 67.

times disjointed narrative, the transcripts from this research differ significantly, for example, from those of the MHSO in the 1970s and 1980s, which, despite their incredible value for scholars of oral history, contain such structured and narrow questions that prescribe a stagnant and dominant narrative of what immigration looked like.

2) Emotional Labour

This dissertation aligns itself with Krista McQueeney and Kristen Lavelle's assertion that "emotions need not be a barrier to critical analysis," but that they can be employed as "important signs of what is happening in the social worlds we enter as researchers." The authors explain that emotional labour, "the process by which workers summon certain feelings (and not others) in themselves, their colleagues, and their clients" is "a hidden work requirement" for social scientists, one which can be mediated by strategies that convert such labour into an analytic tool.[476] What contribution can an engagement with emotional labour make to the social history of migration, and to the study of transnational communities? One example of my own research comes to mind here. In my early interviews, I often made efforts (verbally and in my body language) to steer my narrators away from difficult or painful topics. This was not a conscious act on my behalf, rather it arose from a subconscious sense of responsibility: I did not want to see my narrators suffer, to experience pain for the sake of my research, or to have an unpleasant impression of our time together. This pattern left me unsettled, and I began to notice that on many occasions, narrators willingly steered the conversation toward

[476] Krista McQueeney and Kristen M. Lavelle, "Emotional Labor in Critical Ethnographic Work: In the Field and Behind the Desk," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* (2015) 2-5. In a public Facebook post, oral historian Steven High described oral history as a place of creative engagement, mutual reflection, and listening. It is also a permeable space, open to other methodological approaches beyond (or in combination with) 'the interview'." Facebook, September 10, 2017.

difficult or painful topics, such as deaths in the family, the mourning of a land they had considered home, and recurring ideas of abandonment or failure in the choices they had made, always without prompting from me. I thus made a conscious decision to adjust the way that I managed these occurrences. I learned that by shifting the conversation away from these difficult subjects, I was not protecting my narrators; instead, I was silencing them. I made the conscious choice to surrender myself to my emotionally engaged subjective self, which allowed me to locate and employ the most powerful tool at my disposal: my attentive and empathic silence. I stayed silent when they waded into sensitive territory; I embraced long periods of quiet contemplation, and I allowed myself to *feel* when my narrators inevitably did the same. This shift allowed me to open my line of inquiry to explore how the experience of immigration is an emotionally dense and often painful, traumatic, and difficult one, an experience that requires continuous reassessment and emotional attention. This shift also allowed me to establish a more intimate rapport between my personal self and myself as researcher, and between myself and my narrators, which not only produced richer testimonies, but in a real way, brought the narrators themselves to the forefront of how such histories are written.[477] If transnational networks, ethnic identifiers, and even minor concepts like language choices or musical tastes are nebulous and difficult to explain neatly in the context of the immigrant experience, it is precisely because they are described, perceived, and *lived* in this way by their narrators. It is my responsibility to tell those stories with compassion, empathy, and in a way that is legible to the community under study. Although scholars have for some years worked to demonstrate the ways in which immigrants were not

[477] Lynn Abrams uses the term "intersubjectivity" to describe "the interaction – the collision, if you will – between the two subjectivities of interviewer and interviewee. More than that, it describes the way in which the subjectivity of each is shaped by the encounter with the other." Abrams, 58.

simply victims of larger global processes, the acceptance and mobilization of emotional labour allows the researcher to accept and create the collection of data as a fundamentally personal and emotional experience. It also, as McQueeney and Lavelle suggest, allows us to 'connect dots;' the emotional labour I undertook as a young female researcher with older male community leaders sheds light, for example, on the gendered relations that exist within the community under study, which can then be repurposed to understand and contextualize new forgotten narratives such as those explored above. More significantly, emotional reflexivity allows the researcher to reflect consciously upon their own dual roles as active participant and impartial researcher, a duality that mirrors well the ways in which the subjects of migration or transnational histories do not fit neatly within one border or boundary.

3) Authority and Representation

Lastly, such exercises have led to a deeper understanding of how authority and consent are negotiated within the interview process itself. This dissertation contributes to the work of oral historians by problematizing ideas of consent, authority, and control in the way that narrators use the process of providing testimonies to become agents of their immigration experiences. It also argues that oral testimony and its inherent subjectivity is an asset to an understanding of ethnicity and identity rather than a liability. The inherent subjectivity of oral testimony as historical artefact, as tool, and as analytical category is an indelible component of the immigration experience. Abrams explains:

> Memory and the creation of memory stories can only be undertaken by calling upon certain sets of ideas, interpretations and representations which are meaningful to the narrator, which help make sense of an often disparate and disconnected set of

> memories and experiences. They are the glue that stick the memories together in a way that makes sense to the narrator and that often allow the narrator to position him or herself as the subject of the narrative, whether as a hero, an agent, a victim or in some other role. […]We can only tell and make sense of an experience if we do so in a way that makes sense to others, and therefore we use common or agreed frameworks and discourses to give a shape and meaning to our stories.[478]

Research produced in the last half century has been successful at stressing the ways in which migrating people were active agents in the process of immigration abroad. This, however, has also severely limited the way we discuss the real, lived experiences of human beings. Narrators adopt the role of hero, agent, or victim accordingly, or we attribute these loaded terms onto testimonies that, in their true form, display far more complexity and originality than any one term can coherently describe (consider, for example, that a narrator may be a hero, agent, or victim simultaneously, at different points in their life, or not at all). Our work as oral historians could greatly benefit from complicating the ways we represent our narrators and the authority we bear in this process of representation. What contribution can reflections on authority and representation make to the study of immigration history?

Once again, one example comes to mind. I wrote in the Introduction about the ways that some narrators verified my intra-group status by testing my Italian-language comprehension, by inquiring about shared ancestors, or by assuming status by my physical features alone. Such tactics tested my authority and granted me consent in the interview process. These conversations also contain another commonality: numerous narrators cast me in the role of the insider who would 'tell their story' or lend legitimacy to their experiences. Kathleen M. Blee writes that "feminist scholars insist that a

[478] Abrams, 64-66.

researcher cannot be content merely to record another's life story for scholarly publication but must 'return the research' to [the] subject as a means of empowering the informant and his or her community and thereby levelling the inherent inequality between researcher and subject."[479] Certainly, casting our narrators as heroes, agents, or victims, is doing a disservice to the enormous responsibility of representation that we as researchers bear. Furthermore, numerous narrators inquired about the end product of this dissertation in a similar manner to Blee's: would it be published? Would it be translated? What would I *do* with it? My explanations were welcome and well received; participants found the creation of a body of literature (particularly one in the academic sphere) a respectable and important contribution to their life story. 'Returning the research' need not be a Herculean feat, but it does need to be one fundamentally based on the human experience, and this requires humanity from the researcher as well. As immigration historians, we must be sensitive to the weight of our research: certainly, statistical and quantitative research holds a very important place in our work. So, too, do studies on global trends and processes. But issues of representation of the intimate and personal aspects of the immigrant experience are equally instructive. This research contributes to this cause.

By exploring a group of immigrants that could not rely on entrenched regional institutional ties as a source of ethnic identity, a group lacking a historiographical legacy or a wealth of available sources, this dissertation offers an example of how to conduct research on ethnic identities outside of traditionally understood contexts. Studying Campani, a group that cannot rely on these elements, allows us to explore other ways in which a deep relationship to immigration is mobilized, and the fluidity of boundaries in

[479] Kathleen M. Blee, "Evidence, Empathy, and Ethics: Lessons from Oral Histories of the Klan," *The Journal of American History* 80, 2 (1993) 605.

doing so. These histories are incredibly valuable ones, although they remain logistically and methodologically challenging to do. This case study speaks to those groups that have traditionally been discussed as fractured or unorganized; it speaks to the ways in which ethnicity is negotiable or malleable; and it speaks to a flexible and fluid concept of mobility and crossed history.

There is still work to be done. Certainly, the themes chosen for study here are not exhaustive; topics ranging from religious association to political organization would yield fascinating perspectives on how the lives of Campani were transnational ones. This project has sought to uncover the agency exhibited by immigrants from Campania to the Americas, but larger global processes, such as those organized by formal institutions (including the church, community elites, or nation-states) also held significant weight in the lives of Campani. The writing of this history remains a ready enterprise.

Another limitation of this project is that it does not explore how ideas of ethnic identity evolve over subsequent generations. Although the preceding work uses testimonies from various generations of immigrant families, it does not purport to understand the permanency of these phenomena over generations, and in fact, it must recognize the limitations of working within a limited number of generations. Studies on the second (and ensuing) generations have ignited conversation around how these themes evolve and the ways that the tools that define the first generation adapt or perish over time.[480] The case study described above is not a permanent state, and further research on

[480] Studies include: Herbert J. Gans, "Second-Generation Decline: Scenarios for the Economic and Ethnic Futures of the Post-1965 American Immigrants," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15, 2 (1992) 173–92; and Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001).

its evolution over subsequent generations would undoubtedly provide new approaches to the study of transnationalism and ethnic identity formation.

Another avenue ripe for exploration is the failure/success dichotomy that occurs consistently in immigrant testimonies and the historiographies they have produced. For decades, academic research has sought to counter a portrayal of immigrants as economic actors or victims, instead underscoring the agency of individuals in the immigration experience. Although such efforts are important and continue to be necessary, they have also minimized or completely erased the question of *failure*, a concept that remains very much present in the testimonies of immigrants who recount their efforts and experiences as 'successful' ones, and who allude with gravitas to those who experienced the opposite (we should add to this those narrators who are less sure about the success of their journey and whose negotiation with the concept of failure makes the process of recording a testimony a potentially traumatic one). Understanding how immigrants themselves define, categorize, and make sense of narratives of success and failure is integral to understanding the subtle grain of the immigrant experience, and this field has yet to be explored in earnest.

In August 2014, Angelo Casale and I came to the end of a conversation where he had shared his experiences as a young immigrant from Naples to São Paulo, back to Naples, and then to Toronto. He told me about one brother back in Rome, another in São Paulo, and cousins in Canada and Argentina. He told me about his Spanish wife and his trilingual children. He concluded his testimony as follows:

> Pardon my candour, but we are all going to die. It's only natural. But it doesn't matter that we will die someday. What matters is that this information doesn't die with us. That would be a great shame. It's a fantastic patrimony. Not simply because it is the

> story of our roots as Italians, Argentines, Brazilians, or Canadians, but because our experiences will affect generations to come. This history is theirs as well.[481]

This dissertation, these stories, and this history, is theirs as well.

[481] Angelo Casale, in conversation with the author. August 2014. Author's translation.

Works Cited

Abrams, Lynn. *Oral History Theory.* New York: Taylor and Francis, 2010.

Adelman, Jeremy. *Frontier Development: Land, Labour, and Capital on the Wheatlands of Argentina and Canada, 1890-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.

Agnoletto, Stefano. *The Italians Who Built Toronto: Italian Workers and Contractors in the City's Housebuilding Industry, 1950-1980*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014.

Agostini, Roberto. "The Italian *Canzone* and the Sanremo Festival: change and continuity in Italian mainstream pop of the 1960s." *Popular Music* 26, 3 (2007) 389–408.

"Al Uso Nostro" Biblioteca Nacional. Aguero 2502, Ciudad Autonoma de Buenos Aires. Visited November 13, 2015.

Alba, Cecilia and Luca. In conversation with the author. November 2014.

Albarracin, Julia. "Selecting Immigration in Modern Argentina: Economic, Cultural, International and Institutional Factors." PhD Diss., University of Florida, 2004.

Amatiello, Michele. "CHIN Radio and its Listeners: A Negotiation in the Post-War Commerce of Ethnicity." *Quaderni d'italianistica* 33, 1 (2012) 63-82.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York & London: Verso, 2006.

Anonymous narrators. In conversation with the author. June-December 2015.

Antonini, Paola. In conversation with the author. March 2016. Author's translation.

Appadurai, Arjun. "Gastro-Politics in Hindu South Asia." *American Ethnologist* 8, 3 (1981) 494.

Azzi, María Susana. "La Contribución de la inmigración italiana al tango." April 22, 2012. Accessed February 2, 2016 (http://www.tintaroja-tango.com.ar/2012/04/la-contribucion-de-la-inmigracion-italiana-al-tango/.

Baily, Samuel. *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Baily, Samuel L. and Franco Ramella, eds. *One Family, Two Worlds: An Italian Family's Correspondence across the Atlantic, 1901-1922*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988.

Bajic-Hajdukovic, Ivana. "Food, Family, and Memory: Belgrade Mothers and Their Migrant Children." *Food and Foodways*, 21 (2013), 46–65.

Bancheri, Salvatore. "Riccobene's *Nun Mi Maritu Ppi Procura*: The Canadian Linguistic Pastiches in a Comedy of Errors." *Patois and Linguistic Pastiche in Modern Literature.* Ed. Giovanna Summerfield. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007. 47-75.

Benjamin, Walter. "Naples." In *One-Way Street and Other Writings*. London: NLB, 1979. 167-176.

Blee, Kathleen M. "Evidence, Empathy, and Ethics: Lessons from Oral Histories of the Klan." *The Journal of American History* 80, 2 (1993) 596-606.

Breton, Raymond. "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants**."** *American Journal of Sociology* 70, 2 (1964) 193-205.

Brettell, Caroline. *Anthropology and Migration: Essays on Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity*. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2003.

Briganti, Annamaria. In conversation with the author. January 2014. Author's translation.

Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond 'Identity'." *Theory and Society* 29, 1 (2000) 1-47.

Buckley, Reka C.V. "National Body: Gina Lollobrigida and the Cult of the Star in the 1950s." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, & Television* 20,4 (2000): 527-547.

Cacopardo, Maria Cristina, & Jose Luis Moreno. "La Emigracion Italiana meridional a la Argentina: Calabreses y sicilianos (1880-1930)." *Boletin del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana 'Dr. E. Ravignani'*. 3, 3, 1 (1991).

Caffe Italia, Montreal. Directed by Paul Tana. 1985. Montreal, QC: Elephant. Film.

Campi, Amalia. In conversation with the author. December 2014.

Cancian, Sonia. *Families, Lovers, and their Letters: Italian Postwar Migration to Canada*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010.

Cara, Ana C. "The Politics of Creole Talk: Toward an Aesthetic of Argentine Verbal Art." *The Journal of American Folklore* 116, 459 (2003) 36-56.

Cara-Walker, Ana. "Cocoliche: The Art of Assimilation and Dissimulation among Italians and Argentines." *Latin American Research Review* 22, 3 (1987) 37-67. 37.

Carnevale, Nancy C. *A New Language, a New World: Italian Immigrants in the United States, 1890-1945*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

Caroli, Betty Boyd, Robert F. Harney and Lydio F. Tomasi, eds. *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association. Toronto, October 28-29, 1977.* Toronto, 1978.

Carosone, Renato. "Tu vuo fa l'Americano." Audio recording. Written by Renato Carosone & Nicola Salerno. 1956.

Casale, Angelo. In conversation with the author. August 2014. Author's translation.

Ceccarini, Rossella, "Food Workers as Individual Agents of Culinary Globalization: Pizza and Pizzaioli in Japan." In *Food and Culture: A Reader*. Ed. Carole Counihan Penny van Esterik. New York: Routledge, 2013. 437-448.

Centro Studi Emigrazione Archives Collection, Rome, Italy.

Ceva, Mariela. "La Construccion de una memoria familiar en la inmigracion Biellesa, (1895-1960)." *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 19 (58) 2005, 505-530.

Chambers, Ian. "Some Notes on Neapolitan Song: From Local Tradition to Worldly Transit." *The World of Music* 45, 3 (2003): 23-27.

Chiainari nel Mondo. http://www.chiainarinelmondo.it/. Accessed November 6, 2014.

CHIN Archives Collection, 1966-1980.

Clivio, Gianrenzo and Marcel Danesi. *The Sounds, Forms, and Uses of Italian: An Introduction to Italian Linguistics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Collier, Simon. *The Life, Music and Times of Carlos Gardel*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986.

Colombo, Daniele and Gia. In conversation with the author. January 2014.

Conde, Oscar. *Lunfardo*. Buenos Aires: Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial Argentina, 2011.

Corbiere, Emilio P. *El Gaucho: Desde su origen hasta nuestros dias*. Seville: Facsimiles Renacimiento, 1998.

Cormick, Eduardo. "From Cuyo to the Seaboard: Irish Roots in Popular Argentine

Music." Trans. Claire Healy. *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* 7, 2 (2009): 249-252.

Corriere Canadese, documents from the archival collection. Toronto Reference Library. 1954-1965.

Corriere Degli Italiani, documents from the archival collection. Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno. June 1954 to March 1964.

Cortes, Gabriel H., and Pablo Rodriguez Leirado. "Dereck Foster al margen: El sabor de una Buena historia." *Al Margen*. August 2001. http://www.almargen.com.ar/sitio/seccion/entrevistas/foster/. Accessed March 23, 2017.

Cotts Watkins, Susan & Angela D. Danzi. "Women's Gossip and Social Change: Childbirth and Fertility Control among Italian and Jewish Women in the United States." *Gender & Society*, 9, 4 (1995) 469-490.

Counihan, Carole, and Penny Van Esterik, eds. *Food and Culture*. New York & London: Routledge, 2013.

Croegaert, Ana. "Who Has Time for Cejf? Postsocialist Migration and Slow Coffee in Neoliberal Chicago." *American Anthropologist* 113, 3 (2011) 463-477.

D'Agnolo, Giovanna. "Italian Immigrant, Giovanna (Joanne) D'Agnolo (nee Iannetta)," Canada's Immigration Museum Pier 21.

D'Amico, David F. "Religious Liberty in Argentina during the First Peron Regime, 1943-1955." *Church History* 46, 4 (1977) 490-503.

Danesi, Marcel. "Canadian Italian: A Case in Point of How Language Adapts to Environment." *Polyphony: The Bulletin of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario,* 7 (1985): 110-113.

Dawson, Andrew. *New Era, New Religions: Religious Transformation in Contemporary Brazil*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007.

De Fina, Anna. "Code-Switching and the Construction of Ethnic Identity in a Community of Practice" *Language in Society* 36, 3 (2007) 371-392.

Del Giudice, Luisa. "Italian Traditional Song in Toronto: From Autobiography to Advocacy." *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'Etudes Canadiennes* 29, 1 (1994) 74-89.

Del Giudice, Luisa. *Oral History, Oral Culture, and Italian Americans*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009.

Devoto, Fernando. "De 1945 Hasta el Presente," *Historia de los Italianos en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblios, 2006) 381-455.

Devoto, Fernando. "Inventing the Italians? Images of Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1810-1880." *The Italian Diaspora: Migration Across the Globe*, George E. Pozzetta & Bruno Ramirez, eds. (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1992) 69-85.

Devoto, Fernando & Gianfausto Rosoli. *La Inmigracion Italiana en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblios, 1995.

Devoto, Fernando. "Las cadenas migratorias italianas: Algunas reflexiones a la luz del caso argentino." *Studi Emigrazione* 24, 87 (1987) 355-373.

Dickie, John. *Delizia! The Epic History of the Italians and their Food*. New York: Free Press, 2008.

Dimaro, Daniele. In conversation with the author. June 2014.

DiPaola, Adriana and Goffredo. In conversation with the author. November 2014.

Di Stasio, Giannino. *Ti sono scritto questa lettera: le lettere che gli emigrant non scriveranno più*. Milan: Gruppo Ugo Mursia Editore, 1991.

DiStefano, Daniela. "Italiese, A Language Between Generations." Accessed January 10, 2017. http://www.panoramitalia.com/en/lifestyle/trends-etiquette/italiese-language-generations/1252/.

Eamer, Allyson L. "Language, Culture, and Identity Negotiation: Three Generations of Three Immigrant Families in Toronto." PhD diss., York University, 2008.

"Eleganza: Italian Fashion from 1945 to Today." McCord Museum (690 Rue Sherbrooke Ouest, Montreal). July 9, 2016.

Elena, Eduardo. "Peronist Consumer Politics and the Problem of Domesticating Markets in Argentina, 1943 – 1955." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 87:1 (2007): 111-149.

Eleventh Stack. "I Left My Heart in Piaggine." November 9, 2009. http://eleventhstack.wordpress.com/2009/11/09/i-left-my-heart-in-piaggine/#comment-17812. Accessed November 1, 2014.

Epp, Marlene. *Mennonite Women in Canada: A History*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008.

Faist, Thomas. "The Border-Crossing Expansion of Social Space: Concepts, Questions and Topics." In Faist, Thomas & Eyup Ozveren, eds. *Transnational Social Spaces: Agents, Networks and Institutions.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004. 1-34.

Foster, David William. Review of *Las Canciones del Inmigrante* by Sergio Pujol. *Chasqui: Revista de literatura latinoamericana* 19:2 (1990).

Fraga, Enrique. *La prohibición del lunfardo en la radiodifusión argentina, 1933-1953*. Buenos Aires: Lajouane, 2006.

Freund, Alexander. "Identity in Immigration: Self-Conceptualization and Myth in the Narratives of German Immigrant Women in Vancouver, B.C., 1950-1960." MA Thesis. Simon Fraser University, 1994.

Freund, Alexander. "Transnationalizing Home in Winnipeg: Refugees' Stories of the Places between the "Here-and-There"" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 47, 1 (2015): 61–86.

Freund, Alexander and Laura Quilici. "Exploring Myths in Women's Narratives: Italian and German Immigrant Women in Vancouver, 1947-1961." *Oral History Review* 23,2 (1996): 19-43.

Frisch, Michael H. "The Memory of History." *Radical History Review* (25) 1981.

Gabaccia, Donna. "From Immigration History to Mobility Studies." Friday January 23, 2015. University of Toronto Scarborough.

Gabaccia, Donna. *Italy's Many Diasporas*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.

Gabaccia, Donna. *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*. Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Gabaccia, Donna, and Fraser Ottanelli, eds. *Italian Workers of the World:* Labor Migration and the Formation of Multiethnic States. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Gans, Herbert. "Comment: Ethnic Invention and Acculturation, a Bumpy-Line Approach." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, 1 (1992) 42-52.

Gans, Herbert. "Second-Generation Decline: Scenarios for the Economic and Ethnic Futures of the Post-1965 American Immigrants." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15, 2 (1992) 173–92.

Gans, Herbert. "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2, 1 (1979) 1-20.

Geiger, Susan. "What's so Feminist About Women's Oral History?" *Journal of Women's History* 2,1 (1990): 169-182.

Gleason, Philip. "Identifying Identity: A Semantic History." *The Journal of American History* 69, 4 (1983), 918.

Gobello, Jose. *Nuevo Diccionario Lunfardo*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor, 1999.

Goddard, Peter. "Rock Rolls with an Italian Accent." *Toronto Star*, Saturday April 10, 1976.

Gonzalez Rouco, María. "Inmigración y Literatura." Accessed February 2, 2016. http://www.monografias.com/trabajos28/inmigracion-tango/inmigracion-tango.shtml, Author's translation.

Greene, Victor. *A Passion for Polka: Old-time Ethnic Music in America*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1992.

Gundle, Stephen. "Feminine Beauty, National Identity and Political Conflict in Postwar Italy, 1945-1954." *Contemporary European History* 8, 3 (1999): 359-378.

Gundle, Stephen and David Forgacs, *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Harney, Robert F. *From the Shores of Hardship: Italians in Canada*. Welland & Lewiston: Editions Soleil Publishing Inc., 1993.

Harney, Robert F. & Vincenza Scarpaci eds. *Little Italies in North America*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981.

Hoerder, Dirk. "From Immigration to Migration Systems: New Concepts in Migration History." OAH Magazine of History (Fall 1999) 5-11.

Iacovetta, Franca. *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006.

Iacovetta, Franca. "Manly Militants, Cohesive Communities, and Defiant Domestics: Writing about Immigrants in Canadian Historical Scholarship." *Labour/Le Travail*, 36 (Fall 1995) 217-252.

Iacovetta, Franca. *Such Hardworking People. Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.

Iacovetta, Franca, Valerie J. Korinek, & Marlene Epp, eds. *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Ireland, Susan. "Textualizing the Experience of Italian Women Immigrants." *Textualizing the Immigrant Experience in Contemporary Quebec*, edited by Susan Ireland and Patrice J. Proulx. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004. 99-115.

Isajiw, Wsevolod. “Ethnic-Identity Retention.” In *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*, edited by Raymond Breton, Wsevolod Isajiw, Warren E. Kalbach, Jeffrey G. Reitz. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990. 34-91.

James, Daniel. *Dona Maria’s Story: Life, History, Memory, and Political Identity*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000.

Jansen, Clifford J. *Fact-book on Italians in Canada*. North York: York University, 1981.

Jones-Gailani, Nadia. “Qahwa and Kleiche: Drinking Coffee in Oral History Interviews with Iraqi Women in Diaspora.” Global Food History (2017) 1-21.

Junor, Andrew. “The meat and veg complex: food and national progress in Australian print media, 1930–1965.” History Australia, 13,4 (2016) 474-489.

Karush, Matthew B. *Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina, 1920-1946.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.

Kelley, Ninette & Michael J. Trebilcock. *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Knudsen, Jan Sverre. “Dancing cueca "with Your Coat On": The Role of Traditional Chilean Dance in an Immigrant Community.” *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 10, 2 (2001) 61-83. (62)

Korinek, Valerie. *Roughing it in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Kymlicka, Will. *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*. Washington, D.C.: Transatlantic Council on Migration, Migration Policy Institute, 2012.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. “The Culinary Triangle.” In *Food and Culture: A Reader*. Ed. Carole Counihan Penny van Esterik. New York: Routledge, 2013. 40-47.

Li, Peter S. *The Chinese in Canada.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Lorenzkowski, Barbara. “Languages of Ethnicity: Teaching German in Waterloo County’s Schools, 1850-1915.” *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 41, 81 (2008): 1-39.

Maiden, Martin, and Maid Parry eds. *The Dialects of Italy*. London & New York: Routledge, 2014.

Manti, Dorotea. In conversation with the author. November 2014.

Manzano, Valeria. "Rock Nacional" and Revolutionary Politics: The Making of a Youth Culture of Contestation in Argentina, 1966-1976." *The Americas* 70 (2014): 393-427.

---. "Sexualizing Youth: Morality Campaigns and Representations of Youth in Early 1960s Buenos Aires." J*ournal of the History of Sexuality* 14, 4 (2005): 433-461.

Marea, Marco. In conversation with the author. February 2016.

Mariani, John F. *How Italian Food Conquered the World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

McKay, Ian. *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1994.

McQueeney, Krista and Kristen M. Lavelle. "Emotional Labor in Critical Ethnographic Work: In the Field and Behind the Desk." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* (2015) 1-27.

MHSO; Leo & Wanda Vendruscolo. "Italian Interview – Leo & Wanda Vendruscolo." Multicultural Canada. N.d. http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/node/389620.

Milanesio, Natalia. "Food Politics and Consumption in Peronist Argentina." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, 1 (2010) 75-108.

Milanesio, Natalia. *Workers Go Shopping in Argentina: The Rise of Popular Consumer Culture*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013.

Morello, Fabia. In conversation with the author. November 2014.

Morusso, Ines. In conversation with the author. January 2014.

Morra, Linda. "Guernica Editions," accessed November 6, 2014, http://hpcanpub.mcmaster.ca/case-study/guernica-editions.

Mosby, Ian. *Food Will Win the War: The Politics, Culture, and Science of Food on Canada's Home Front*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014.

Moya, Jose C. *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998.

Murray, John. "Perón and the Church." *An Irish Quarterly Review*, 44, 175 (1955), 257-270.

Nakamura, Julia Volpelletto. "Canzone Napoletane: The Stories Behind the Songs." *Italian Americana* 15,2 (1997) 143-156.

Neils Conzen, Kathleen. "Mainstreams and Side Channels: The Localization of Immigrant Cultures." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 11:1, 1991.

Nosowitz, Dan. "How Capicola Became Gabagool: The Italian New Jersey Accent, Explained." http://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/how-capicola-became-gabagool-the-italian-new-jersey-accent-explained?utm_source=facebook.com&utm_medium=theatlantic. Retrieved January 20, 2017.

Nzula Angelina Ciatu, Domenica Dileo and Gabriella Micallef, eds. *Curaggia: Writing By Women of Italian Descent*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1998.

Olivieri, Pietro. In conversation with the author. May 2015.

Ori, Renata. Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Italian Canadian Women Oral History Collection. August 28, 1973.

Orsi, Robert A. *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Pacini-Hernandez, Deborah, Héctor Fernández L'Hoeste, and Eric Zolov, eds. *Rockin' Las Américas: The Global Politics of Rock in Latin/o America.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004.

Pagano, Antonio. "Italian Immigrant, Antonio Pagano," Canada's Immigration Museum Pier 21.

Parrino, Maria. "Breaking the Silence: Autobiographies of Italian Immigrant Women." *Storia Nordamericana* 5,2 (1988) 137-158.

Passerini, Luisa. *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Pelletieri, Osvaldo. *El Sainete y el Grotesco Criollo: Del Autor al Actor.* Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna, 2008.

Pérez, Inés. "La domesticación de la "tele": usos del televisor en la vida cotidiana. Mar del Plata (Argentina), 1960- 1970." *Historia Crítica* 39 (2009): 84-105.

Perin, Roberto. "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography." *Canadian Historical Review*, 64, 4 (1983), 441–459.

Perin, Roberto. "Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity: Placing the Immigrant Within the Church," *Canadian Issues/Themes Canadiens* vol 7.: *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies*, ed. William Westfall et al (Ottawa: Assocation for Canadian Studies, 1985) 212-229.

Perin, Roberto & Franc Sturino, *Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigration Experience in Canada* (Montreal: Guernica Editions Inc., 2007).

Peron, Juan D. to Alcide DeGasperi, 22 November 1949. Foreign Ministry Archives, Rome, Italy (accessed June 2015).

Phillips, Kendall R. & G. Mitchell Reyes. *Global Memoryscapes: Contesting Remembrance in a Transnational Age.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011.

Pietropaolo, Damiano. "Hyphenated Identities in/and the Global Village" *Italian-Canadian Culture in the New Millenium,* Paolo Chirumbolo & Franco Gallippi, eds. (Ottawa: Legas Publishing, 2009) 15-30.

Pietropaolo, Vincenzo. *Not Paved With Gold: Italian-Canadian Immigrants in the 1970s*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006.

Pite, Rebekah E. "Entertaining Inequalities: Doña Petrona, Juanita Bordoy, and Domestic Work in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina." *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 91, 1 (2011) 96-128.

Plastino, Goffredo. "*Lazzari felici*: Neapolitan Song and/as Nostalgia." *Popular Music* 26, 3 (2007): 429-440.

Plotkin, Mariano. "The Changing Perceptions of Peronism." In *Peronism and Argentina,* ed. James P. Brennan (Wilmington: SR Books, 1998), 29–54.

Pollock, Nancy. "Food and Transnationalism: Reassertions of Pacific Identity." In *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives*. Eds. Helen Lee & Steve Tupai Francis. Acton: ANU Press, 2009. 103-114.

Portelli, Alessandro. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991.

Portelli, Alessandro. "The Peculiarities of Oral History." *History Workshop Journal*, 12 (1981), 99-100.

Portes, Alejandro and Rubén G. Rumbaut. *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001.

Postiglione, Nadia. "'It was just horrible': the food experience of immigrants in 1950s Australia." *History Australia* 7, 1 (2010) 09.1-09.16.

Pozzetta, George E. & Bruno Ramirez, eds. *The Italian Diaspora: Migration Across the Globe*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1992.

Prato, Paolo. "Selling Italy by the Sound: Cross-Cultural Interchanges Through Cover Records." *Popular Music* 26, 3 (2007): 441-462.

Premat, Adriana. "Popular Culture, Politics, and Alternative Gender Imaginaries in 1960s and 1970s Argentina." *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 33 (2015): 41-56.

Pries, Ludger. "The Approach of Transnational Social Spaces: Responding to New Configurations of the Social and the Spatial". In Pries, Ludger, ed. *New Transnational Social Spaces: International Migration and Transnational Companies in the Early Twenty First Century*. London & New York: Routledge, 2001. 3-33.

Pujol, Sergio. *Las Canciones del Inmigrante*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Almagesto, 1989.

Radice. "Caserta: Iter gemellaggio tra la citta e Niagara Falls, centro canadese." Last updated 28 September, 2016. http://www.radice.ce.it/attualita/23670-caserta-iter-gemellaggio-tra-la-citta-e-niagara-falls-centro-canadese.html.

Rainhorn, Judith. *Paris, New York: Des Migrants Italiens, annees 1880-1930*. Paris: CNRS Editions, 2005.

Ramirez, Bruno. *On The Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North Atlantic Economy, 1861-1914.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Publishing Co., 1991.

Ramirez, Bruno. *The Italians in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989.

Raska, Jan. "Food Wars! Immigration and Food Confiscation at Pier 21." http://www.pier21.ca/blog/jan-raska/food-wars-immigration-and-food-confiscation-at-pier-21. Retrieved February 7, 2017.

Reeder, Linda. *Widows in White: Migration and the Transformation of Rural Italian Women, Sicily, 1880-1920*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

Rega, Pietro. "I Campani nel Mondo." Last modified October 6, 2008. http://www.campani.eu/200808062/i-campani-nel-mondo/mondo.html.

Romero, Luis Alberto. "The Perón Government, 1943–1955." *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2013. 91-130.

Rosaldo, Renato. "Foreword." In *Hybrid Cultures*, eds. Nestor Garcia Canclini, Christopher L. Chiappari, and Renato I. Rosaldo. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Rosales, Marta Vilar. "My Umbilical Cord to Goa: Food, Colonialism, and Transnational Goan Life Experiences." *Food and Foodways* 20.3–4 (2012): 233–256.

Rosoli, Gianfausto, et al, eds. *Un Secolo di Emigrazione Italiana, 1876-1976.* Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1976.

Ruberto, Laura E. "Californians Sell Little Italy, One Crate at a Time." i-Italy (2 December 2009) http://bloggers.iitaly.org/node/12016.

Rubin, Rachel and Jeffrey Melnick. *Immigration and American Popular Culture*. New York: New York University Press, 2007.

Sabatino, Dante. "L'Emigrazione campana: oltre un secolo di partenze dalla regione tra destinazioni internazionali e spostamenti interni." *I Campani e gli italiani nel mondo: il lavoro, le associazioni, la doppia appartenenza*, ed. Francesco Carchedi. Roma: Casa Editrice Ediesse, 2004. 33-68.

Sacco, Enzo. In conversation with the author. February 2016. Author's translation.

SADAIC (Sociedad Argentina de Autores y Compositores de Música) Monthly magazine, 62 (November 1950).

Salvia, Ernesto. *San Telmo: La Iglesia en el Barrio*. Buenos Aires: Lumen, 2009.

Samuel, Raphael & Paul Thompson, eds. *The Myths We Live By*. Routledge: London & New York, 1990.

Sanchez Trolliet, Ana. *"*'Buenos Aires Beat': A Topography of Rock Culture in Buenos Aires, 1965–1970." *Urban History* 41, 3 (2014): 517-536.

Sarla, Sara. In conversation with the author. January 2014. Author's translation.

Saujani, Sheyfali. "Empathy and Authority in Oral Testimony: Feminist Debates, Multicultural Mandates, and Reassessing the Interviewer and her 'Disagreeable' Subjects" *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 45, 90 (2012), 361-391.

Scarci, Amalia and Gabriele Scardellato, *A Monument for Italian-Canadian Immigrants: Regional Migration from Italy to Canada*. Toronto: Department of Italian Studies, University of Toronto, 1999.

Scardellato, Gabriele. "Italian Immigrant Workers in Powell River, B.C.: A Case Study of Settlement Before World War II" *Labour/Le Travail* 16 (1985) 145-63.

Scuderi, Antonio. "Okay Napulitan! Social Change and Cultural Identity in the Songs of Renato Carosone." *Italica*, 87,4 (2010) 619-636.

Senkman, Leonardo. "Etnicidad e inmigración durante el primer peronismo." *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de America Latina y el Caribe*, 3, 2 (1992)

Serra, Ilaria. "Teaching Italy Through its Music. The Meaning of Music in Italian Cultural History." *Italica* 88, 1 (2011): 94-114.

Sheinin, David & Carlos A. Mayo, (eds). *Es Igual Pero Distinto: Essays in the Histories of Canada and Argentina*, Peterborough & Mar del Plata: Frost Centre for Canadian Heritage and Development Studies, Trent University, and Grupo Sociedad y Estado, Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, Argentina, 1997.

Sismondo, Christine. "The Toronto – a Namesake Cocktail You've Never Heard Of." *The Toronto Star*. https://www.thestar.com/life/food_wine/2016/10/14/the-torontoa-namesake-cocktail-youve-never-heard-of.html. Retrieved April 12, 2017.

Sofia, Paolo. In conversation with the author. March 2016. Author's translation.

Solberg, Carl. *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880-1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987.

"Song Festival by Italians," *The Evening Telegram*, 1955.

Spinelli, Allegra & Raffaela. In conversation with the author. May 2013 and November 2014.

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

Stavrides, Stavros. "Heterotopias and the Experience of Porous Urban Space." In *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life*, eds. Karen A. Franck & Quentin Stevens. London & New York: Routledge, 2007. 174-192.

Sturino, Franc. "Family and Kin Cohesion Among South Italian Immigrants in Toronto" *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America*. Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association. Toronto, October 28-29, 1977. Caroli, Betty Boyd, Robert F. Harney and Lydio F. Tomasi (eds.). Toronto, 1978: 84-104.

Swyripa, Frances. *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Testaferri, Ada. *Donna: Women in Italian Culture*. Toronto: Dovehouse Editions Inc., 1989.

The Toronto Sun, 28 May 1972. CHIN Archives Collection.

Tirabassi, Maddalena. "Bourgeois Men, Peasant Women: Rethinking Domestic Work and Morality in Italy." *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the*

World, edited by Donna R. Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, 106-127. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Todo Tango. “Canzoneta.” http://www.todotango.com/musica/tema/1061/Canzoneta/.

Tomasi, Lydio. *The Italian-American Family: The Southern Italian Family’s Process of Adjustment to an Urban America*. Staten Island: Center for Migration Studies, 1972.

Vardaro, Arcángel Pascua. *La Censura radial del lunfardo, 1943-1949, Con especial aplicación al tango*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Dunken, 2007.

Varela, Mirta. “Media History in a ‘Peripheric Modernity’: Television in Argentina 1951-1969.” *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 4, 4 (London: University of Westminster, 2007): 84-102.

Vecoli, Rudolph J. “Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of The Uprooted” *The Journal of American History* 51, 3 (1964), 404-417.

Vargas, Manuel. *Canciones Napolitanas y Criollas.* Buenos Aires: 1902.

Ventresca, Robert A. “‘Cowering Women, Combative Men?’: Femininity, Masculinity, and Ethnicity on Strike in Two Southern Ontario Towns, 1964-1966.“ *Labour/Le Travail* 39 (1997): 125-158.

Vila, Pablo. “Tango, folklore y rock : apuntes sobre música, política y sociedad en Argentina.” *Cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien* 48 (1987) 81-93.

Villa, Gabriele. In conversation with the author. March 2016. Author’s translation.

Villano, Roberto. In conversation with the author. March 2016. Author’s translation.

Vinci, Anna. In conversation with the author. December 2015. Author’s translation.

Vizmuller-Zocco, Jana. “Morphosyntactic Aspects of Popular Italian in Toronto.” *Forum Italicum: A Journal of Italian Studies* 29, 2 (1995) 333-344.

Waldinger, Roger D. & David Fitzgerald. "Transnationalism in Question" *American Journal of Sociology,* 109, 5 (2004) 1177-95.

Werner, Michael & Benedicte Zimmermann. "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisee and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45 (2006) 30-50.

Wilson, Timothy. “*Un pájaro progresivo:* Pop Music, Propaganda, and the Struggle for Modernity in Argentina.” *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 33 (2015): 89-107.

Woodfin, Fabiana. "Spaesati d'Italia: Emigration in Italian National Identity Construction from Postwar to Economic Miracle." Ph.D Diss., University of California Berkeley, 2011.

Wright, Cynthia. "'Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance': Writing Gender into the History of Consumption." In *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, edited by Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, 229-260. Toronto: University Press, 1992.

Wyman, Mark. *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930* Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1993.

Zembrzycki, Stacey. *According to Baba: A Collaborative Oral History of Sudbury's Ukrainian Community*. Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2014.
Ziegler, Suzanne. "The Family Unit and International Migration: The Perceptions of Italian Immigrant Children" *International Migration Review* 11, 3 (1977) 326-333.

Zimmerman, Jonathan. "Ethnics Against Ethnicity: European Immigrants and Foreign-Language Instruction, 1890-1940." *Journal of American History*, March 2002, 1383-1404.

Zucchi, John. *Italians in Ontario*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985.

Zucchi, John. *Italians in Toronto*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.