CAN ITALIAN-CANADIANS HAVE THEIR CANNOLI AND EAT IT TOO? REPRESENTATIONS OF RACE AND ITALIAN-NESS IN CANADA'S PRINTED MEDIA

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

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN EDUCATION
YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO

March 2018

Abstract

In 2009, Dina Pugliese, co-host of a popular daily television show in Toronto, stated in an interview that she was hesitant to pursue an on-camera career because she worried that she was "too spicy-Italian." Her words speak to long-standing stereotypes of Italians, developed out of eighteenth and nineteenth century representations of Italy. Clearly, hers is not an identity that has been uncomplicatedly subsumed into Whiteness. Stereotypes borrowed from Europe mark Italian-Canadians, who mostly come from Southern Italy, and who were seen (both inside and outside of Europe) as 'swarthy', 'hot-blooded' and 'short-tempered.'

In this dissertation, I examine the concept of Italian-ness in two culturally specific Italian-Canadian magazines, *Panoram Italia* and *Accenti*. Thematic data was collected to explore how the magazines construct the image of the Italian-Canadian in their editorial discourses and how this discourse analysis may serve to reveal existing racialized power relations. I identify parallels between Italy as Europe's south and the Italian-Canadian community, and the ways they serve to function as a filter to understanding Italian-Canadian migration and ongoing concepts of difference within Canada. Furthermore, I explore how the magazine editorial discourses strove to define the interplay between Italian-ness within Canada's ethno-racial categorizations.

The empirical chapters, based on my discourse analysis of both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia*, focus on the Italianization of John Cabot, Italian-Canadian internment during World War II and the politics of redress, and the space and place of Italian-Canadians within Canada's social and political life. I show that attempts on the part of Italian-Canadian media to legitimize the presence of Italian-Canadians in Canada often result in identities that collude and collide in the construction of Italian-ness as Whiteness. My empirical chapters illustrate a growing need for

critical Whiteness studies to re-investigate how groups come to self-identify and are labelled by others.

Overall, I discuss how critical Whiteness studies, as a theoretical framework, continues to omit differences between White ethnics, particularly in terms of a European continental north-south divide impacting Western thought. I illustrate how printed media representations of Italian-Canadian-ness are often at odds with the thematic claims discussed in critical Whiteness studies, which is often synonymous with normativity, invisibility, culture-less and a non-ethnic background. By critically analyzing the ways Italian-ness is constructed in printed media, I highlight both the general considerations of critical Whiteness studies as obscuring certain identities, which remain "peripheral" (Satzewich, 2000) within its project, and the paradoxical implications this oversight may have for groups like Italian-Canadians. I note the need to de-universalize the processes of racialization within the construction of Whiteness by unpacking the field from an Anglo-British and Anglo-American dominance. That way, it may anchor the field of Whiteness by acknowledging how localized forms of cultural expression elicit a particular Canadian and Italian understanding of race and belonging. Thus, countering how critical Whiteness studies may inadvertently re-inscribe race in problematic ways.

Acknowledgements

I owe immeasurable thanks to my supervisor, Celia Haig-Brown, for her unwavering enthusiasm in this project. Her probing and incisive comments and her gentle reminders to get the writing done made this day possible. I equally thank Carl E. James for his unfailing interest and support. During my time at York University, Carl generously provided a vibrant space for graduate research and friendship. Kindest of thanks to Carmela Murdocca for having agreed to serve on the committee and for her thoughtful comments and suggestions. I also thank Patricia Wood and Franca Iacovetta for their service and time, and Nombuso Dlamini for chairing a lively defence.

Heartfelt thanks to the many friends and colleagues who provided vital camaraderie during this process: Danielle Kwan-Lafond, Selom Chapman, Sonya Sachar, Desmond Miller, Tapo Chimbganda, Marsha Miller, Jade Shortte, Patricia Gagliardi-Ursua, Bianca La Neve, Tamir Arviv and Verna St. Denis.

I wish to thank the Faculty of Education at York for fostering a positive and welcoming learning environment. Throughout the years and in different capacities Elizabete Petersons, Laura Greco, and Loretta Fiorini provided vital administrative support.

Finally, to my parents, Nicole and Umberto, thank you for always being loving, kind, and supportive.

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Chapter 1 - The persistence of Italian-ness

In 2009, Dina Pugliese, co-host of Toronto's popular CityTV *Breakfast Television*, stated in a *YorkU* Magazine interview that she was hesitant to pursue an on-camera career because she thought, "What if I'm too spicy-Italian for them?" despite the claim by Canadians to be accepting of multicultural and diasporic populations (Fuller, p. 14). In similar vein, Mary Di Michele's 1995 autobiographical poem titled "Life is Theatre. (Or O to be Italian in Toronto Drinking Cappuccino on Bloor Street at Bersani & Carlevale's)" opens with a narrative mindful of the limits to being Italian during her childhood in Toronto as:

> Back then you couldn't have imagined
> yourself openly savouring a cappuccino,
> you were too ashamed that your dinners
> were in a language you couldn't share with your friends

And while the poem ends with a seemingly more self-assured Di Michele, there continues to be a notion of Italian-ness (and hence difference) ascribed to her actions:

> Still you balanced your espresso expertly
> throughout a heated speech without spilling a single tear into the drink,
> after which you left him to pay the bill.
> *For you Italians!* He ran out shouting after you,
> *Life is a theatre!* (1995, p. 40-42)

Based on these and other examples, I became interested in examining not only what becomes sayable, but what is equally rendered intelligible given how words like these (which span 14 years) highlight how Canadian-Italian identities have not been uncomplicatedly subsumed into Whiteness. Rather, my sense is that both Pugliese and Di Michele speak to long-

standing stereotypes of Italians, developed out of eighteenth and nineteenth century representations of Italy – despite the emergence of critical Whiteness studies that portrays Italian-Canadians as "mainstream Canadians" (Sachetti-Dufresne, 2007, p. 2). While the early 1980s effectively saw the end of mass Italian migration to Canada, Italians continue to appear at a disproportionate rate in North American popular culture.[i] Stereotypical representations of Italians in a variety of media genres seemingly resist the conventions of Whiteness – as normative, invisible, ahistorical, natural and non-ethnic – and as such, Italians continue to serve as subversive figures. Or Richard Corliss argues in a 1988 issue of *Time* magazine, Italians "are the last ethnic group America can comfortably mock" (p. 72).

Post-modern notions of identity are often routed in concepts of de-territorialization, multiplicities, fragmentations, and ambivalences. Yet, I was curious to explore why and how popular references to Italian-Canadian-ness often belie a post-modernistic approach to identity formation. In other words, many of the presumed caricatures and characteristics of Italian-ness as displayed in movies, television programs, and printed media, tend to emphasize modernistic discourses of selfhood (i.e. those which are homogeneous, complete, and stable). Therefore, in this dissertation, I examine how ongoing popular cultural references of Italian-ness may serve as an important portal to understanding a larger story of race and citizenship within Canada. By critically analyzing the ways Italian-ness is constructed in popular culture, I highlight both the general considerations of critical Whiteness studies as obscuring certain identities, which remain "peripheral" (Satzewich, 2000) within its project, and the paradoxical implications this oversight may have for groups like Italian-Canadians. My doctoral thesis is principally an exploration of the ways Canadian culture has developed a consistent and stereotyped representation of Italy and

Italians. Secondly, how Canadian printed media by Italian-Canadians have made a specific use of this representation. The pedagogical possibilities of this dissertation are three-fold:

- The first is to de-universalize the processes of racialization within the construction of Whiteness by unpacking the field from an Anglo-British and Anglo-American dominance.
- The second is to anchor the field of Whiteness by acknowledging how localized forms of cultural expression elicit a particular Canadian and Italian understanding of race and belonging. Thus, countering how critical Whiteness studies may inadvertently re-inscribe race in problematic ways.
- The final possibility lies with extrapolating how citizenship education within a project of a hyphenated Italian-Canadian identity (as per the pursuits of a Federally-mandated multiculturalism and the Giovanni Caboto founding father paradigm) is informed by and seeks to mimic the racialization of French and Anglo-Canadians in settler colonialism.

We are often told that Europeanness equals Whiteness (Bannerji, 2000). But do all Europeans fit neatly into this category? The varied histories, localities, religions, political structures, socio-economic levels and migratory patterns that encompass White ethnic identities, may not be so easily collapsible into blanketing terms like western or White. While there has been a rise in scholars who are attempting to recognize a more nuanced or multi-layered approach to White cultural identity (Arviv, 2016; Cancian & Ramirez, 2007; Carey & McLisky, 2009; Curthoys, 2001, 2009; Guglielmo & Salerno, 2003; Miller Shearer, 2012; Peake & Ray, 2001; Romano, 1996), the field, as will be further analysed and defined in subsequent chapters, continues to omit differences between White ethnics, particularly in terms of a European continental north-south

divide impacting Western thought. Italy, particularly in the post-Renaissance and Romantic Era, began to be imagined as on the margins of Europe and came to constitute a troubling border zone (Ascari, 2006; Casillo & Russo, 2011; Dainotto, 2007; Moe, 2006). Stereotypes borrowed from Europe mark Italian-Canadians, who mostly come from Southern Italy, and who were seen (both inside and outside of Europe) as 'swarthy,' 'hot-blooded,' (Iacovetta, 2004, p. 114, 105) 'parochial,' and possessing a 'propensity for violence' (Mullen, 2005, p. 89). While much of the literature on the racialization of Whiteness stems from texts involving Irish and Jewish American immigrant experiences, Canadian sociologist Vic Satzewich (2000) asks, "[T]o what extent should the Irish experience of Whiteness in the United States form the template by which we understand the social constructions of Whiteness for other peripheral Europeans?" (p. 279) My research builds on the work of Satzewich (2000) by researching how the ideology regarding the north-south divide in Italy (and that within Europe) was imported to Canada by way of Italian-Canadian immigration and inevitably colluded and collided with the racialized structure already present in Canada. In doing so, I decipher the unstable and fluctuating degrees and shades of Whiteness and the diversity that is encompassed within the blanketing category of White. I suggest that the assumptions that critical Whiteness studies scholars currently make may have difficulty accounting for firstly, how Italian-Canadians are marked as 'different' even within Whiteness; and secondly, how particular identities, such as those of Italian-Canadians, have remained hyphenated and visible.

As a French-Canadian and second-generation Italian-Canadian raised in Northern Ontario with a father born in Southern Italy, I have been particularly interested in the intersecting relationships between race, racialization, and ethnicity within the Italian community and how those three concepts manifest themselves in terms of self-labeling and societal perception. My

years living and studying in Toronto, a city with the largest Italian-Canadian population in the country, began to change my perceptions of what it means to be Italian-Canadian. I felt that the community was both visible (with our Little Italy's, the proliferation of our food, and the stereotypical ways we could be visibly marked as being Italian) yet inconspicuous within academic literature. Yet, how is it possible for one of the largest contemporary immigrant groups in Canada (listed the seventh largest ethnic group in the 2016 Census and the fourth largest ethnic group in Ontario in the 2006 Census), to continue to remain under-researched and under-theorized in Canadian works of critical Whiteness studies?

Italian-Canadian scholarship has typically focused on documenting the impact that Italians have had on local host cultures (particularly in Toronto and Montréal) and the processes through which Italians have reshaped or have been shaped by the emergence of multi-racial urban populations. Articles, chapters, books, and dissertations have been written on the burgeoning Little Italy's and the impact of ethnic enclaves in urban spaces (Gabaccia, 2006; Harney Jr., 1998; Harney, 1991; Ramirez, 1984; Ramirez, 1989; Stranger-Ross, 2010), the role of employment and social mobility (Iacovetta, 2004; Iuele-Colilli, 2007; Perin, 1992; Pietropaolo, 2006; Posca, 2006; Potestio, 2000), gender divisions and expectations (Coletta McLean, 2004; De Franceschi, 1998; DiLeo & Micallef, 1999; Mazzuca, 2000; Patriarca, 1994), language acquisition and assimilation (Bagnell, 1992; Danesi, 1985; Del Torto, 2010; Vizmuller-Zocco, 1993), and family life (Cancia, 2010; Caruso, 2008) Similarly, identity construction has often been relegated to discussions involving ethnicity and culture (Giampapa, 2001, 2004; Gualtieri, 2001; Jansen, 1989; Perin & Sturino, 1992; Zucchi, 1990). Rarely is race or colonialism discussed in the works and portraits of the Italian-Canadian community by scholars (exceptions include Cancian & Ramirez, 2007; Fortier, 1998, 2000; Sacchetti-Dufresne, 2007;

Verdicchio, 1998; Wood, 2002). Rather, often echoed within scholarly work on Italian-Canadians is what Backhouse describes as "the largely erroneous presumption that our country is primarily 'raceless'" (1999, p. 13). Yet, race and immigration play a significant role in the ways modern nations define themselves. Until now, very little scholarly work in Canada has gone into analyzing how a number of European emigrants went from either non-white status in Canada or ambiguous status to being members of the white race. The incorporation of these migrants, themselves often regarded as racially inferior at the time of their arrival, merits an in-depth analysis since it continues to impact how successive generations self-identify and are labelled by others.

Given this interplay between self-identification and societal perception of Italian-Canadian-ness, a Foucauldian (1995, 2006) discourse analysis, in conjunction with my analysis of critical Whiteness studies, proved useful in the examination of two culturally specific Italian-Canadian magazines *Panoram Italia* and *Accenti* published between 2002 and 2012. Thematic data was collected in order to explore how Italian-Canadian magazines construct the image of the Italian-Canadian in their editorial discourses and how such a thematic analysis serves to reveal existing racialized power relations. I sought to identity whether parallels between Italy as Europe's south and the Italian-Canadian community existed, and in what ways they served to function as a filter to understanding Italian-Canadian migration and ongoing concepts of difference within Canada. More importantly, I wanted to determine how the magazine editorial discourses defined the interplay between Italian-ness within Canada's ethno-racial categorizations. Meyers (2004) defines discourse as:

> not simply a linguistic practice; it refers to and constructs knowledge about a particular topic. The analysis of discourse examines not only how language and representation produce

> meaning, but also the relationship between representation, meaning and power, and the construction of identities and subjectivities (p. 100-101).

In other words, the common-sense constructions of Italian-ness within Canadian discursive practices may help critical Whiteness studies theorists deepen their understanding of the ways issues of race, citizenship, identity, and belonging are reasserted and linked to hegemonic systems of power.

Therefore, a key contention of my literature review, written in two distinct yet interrelated sections, will be to highlight the main theoretical and methodological underpinnings of critical Whiteness studies while also showcasing how the field is often-formulaic in structure and may obfuscate specific socio-historical realities and meaningful cultural differences as per the establishment of the Italian nation and its ongoing connections to its diasporic community within Canada. In terms of the field's formulaic structure, critical Whiteness studies often purports a straight-line or uni-directional understanding of assimilation and Whiteness. Meaning, European ethnic identities yielded to White racialization via immigration, labour organizing politics, economic competition, and ethnic disavowal (Brodkin, 1998; Jacobson, 1998). Cynthia Levine-Rasky's[ii] (2006) "Selected European Groups and White Racialization: An Illustrated Study", as one example, states that "Irish immigrants eventually relinquished their ethnic identity so as to qualify for the political advantages associated with assimilation" (p. 144). It is this persistence of ethnic "relinquishing" often embedded within the field of critical Whiteness studies that I have increasingly come to question given how it relies too heavily on American assimilationist discourse and the denial of twentieth century European transnationalism to propagate such claims.

As critical Whiteness studies has gained prominence within academia, Alastair Bonnett's

(1997) classic article "Geography, 'Race' and Whiteness: Invisible Traditions and Current Challenges", provides a brief overview of the emergence of the field of Whiteness studies. Beginning in the 1980s and largely based in the United States and the United Kingdom, critical studies of Whiteness appeared in a range of disciplines such as feminist theory, cultural studies, and literary criticism. By the late 1990s, research interests began to make provisions for majority groups, and the dominant social, structural, and political forces that prescribed the standards by which to identify difference. As a result, Whiteness, as a dominant racialization or structural force, became a subject and object of research. Within the social sciences two principal traditions of White studies emerged. According to Bonnett (1997), "The first stresses the plural constitution and multiple lived experiences of Whiteness. The second attempts to understand the emergence of White people as an agent within class divided societies and, hence, within class struggle" (p. 196). However, as Bonnett (1997) argues, both approaches have paid insufficient attention to identifying how Whiteness was developed from the period of modernity to the present and secondly, how White identities are continuously being developed and transformed on a global scale (p. 197).

In light of the above and in what seems equally missing within critical Whiteness studies frequent representations of Europe as a stable and uniform invention is what Roberto Dainotto (2007) describes as a problem that "prevents us from seeing the question of Europe's self-formation in any other thinkable way. (. . .) namely, that the Europe-versus-the Orient paradigm may be overlooking a supplementary and modern genesis of Europe" (p. 53). In other words, rather than research the concept of Europe as "an antithesis to that which is not Europe" (Chabod cited in Dainotto, 2007, p. 3), perhaps we ought to equally investigate how Europe's modern identity, as examined by Dainotto, "begins when the non-Europe is internalized–when the south,

indeed, becomes the sufficient and indispensable *internal* Other: Europe, but also the negative part of it" (2007, p. 3-4). Drawing on Dainotto's (2007) description of "European theory" as "located somewhere between Franco-Scottish Enlightenment and Anglo-German Romantic nationalism" (p. 5), I identify specifically in the latter section of the literature review (Chapter 2), how post-Renaissance constructions of Italy, particularly in the Romantic Era and beyond, have contributed to an ambivalent, peculiar, and unresolved relationship between Italy and modernity. Further, the chapter highlights how Italy's unresolved status (or encounter) with modernity suggests that characteristics established in earlier representations of the Mediterranean peninsula continue to haunt and inform the ways most people in North America understand and construct Italian-ness. The chapter explores how the prejudice of southernism (also referred to as *meridianalismo*) not only relies on a European divided system, but how Italy's unification embraced growing ideologies of racialization and how these impacted concepts of citizenship and contributed to the politics of exit.

Following the literature review, Chapter 3 outlines the methods section. I highlight via critical discourse analysis how two culturally specific magazines construct the image of Italian-Canadians in their editorials. I illustrate how I engaged in a careful reading of both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* and how their editorials reveal an ambivalent or incomplete acceptance of Italian-Canadians within the project of modernity, and hence Whiteness. The remaining chapters will focus on the following three themes based on my discourse analysis of both magazines: the Italianization of John Cabot, Italian-Canadian internment during World War II and the politics of redress, and the space and place of Italian-Canadians within Canada's social and political life. I will show that attempts on the part of Italian-Canadian media to legitimize the presence of Italian-Canadians in Canada often result in identities that collude and collide into Whiteness.

Chapter 4 focuses on the Italianization of John Cabot (i.e. activist campaigns to have the fifteenth century explorer recognized as Giovanni Caboto) and has two aims. The chapter first addresses the politics of exit and entry, particularly when it comes to Italian-Canadian communities by highlighting how editorial initiatives on Caboto bear little resemblance to either the historical departure regions of Italy's diaspora or the historical transplant of Italian cultures into Canada. And secondly, considering Italian-Canadians' recent immigration history within Canada, what is the underlying rationale by both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* to place Giovanni Caboto as the forebearer to the Italian Canadian community? The chapter highlights how the Fascist movement of the 1920s served as a forlorn response to Italy's presumed absenteeism in relation to modernity and contributed to the genesis of the Caboto campaign within Canada. Fascist attempts at colonial rule and its desires to impact the Italian diasporic outposts via the formula of *valorizzazione Italiani* gave Italian elites the basis of credibility from which to assert their historical presence, as 'discoverer' of Canada. The chapter stresses how the founding nation paradigm is informed by the racialization of French and Anglo-Canadians in settler colonialism and how power is subsequently in the transparency of their ethnicity, effectively re-inscribing the normative and invisible stance to their Whiteness. Stated differently, attempts to Italianize a Canadian founding father only fall victim to what Mahtani (2002) has so aptly observed: "these hyphens of multiculturalism, in effect, operate to produce spaces of distance, in which ethnicity is positioned outside Canadianness – as an addition to it, but also as an exclusion from it" (p. 18). The Italianization of Cabot underscores how Italy's culturally ambiguous and unresolved relationship to modernity continues to impact the ways it seeks to entrench itself within Whiteness, particularly when confronted with memory-making and the delineation of progress.

Chapter 5 investigates how the politics of redress via the campaign to recognize Italian-Canadian internment during World War II is paradoxical in nature. The long tradition of viewing Italy as *other* within Western Europe culminated in a Fascist attempt to – at long-last – achieve modernity by way of colonial rule and by striving to positively impact the self-worth of Italian diasporic outposts. Yet Italy's Fascist political pursuits during the inter-war period, and the central underlying justifications for it, gave way to a historical injustice towards the Italian-Canadian community within Canada by way of the suspension of their civil liberties and a climate of distrust and suspicion towards their allegiances and actions. The coverage of this affair and the redress campaign for Italian-Canadians interned during World War II within both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia*, had, at times, unwittingly propagated a heritage redress industry overtly invested in neo-liberalism while simultaneously reliant on an uncritical hard-working immigrant trope. Stated differently, these two processes – Canada's heritage industry and meritocracy – seem to be mutually constitutive particularly since they both fail to draw enough attention to how "'foreignness' is produced and regulated in historically specific ways with consequences for how 'the nation' is viewed" (Dhamoon & Abu-Laban, 2009, p. 163).

Chapter 6 highlights how the perceived space and place of Italian-Canadians within Canada's social and political life remains not quite fully embedded nor uncomplicatedly subsumed into the theoretical characteristics of Whiteness. That is, Italian-ness has not become normative, invisible, natural, culture-less and possessing a non-ethnic status. This lack of a perception of embeddedness challenges critical Whiteness studies' theoretical orientations in three ways: 1) how the scholarship addresses the space and place of White ethnic travel to the "homeland"; 2) perceptions of Italian-Canadians presumed political influence within their adopted countries; and 3) notions of the place of White ethnic literary works within identity

creation. The chapter will attest to a community whose roots and routes (both in terms of traversing Italy and establishing roots in Canada) are not necessarily fixed and/or congruous with notions of European Canadians' places and spaces within the nation, that is "those 'real' Canadians who are part of a "capital-C Canadian" society" (meaning French and English Canadians) as described by Mahtani (2002, p. 16). Rather this chapter contemplates Italian-Canadian discursive perceptions of their identity in terms of travel, politics, and literature, and their implications in terms of self-identity.

As a cautionary note, I cannot assume that the representation of the Italian-Canadian community via two culturally-specific magazines is uniform or equals automatic loyalty or even knowledge of a particular brand of Italian-Canadian collective vision. To do so, is certainly to deny Italian-Canadians agency, as in the capacity to think and act for themselves. Similarly, what this project does not seek to impart is some form of "race to innocence" (Fellows & Razack, 1998). Fellows and Razack (1998) define "race to innocence" as:

> The compelling reasons, then, why we race to innocence, have to do with how the systems of domination operate *among* subordinate groups, limiting both what we can know and feel and what we can risk acknowledging about each other and about ourselves (p. 340).

Therefore, the thesis is written with the acknowledgment that social identities are fluid and we may at varying times and under certain circumstances experience privilege, power, and subordination. The research seeks not to compartmentalize the history and positionality of Italian-Canadians, but rather to highlight how Canadian-Italian identities are never constructed outside or independent to the larger story of race within Canada and Italy.

Thus, theoretical tensions and disputes regarding the methodological constructs and analyses of race and racialization should never trump issues of materiality and the systemic ways

that peoplehood and livelihood continue to be subordinated and managed by racial hierarchies. In the most basic terms, race matters and continues to matter. Without attempting to lessen the importance of this recognition, I will similarly suggest that critical Whiteness studies ought not to be free of scholarly critique. Rather I argue in what follows that critical Whiteness studies has serious limitations, particularly when an Anglo-British and Anglo-American pattern of analysis is emphasized at the expense of varying histories, locations, migratory patterns, and internal inconsistencies.

Chapter 2 – The making of Italy and the Italians

While the development of critical Whiteness studies has provided innumerable and warranted benefits regarding the analysis of White power and privilege, there are a number of problematic assessments ingrained within the field at both philosophical and empirical levels. Mainly, the use of a number of the foundational texts underpinning the field ought to be tempered for the way their particular specificity (in location, time, and history) are taken up as universal structural traits of Whiteness, potentially rendering the field inviolably homogeneous and increasingly formulaic in its application and interpretation (Brodkin, 1998; Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg ,1993a/b; Goldberg, 1993; Hall, 1996; Harris, 1993; Hill, 1997; Jacobson, 1998; Morrison, 1993; Wise, 2004). Before proceeding with my analysis of how certain trajectories of critical Whiteness studies may impede the ways the field is discussed and researched, specifically in relation to the Italian-Canadian community, I will first briefly outline what I see as the general goals of Whiteness studies.

The vast body of literature making up critical Whiteness studies is primarily concerned with investigating what Ruth Frankenberg (1993a) describes as at least three dimensions of Whiteness. These are:

> Firstly, it is a position of structural advantage, associated with 'privileges' of the most basic kind, including, for example, higher wages, reduced chances of being impoverished, longer life, better access to health care, better treatment by the legal system, and so on. (Of course, access is influenced by class, sexuality, gender, age, and in fact 'privilege' is a misnomer here since this list addresses basic social rights.) Secondly, whiteness is a 'standpoint' or place from which to look at oneself, others and society. Thirdly, it carries with it a set of ways of being in

> the world, a set of cultural practices, often not named as 'white' by white folks, but looked on instead as 'American' or 'normal' (p. 53-54).

Amanda Lewis (2004) illustrates the same starting point regarding how privilege is a direct benefit of being regarded as White. She describes how:

> Whites in all social locations are relatively privileged in regards to similarly located racial minorities. While their access to cultural capital and other resources may vary, all Whites have access to the symbolic capital of Whiteness or what DuBois refers to as the "wages" of whiteness (Lewis, 2004, p. 628).

While gender, class, and sexuality also intersect concerning the exact levels of access and benefit, empirical research continues to show that Whites enjoy a disproportionate level of unearned privilege (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Oreopoulos, 2011).

In search for factors that can explain these persisting patterns of entitlement, co-authors Michael Omi and Howard Winant (2002) suggest that Whites' access to privilege has been institutionalized at the structural level by controlling institutions and dominant values. They developed the idea of a "racialized formation process" by which:

> society is suffused with racial projects, large and small, to which all are subjected. This racial "subjection" is quintessentially ideological. Everybody learns some combination, some version, of the rules of racial classification, and of her own racial identity, often without obvious teaching or conscious inculcation. Thus, we are inserted in a comprehensively racialized social structure. Race becomes "common sense" – a way of comprehending, explaining, and acting in the world. A vast web of racial projects mediates between the discursive or representational means in which race is identified and

> signified on the one hand, and the institutional and organizational forms in which it is routinized and standardized on the other (Omi & Winant, 2002, p. 127).

Stated differently, Whiteness as a historically racialized project is organized around establishing a normative hegemonic identity. Irrespective of the specificity by which Whites can glean their ideological notions of morality, cultural practices, and governance (i.e. via a Western European rational culture), the very nature of Whiteness serves as the symbolic standard-bearer for what ought to constitute being human. In this way, specificity is subsumed into the idea of the universal, and as further noted by Omi and Winant (2002), is then standardized and routinized. Anything falling outside its rubric is seen as inferior and backward.

Returning to Frankenberg's (1993a) second and third points on the dimensions of Whiteness, Whiteness as a dominant racial group further extends itself into a cloak of normativity, by which it is used as the main marker by which difference is judged and compared (Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993a; Said, 2003). As a racial category, Richard Dyer (1988) in his seminal text *White* defines Whiteness as a category that "is not anything really, not an identity, not a particularizing quality, because it is everything" (p. 45). Yet, paradoxically it is the very blanketing category of Whiteness that seems to serve as a double-edged sword. The presumed characteristics of Whiteness that allow it to be viewed as the de-facto template for humanity are also the very dimensions that render it invisible for its members. Therefore, the often-stated goal of critical Whiteness studies as a discursive and academic project is an attempt to place Whiteness within the larger race-based hierarchy, given how Whites often do not see themselves in terms of their own racialized backgrounds (Frankenberg, 1993a; Hill, 2000; Ignatiev, 1998; Jacobson, 1998; Roediger, 1991). According to Dyer (2000), "White people need to learn to see themselves as white, to see their particularity. In other words, whiteness needs to be made

strange" (p. 541). Rather than speaking of critical Whiteness studies in general terms, I wish to consider the subject's positions within two main areas: Whiteness as non-ethnic and Whiteness as hegemonic.

Ethnicity as suspect within critical Whiteness studies

A commonly shared narrative embedded within critical Whiteness studies is the suspect relationship between Whites and their ethnic heritage. The following excerpt from Paul Kivel's (2011) *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice* adeptly illustrates this point:

> Recently I was doing a workshop on racism. We wanted to divide the group into a caucus of people of color and a caucus of white people so that each group could have more in-depth discussion. Immediately some of the white people said, "But I'm not white."
>
> I was somewhat taken aback because although these people looked white, they were clearly distressed about being labelled white. A white Christian woman stood up and said, "I'm not really white because I'm not part of the white male power structure that perpetuates racism." Next a white gay man stood up and said, "You have to be straight to have the privileges of being white." A white, straight, working-class man from a poor family then said, "I've got it just as hard as any person of color." Finally, a straight, white, middle-class man said, "I'm not white, I'm Italian." My African American co-worker turned to me and asked, "Where are all the white people who were here just a minute ago?" I replied, "Don't ask me. I'm not white, I'm Jewish!" (p. 10).

He goes on to explain the mitigating factors surrounding the anxiety of being labelled White as two-fold: One, is the fear of being labelled a racist and how it opens "feelings of guilt, embarrassment and hopelessness," and secondly, how the normative structure of Whiteness

provides a taken-for-granted stance when it comes to notions of racialization (i.e. non-white bodies are raced) (Kivel, 2011, p. 10-11). For the remainder of this section, I wish to respond to Kivel's (2011) narrative as part of a broader set of inquiries regarding the field's long tendency in conflating race and ethnicity. Before proceeding, I want to examine the concept of ethnicity as I will be using it in the thesis.

According to Michael E. Brown (1997) ethnicity includes the following 6 criteria: 1) self-naming; 2) belief in a common ancestry; 3) shared historical memories; 4) shared culture; 5) attachment to a territory; and 6) thinking of itself as a group (p, 81-82). Some ethnic discourses pivot around a narrower reading involving a subjective belief in a common descent. (Weber, 1978). Other scholars determine group membership through cultural, linguistic or religious characteristics (Lie kind, 1999). Even bearing this discursive variety and range in mind is cursory; ethnicity is increasingly seen less in terms of primordialism with rigid boundaries of exclusion based on descent than a stance that is socially constructed and "that of choice" (Anagnostou, 2013, p. 110). For expediency, in the next section, I will anchor the dissertation's definition of ethnicity within the field's routine usage of Gans' (1979) "symbolic ethnicity."

White ethnicity as symbolic

American sociologists and anthropologists during the 1960s and 1970s began to take notice of a resurgence in White Americans' willingness to indicate ethnic designations, particularly within U.S. Census reports. This deviation from the American expressed goal of being a "melting pot" led anthropologist Frederik Barth (1969) to suggest that ethnic identity was fluid, mutable, and the result of internal and external ascriptions. He proposed that social organization largely explained ethnic identity and that it was dialectic. Furthermore, he suggested that ethnic boundaries are constructed both by the participation of ethnic group

members themselves within their group and through interaction with others outside the group (Barth, 1969). Beginning in the 1970s, American sociologist Herbert J. Gans, in response to perceptions of White ethnic revivalism, developed and defined a theory of "symbolic ethnicity" as "characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour" (1979, p. 9). He further contends that the purposes of ethnic cultures serve an "expressive rather than instrumental function in people's lives, becoming more of a leisure-time activity" (Gans, 1979, p. 9). In other words, ethnic allegiance, particularly amongst White Americans, is voluntary and nostalgic. Gans's observations echo those made earlier by American historian Marcus Lee Hansen, who suggested in a 1938 essay titled "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant", "What the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember" (p. 9). Hansen's generational theory, as will be illustrated below, continues to mark how many scholars analyze ethnic continuity for White North Americans and how this stance may unwittingly contribute to a narrow analysis of White cultural identity.

In Yiorgos Anagnostou's articles (2009, 2013) "A Critique of Symbolic Ethnicity" and "White Ethnicity: A Reappraisal", he sets out to investigate how academia has both constructed and documented White ethnicity. He shows that by the late 1980s and 1990s "the academy dramatically redrew the boundaries of white ethnicity, crystallizing its meaning. Its class and regional boundaries now referenced universal European American middle-class suburbanites" (Anagnostou, 2013, p. 102-103). Mostly concentrating on sociologist Mary Water's work, which purports that White ethnic belonging is situational and individual, Anagnostou (2009) highlights a fundamentally contradiction embedded within it. According to Waters, ethnicity-as-choice is conceived via what Anagnostou (2009) summarily describes as "a pool of available

cultural resources (holiday traditions, family customs and lore, consumer culture and the media) from which individuals voluntarily draw to create personally enriching identities and to temporarily connect themselves with larger collectivities" (2009, p. 99). Yet the leading proponents seem untroubled by opposing truths embedded within their interpretative stance. Symbolic ethnicity, as an approach to understanding the concept of White ethnicity, according to Anagnostou (2009) cannot logically contextualize ethnicity as disposable while ignoring the enduring influence it imparts on individual lives (p. 102). To do otherwise, Anagnostou (2009) suggests is to "acquiesce in the conclusion that symbolic ethnicity inevitably draws for us – namely, that of middle-class white ethnicity as socially weak, artificial and leisure-centered?" (p. 98).

Another significant ethos in critical Whiteness studies is the tendency to regard Whiteness as cultureless. Pamela Perry's (2001) article titled "White Means Never having to Say You're Ethnic: White Youth and the Construction of "Cultureless" Identities" attempts to highlight the discursive repercussions for marking a generation of White Americans under the banner of ethnicity-as-choice. Perry (2001) investigates "not so much about whether there is or is not a white culture but about the power whites exercise when *claiming* they have no culture" (p. 59). For Perry (2001), then, what becomes crucial is a consideration of the motivating logic that spurs some Whites into claiming cultureless identities. "Cultureless" notes Perry (2001) is "understood to have no ties or allegiances to European ancestry and culture, no "traditions." To the white youth, only "ethnic" people had such ties to the past" (p. 58). Drawing on in-depth interviews of White students at two high schools in California, Perry (2001) ascertained that Whiteness as cultureless stemmed from two processes: that of naturalization and rationalization (p. 59). Accordingly, the youth's explicit attachment to the unhyphenated American standard,

allowed for the "historically constituted cultural practices" to appear normal, and hence, natural (Perry, 2001, p. 59). Similarly, this very "value paradigm" integral "within a Western rational epistemology," writes Perry (2001), "marginalizes or subordinates all things 'cultural'" (p. 59). Citing anthropologist Renato Rosaldo's work, Perry (2001) points out how "Cultural invisibility is a privileged status marking the most "rational" (and, hence, deserving of power and privilege) peoples against those who are not rational, those who are "cultural" (p. 61). Turning now to Frankenberg's (1993b) previously discussed dimensions of Whiteness, her research involving how White women in the United States view their White identity arrived at a similar conclusion. Their Whiteness, as described by one of the participants, being "a Heinz 57 American, a white, class-confused American, land of the Kleenex type American, is so formless in and of itself' (Frankenberg, 1993b, p. 191).

Given the interplay between the presumed situational deployment of White ethnicity on the one hand with White ethnic disavowal on the other, a critical question to pose is whether such patterns exist in Canada and with the same frequency? Rather, I argue that this stance on White ethnicity elicits at its core an American assimilationist reading to propagate such claims. Commenting on the experiences of immigrants to the United States, Robert Park from the University of Chicago wrote in 1914, "In America it has become proverbial that a Pole, Lithuanian, or Norwegian cannot be distinguished, in the second generation, from an American born of native parents" (quoted in Park & Burgess, 1921, p. 757-758). Yet, it is this very presumed White pattern of integration (more or less an uncritical embrace of Sandberg's straight-line trajectory from contact to accommodation), which views the 1970s "rebirth" of White ethnics by critical Whiteness studies scholars solely as an oppositional dialectic. The phenomenon of the "New Ethnicity," writes Richard George Moss (2009), "claimed to be a

process of recapturing innate and long-dormant social and cultural traits that mainstream Americans (defined by participants as White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) had forced them to give up in exchange for being considered truly American" (p. 2). Overall, there appears to be a double-edged sword throughout the ethos of critical Whiteness studies. In other words, if White Americans claim a self-identification aligned with a particular ethnicity, their choice is mitigated either through resentment or nostalgia. If they do not, White Americans are acquiescing to a site of hegemonic privilege, which inevitably associates their bodies solely with an Americanization process. Yet what are Whites to be called then? To be clear, what troubles me is not necessarily the symbolic nature of Whiteness, but rather what the discursive language of symbolic Whiteness stands for, the often blanketing and essentialist stance in which the discourse situates itself.

Role of Canadian multiculturalism

I had earlier suggested that the assumptions that critical Whiteness studies scholars currently make may have difficulty accounting for the ways particular identities, such as those of Italian-Canadians, have remained hyphenated and visible. I will argue that this oversight is a consequence of an American-centric analysis of White ethnic identity and ignores the substantial ways Canadian multiculturalism shapes self-identity.[iii] Citizenship and identity formation have been managed by settler colonialism and influenced by multicultural policy. Prior to the post-war era, Canadian citizenry was predominantly based on a strict set of national, ethnic, and racial preferences, which privileged the United Kingdom and northern European countries (Seiler, 2000). Canada's racially differentiated immigration policies resulted in ambivalence towards Italian emigrants, particularly Southern Italians (Iacovetta, 2004; Perin & Sturino, 1992). It was only following World War II that Canada's immigration policy drastically changed. The country

witnessed a prolonged post-war industrialization and urbanization, rendering mass migration necessary for economic growth (Iacovetta, Quinlan & Radforth, 1996; Iacovetta, 2004).

Beginning in the 1970s and owing to ongoing concerns of ethnic groups, French-Canadians and First Nations, multiculturalism, as a federally sanctioned strategy, attempted to address cultural diversity within the nation. The 1971 national policy (which later became the *Multicultural Act* of 1988) suggests that Canadians of any cultural group are free to maintain and practice their culture. It also, as noted by critical observers, promotes a discourse of difference ascribed to individuals considered foreign (Day, 2000; Haque, 2012; James, 2011; Mackey, 2002; St. Denis, 2011). Richard Day (2000) describes Canadian pluralism as "keeping with the ideology of 'Anglo-conformity,' which held that all 'new Canadians' must be assimilated, or at least *assimilable*, to an English-Canadian model" (p. 8). Or as by Eva Mackey (2002) explains, multiculturalism, "implicitly constructs the idea of a core English-Canadian culture, and that other cultures become 'multicultural' in relation to that unmarked, yet dominant, Anglo-Canadian core culture" (p. 2).[iv] In other words, while Frankenberg (1997) rightly assesses that "whiteness and Americanness" are "linked tightly together" (p. 6), whereas the "American" in Italian-American provides its recipients with Whiteness (and its rewards), Canadian critical discourses of multiculturalism equally remind us that the "Italian" in Italian-Canadian promotes an identifiable culture, peripheral to Canada's core constituents, which are considered Anglo-Canadians. Dyer's (1997) use of "hegemonic whiteness" (p. 13) is not necessarily connected or reducible to "white skin" nor do all White North Americans partake in the same "degrees or shades of Whiteness," as coined by Ross Chambers (1997, p. 190).

Aside from the inherent problems ingrained within Canadian multiculturalism, Linda Hutcheon (1998) refers to the policy as reflective of a form of Canadian political philosophy. In

her article titled "Crypto-Ethnicity", Hutcheon (1998) further complicates our notions of ethnicity. Addressing how her cultural and social interactions changed within a largely Anglo environment when she went from being a Bortolotti to a Hutcheon, she makes the case that, unlike her fellow American crypto-Italian teachers of English, her nationality as a Canadian of Italian descent provided her with a "different experience of ethnicity and its encrypting" (1998, p. 28). Hutcheon (1998) defines crypto-ethnicity as "the situation of immigrants whose family name was changed when they arrived in a new land or women like me who married at a time when social custom meant taking a husband's surname and who suddenly found more than the nominal marker of their ethnicity altered" (p. 32). Owing to differing political associations that impact how multiculturalism has been taken up within the two countries, Hutcheon (1998) argues that Canadian multiculturalism has had less to do with campus cultural wars or the loss of a "single common culture" as often found in America (p. 28). Specifically, in relation to identity, she writes "multiculturalism in Canada is not so much a question of the canon or of campus politics as a legal matter of national self-definition. Canadians' self-understanding is in part forcibly defined by its designation as multiple rather than single" (1998, p. 29). This theory has partly to do with the constructed conventions of Canadian political society, that, according to political philosopher Charles Taylor (cited in Hutcheon, 1998) are characterized as "more committed to collective provision, over against American society that gives greater weight to individual initiative" (p. 29). Thus, while Hutcheon's Italian-ness may have been encrypted following marriage, her ethnic heritage as a second-generation Italian-Canadian did not seem particularly lost or othered. Rather, for Hutcheon (1998) the very nature of ethnic diversity ingrained within the nation as a legal provision imparted upon her "a growing awareness that in the academy, as well as in my Italian family, the English constituted a specific ethnic group, not

the general culture" (p. 31). In the most explicit way, White ethnic Canadians are not necessarily finding or reclaiming a hyphen they were forced into relinquishing for the "political advantages associated with assimilation" (Levine-Rasky, 2006, p. 144), but are rather encouraged to hyphenate their self-identities by way of a federally sanctioned strategy on multiculturalism.

Whiteness as hegemonic

Turning now to critical Whiteness studies position that views Whiteness as hegemonic, I will show in the following sections a paradoxical aspect embedded within the field. While the general tenets of the discipline view the constructed dimensions of Whiteness as the unmarked marker, its very presumed "contentlessness" is too often synonymous with either an undifferentiated and uncomplicated Western and/or European referent. This taken-for-granted *West and the Rest* binary that often defines the philosophical basis of Whiteness may be overlooking the importance of particular histories and locations within the constructed nature of Europe.

Canadian sociologist Vic Satzewich's (2000) "Whiteness Limited: Racialization and the Social Construction of 'Peripheral Europeans'", as one example, questions the validity of using a specific ethnic group's migration to the United States as the benchmark of analysis for all other European groups. He states: "The Irish underwent a rather remarkable transformation during the course of the nineteenth century. They were able to renegotiate their externally imposed label, assert a white identity, and come to be accepted as members of the "white race" (Satzewich, 2000, p. 278). In this way, he highlights how the work of David Roediger (1991) and Noel Ignatiev (1998) and their publications on Irish-American White acculturation[v], though compelling and warranted, may limit how we come to analyze and historicize other European communities. To this end, Satzewich (2000) poses the following critical question, "But to what

extent should the Irish experience of whiteness in the United States form the template by which we understand the social construction of whiteness for other peripheral Europeans?" (p. 279) In like manner, Patricia Boscia-Mule's (1999) case study of Italian-Americans questions "the assimilationist premise that an ethnicity that has departed from the traditional, working-class, immigrant cultural model necessarily lacks authenticity and relevance" (p. 16). Danielle Nicole Axt's (2010) graduate research on Italian-Americans living in Las Vegas shares these same concerns regarding symbolic ethnicity. Her field notes and interviews from a participant observation study at an Italian American social club revealed a "spectrum of whiteness" (p. 32) derived from a "snapshot of modern White ethnicity amongst Italian Americans in Las Vegas." (p. 3). She notes how "Whiteness is not synonymous with a loss of culture or a mandated journey into the land of assimilation" (Axt, 2010, p. 4). Thus, by overtly relying on the Irish account to map out the presumed trajectory of Whiteness, this stance, inadvertently or not, collapses issues of language (or rather supports an Anglocentric reading of Whiteness), ignores the conflation of homeland and hostland via twentieth century transnationalism, and finally support the fallacy of a bounded and universally-viewed White continental culture as per Eurocentrism and modernity. The latent tensions exposed by Satzewich (2000), Boscia-Mule (1999), and Axt (2010) challenge everyday assumptions of the social construction of Whiteness as defined by a single modality and equally reflect several tensions found within my own research regarding the Italian-Canadian community.

Secondly, this particular way of thinking by a number of American critical Whiteness studies scholars, when discussing European migratory patterns, almost always places European migration to America under the rubric of some distant watershed moment. Meaning the field often regards the nineteenth century (and what has been termed the "Great Migration" of

Europeans to the United States) as the definitive and authentic migratory time-frame by which they analyze and measure White American levels of acculturation, racialization, and Americanization, particularly for the three main groups routinely under study, namely the Irish, the Jews, and the Italians. Further, the general argument presented within these works suggests that these groups managed to shed their racial in-betweenness precisely by adhering to the interests of the American nation (Brodkin, 1998; Jacobson, 1998; Roediger, 2005). Yet, how does one consolidate the presumably long-standing members of said groups, with their much more contemporary members? What seems lacking within the seminal texts is acknowledgement of, and robust research on, the massive post-World War II exodus of European emigrants to the United States. The same contemporary group raised under the rubric of a global context. Or, as shown, in Noula Papayiannis' (2011) interviews with second-generation Greek and Italian-Canadians how "these women negotiate their personal and collective identities within and between borders and borderlands" (p. 71). A major oversight found within the foundational texts of critical Whiteness studies is that it seldom acknowledges the diasporic nature of post-World War II European migration and/or makes no distinctions between them and the ways it both impacts and informs how many European groups shape their presence and identities within North America.

What may be equally noteworthy to mention is at present, 1,587,970 (4.6 percent of the total population) consider themselves to be of Italian descent, and of those 1.5 million Canadians, 242,255 are Italian born and 375,640 list Italian as their mother tongue (Data tables, 2016 Canada). The generational divide, relying on the 2006 census as the ethnic origin status for 2016 has not yet been made available, indicates that 366,205 Italian-Canadians are first-generation, 439,275 are second generation and 311,210 are third generation (2006 census of

Canada). What the 2006 and 2016 census illustrate is the relatively contemporary presence of Italian-Canadians owing to its post-World War II mass movement to Canada. In other words, the Italian-Canadian community is still, on an ongoing basis, mapping out what it means to be Canadian given that a significant portion of Italian-Canadians were either born in Italy (as in the case of Mary Di Michele) or raised by immigrant parents (as in the case of Dina Pugliese). These same individuals have, coincidentally, been inculcated within the Federal governments multicultural policy since its inception. As noted by Minelle Mahtani (2002), the Federal government did not simply pay lip service to the principles of multiculturalism, but also substantially financed "(s)pecific initiatives for language and culture maintenance (…)- reaching nearly two hundred million dollars between 1971-1990" (p. 5).

In Sachetti-Dufresne's (2007) dissertation analyzing the problematics of Italian-Canadian identity, she argues that scholarship on White ethnics in Northern Ontario wrongly portrayed these groups as "mainstream Canadians" (p. 2). She writes that this type of consolidation "assumes far too much about the connections and conflations between Canadian-ness, whiteness, Italian-ness, and ethnicity" (Sachetti-Dufresne, 2007, p. 2). Similarly, discussions regarding Italian youth in North America often share similar stereotypical descriptions and markers. While the members of the *Jersey Shore* (2009 – 2013) have come to represent "Guido/Guidette" lives with no seemingly important focus other than engaging in "gym-tan-laundry" activities, Frances Giampapa's (2004) research on how Italian-Canadian youth negotiate their identities highlights how they struggled to define themselves "outside of the stereotype of the 'Woodbridge Italian Canadian'" (p. 203). The "Woodbridge" stereotype often sees Italian youth labelled as "Gino/Gina" with characteristics presumably involving overindulgence, loudness, splashiness and academic underachievement (Giampapa, 2001, p. 293; Giampapa, 2004, p. 200, 203).

Furthermore, how have the scholarly constructions of White ethnicity within critical Whiteness studies literature recognize what Dan Yon (1999) describes as "the pedagogic constraints that come from the practice of privileging difference between communities, which might well compromise engagement with difference within?" (p. 623) Dyer (1997) attempts to temper the threat of White essentialism by arguing for recognition of said differences. He cautioned readers in recognizing that his analysis of Whiteness may very well remain in the purview of Anglo-centricity and that:

> [G]iven the variety of whiteness, I have sometimes thought that what I am really writing about is the whiteness of the English, Anglo-Saxons or North Europeans (and their descendants), that this whiteness would be unrecognizable to Southern or Eastern Europeans (and their descendants). For much of the past two centuries, North European whiteness has been hegemonic within a whiteness that has nonetheless been assumed to include Southern and Eastern European peoples (albeit sometimes grudgingly within Europe and less assuredly without it, in, for instance, the Latin diaspora of the Americas). It is this overarching hegemonic whiteness which concerns me, one to which Northern Europeans most easily lay claims but which is not to be conflated with distinctive North European identities (Dyer, 1997, p. 12-13).

Dyer's (1997) representation of Whiteness, the standards it employs in cinematic structures, is antithesis to a form of hegemonic Whiteness. The selective reading and over-citations of equating Whiteness as contentless and cultureless often goes against, or plays down, the very points offered in the original critiques such as his.

Turning briefly to Australian scholarship on the structural mechanics of Whiteness may very well help to expand the field's thinking regarding the need for specificity. In Carey and

McLisky's (2009) edited book titled *White Australia: New Perspectives on Race, Whiteness and History,* they propose that Whiteness as a transnational process "cannot then be understood only through a narrowly American-centred analysis" (p. xii). Rather, they are advocating for an expanded re-alignment regarding the general tenets that make up the constructed nature of critical Whiteness studies via "a clear need for whiteness to be more robustly historicised" (2009, p. xiii). Stated differently, not only is there a taken-for-granted formulaic reading of Europe, but there is a tendency to regard the genesis of racism within Whiteness as slavery-based. Accordingly, a key difference within Australian Whiteness scholarship is owed to "its focus on the colonial context and Indigenous dispossession" (Carey & McLisky, 2009, p. xiii). Citing the work of Aileen Moreton-Robinson within the edited collection, she observes:

> [T]he problem with American literature is that it tends to locate race and whiteness with the development of slavery and immigration rather than the dispossession of Native Americans and colonization … there is a refusal within the American work to acknowledge America as a former colony of Britain (2009, p. xiii).

These same concerns have been equally taken up within Canadian critical race theory. In their analysis of Toni Morrison's (1993) *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness in the Literature Imagination,* Schick and St. Denis (2005) note how she "demonstrates the way in which the formation of white identity in the United States can be read against the image of African Americans in the literary tradition of that country" (p. 301). Yet, they also highlight how:

> Morrison attributes the notion of America's definitional whiteness entirely to the presence of African blackness. Her analysis completely covers over and minimizes the indigenous presence of the first people of Americas. Morrison repeats a significant error by accepting that the Americas were a "blank page," without history (p. 35), and available for the

> conquerors to do with as they pleased. By allowing only a single dynamic of the formation of white consciousness, Morrison also repeats the repression of memories that undermines the significance of Aboriginal peoples as the historical and present-day other. This omission seems especially critical if Morrison is intent on moving towards a project that she insists is fascinating and urgent: developing a national literature that is historically and critically accurate (Schick & St. Denis, 2005, p. 313).

As noted in the excerpt above, Morrison tellingly reduces the relational terms to Whiteness via a fixed Black-White binary by ignoring another significant factor in the creation of America. In other words, Schick and St. Denis (2005), like Carey and McLisky (2009), are advocating for a more robust national study on the role and impact that colonialism has had upon transnational Whiteness. Or to put it more cogently, both Schick and St. Denis (2005) paraphrase Morrison's "Nothing highlighted freedom – if it did not in fact create it – like slavery" to include a decolonizing context, which argues that "nothing highlights land ownership – if it does not make it possible – like expropriation" (2005, p. 302).

Rethinking Italy's place within a hegemonic representation of Europe

What does seem to me to be of particular importance, recalling Alaistar Bonnett's (1997) urging from Chapter 1, is to investigate not only the ways Whiteness was developed from the period of modernity to the present, but to address the question: how was modernity (and its ideals and ideas) developed within Italy? And, how may such knowledge temper the field's habitual representation of Europe or the West as monolithic and homogenous?

When we speak of Italian-ness or the Italian nation, we are speaking of a relatively modern and unstable invention. Throughout the centuries before the unification of present-day Italy in 1861, the Mediterranean peninsula was in a persistent state of flux. What is now known

as Italy was once home to the Etruscans and Hellenic civilizations, a Roman Republic, part of the Holy Roman Empire, and home of the Renaissance. Beginning in 1000, Italy's influence rose as the economic, political, and cultural centres of the east began to shift to the west (Gabaccia, 2000, p. 16). The Mediterranean peninsula held primacy over Europe's shipping and trade, its artistic expression, economy, and served as the centre of Christendom itself. Beginning in the 1490s, Italy's influence began to diminish (Absalom, 1995). Once the centre of Europe, Italy's geopolitical power shifted away to new and imperial nations of Western Europe, and by the 1700s, Italy's second "Renaissance," the Baroque Period, was influential only in matters of artistry (Gabaccia, 2000, p. 2).

The impact of the Renaissance

As explained by David Goldberg (1993), the notion of race emerged in the fifteenth century, by which "race is one of the central conceptual inventions of modernity itself" (p. 3). From there, racial thought and formations began to be reified as the Enlightenment sought to find order in nature via eighteenth century classificatory schemes of humankind. By the nineteenth century, race became an object of scientific research. The concept of race came to play a pivotal role in both the conditions of knowledge-making and social practices, particularly regarding the intersections between science, individualism, race, and modernity (Goldberg, 2000, p. 295). Yet within this development, Italy or rather the Mediterranean peninsula, also contributed to the "making" of modernity – or how Jacob Burckhardt (1878) in the *Civilization of the Renaissance*, relates the Renaissance to the "mother" and "birthplace of modernity" (p. 122). While the Renaissance's initial formation was cast as a heroic break from the "backward" Middle Ages, the era's distinguishing feature, according to Burckhardt (1878), was the way Florence ushered in a "modern European spirit" in the form of the autonomous subject (p. 86). Accordingly, and by

the nineteenth century, the Renaissance not only came to be standardized within a sweeping periodic concept (i.e. Classical-Middle-Ages-Modernity scheme), but it also inspired the conditions for both the emergence of modernity and nationalism (Hinojosa, 2009, pgs. 17, 5). In other words, the Renaissance was increasingly seen as a distinctive period in human history for having promoted a historiography that "linked nation and culture as categories that develop together over time" (Hinojosa, 2009, p. 36). Although Lynne Hinojosa (2009) reminds her readers that Burckhardt had not initially set out to write a cohesive narrative on the Italian Renaissance, his study nonetheless contributed to viewing the Renaissance as a "conceptual whole" (p. 18). For this chapter's latter particular focus, I will focus on the ways "the Renaissance becomes a unified period in history whose cultural characteristics are common across time, and the Italians are seen as a unified people in history whose cultural characteristics are common across the nation" (Hinojosa, 2009, p. 18).

While the Italian Renaissance stood as the emblematic birthplace of modern Europe, Elisabetta Girelli (2009) points out that it also served as a "key period in the formation of Italian stereotypes" (p. 23). She further explains that as early as the sixteenth century, and partly owning to both Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar, Merchant of Venice and Othello*, Italy began to be viewed through "the formation and consolidation of their associated stereotypes," namely "as a land of intrigue and vengeance" (Girelli, 2009, p. 23). Regardless of the presumed glories in what scholars have termed "civilta italiana," (e.g. the celebrated accomplishments of medieval merchants and Renaissance artists that had extended from Italy to Europe from 1000 to 1500) (Gabaccia, 2000, p. 8), Florence's influence was short-lived and by the 1490s, Italy's stature began to diminish (Absalom, 1995; Casillo, 2006). What

seemed to have risen in its place, are questions and/or ambivalences regarding Italy's location in the cultural construction of Western European civilization.

Italy, unlike France or England, did not generate a national dynasty or dynastic state with one ruling family. Rather, cities like Rome or Venice were regarded and governed as regional republics.[vi] As explained by Donna Gabaccia (2000), these linguistic and cultural differences were not trivial. While the Tuscan dialect eventually became the national language, the inhabitants of the Mediterranean peninsula "lived as if they occupied different islands, each speaking their own regional dialect – Piedmontese, Tuscan, Neapolitan, Roman, or Sicilian" (Gabaccia, 2000, p. 32). This brings us to geopolitics professor Graziano's (2010) contention that by the second half of the nineteenth-century, Italy "displayed none of the characteristics that typically give rise to an "autonomous" or "national" unification movement" (p. 13).[vii] While Italy was among the last of the major Western European nations to emerge in the age of nationalism, Graziano explains the contradictory nature of Italy's post-unification. In particular, "among the paradoxes of Italian history, one of the most singular is that the country, generally considered as a "late comer," [to the concept of nationalism] is in truth a "too-early comer," if one can put it that way" (Graziano, 2010, p. 31).[viii] As identified by Nelson Moe (2006), and further argued by Dainotto (2007); Gabaccia (2000); and Luzzi (2008), Italy was produced within broader geographical and historical contexts, namely the "combined pressure of Western Eurocentrism, nationalism, and bourgeoisification" (2006, p. 1).[ix] As Italy post-1750 was politically subaltern and economically subordinate to imperialistic nations, common perceptions began to emerge that the social, cultural, and economic life of Western Europe was moving at a different pace than that of Italy. The diminished significance attributed to Italy, according to Moe (2001; 2006), was structured by recognition of this difference.

Italy and the Italians re-imagined

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, Italy was re-imagined within the sensibilities of the Romantic Era (1789-1837). The "Romantic Italy" cast the country, which paradoxically had yet to exist until 1861, as "a premodern, sensual, and unreflective (hence, analysis-free) oasis in a dry and frenetic world" (Luzzi, 2008, p. 1). Italy's allure was further crystallized by serving as the primary travel destination for Europe's upper-class. What has been coined the "Grand Tour" in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw a steady stream of Europe's aristocracy and professional classes, particularly from France, Germany and England, visit Italy (O'Connor, 1998). The Italian peninsula was initially sought as a "cultural training ground" where men and women would learn the necessary "refinements combined [with] an appreciation for classical learning and political philosophy with Renaissance manners and 'faultless grooming'" (O'Connor, 1998, p. 14). Nevertheless, this particular attachment to Italy was short-lived and as Maura O'Connor (1998) explains, Italy's impact on Britain's national identity by way of English travelers during the Romantic Era was less preoccupied with:

> [W]hat the Italians could teach them about art, painting, and the aesthetic (. . .) but what they as cultivated English middle-class men and women could teach the Italians, even about civilization. What distinguished Italy and the Italian cause from other national movements, I emphasize here, was its past historical and imperial greatness combined with its beauty, charm, and seductive contradictions. It contained lessons to be learned from a civilization gone awry, at the same time it captivated the English political imagination by offering middle-class men and women a chance to help in the rebuilding of a new Rome (p. 4).

That is to say, Italy's anomaly (particularly its backwardness against its presumed glorious past and unfulfilled future promise post-Renaissance), was co-constituted within the structures and

paradigms of eighteenth and nineteenth century theorizations of Europe and have "since informed ideas of the continent and of its cultural identity" (Dainotto, 2007, p. 3-4).

In light of the above, what were the common discourses about Italy and the Italians? Specific notions of Italian-ness can be traced to influential intra-European travelogues, diaries and novels.[x] The Grand Tour not only saw Europe's aristocracy visit Italy, but also ushered in a burgeoning of published works that set up Italy in a "series of oppositions" (Ascari, 2006, p. 228). The published works by French, English, and German writers and artists (e.g. Montesquieu, Byron, the Shelleys, Radcliffe, Staël, Goethe) between the seventeenth and nineteenth century recast Italy in a series of climatological and backward concepts (Casillo & Russo, 2010; Gribaudi, 1996; O'Connor, 1998; Schoina, 2009; Wong, 2006).

As the Renaissance presumably ushered in a distinctive period that coalesced nationhood and culture, the search for national identity witnessed a rise in climatological theories explaining cultural and national variations. Adherents to climatic determinism drew on collected weather and temperature data to build a philosophy of climate and its links to national character. Montesquieu's three-year tour of England, France and Italy (1728-1731) played a significant role in this process as he is believed to be "the first to utilize the intellectual tools of the Enlightenment (i.e. reason) to theorize climate as national identity" (Jones, 2002, p. 44). His 1748 publication of *The Spirit of the Laws* applied a physiological approach, arguing that the environment "act[s] upon the human body, conditioning it into certain behaviours" (Jones, 2002, p. 50). For Montesquieu, different climates dictated the "passions of the heart" and "in northern countries, we meet people who have few vices, many virtues, a great share of frankness and sincerity. If we draw near the south, we fancy ourselves removed from all morality, the strongest passions multiply all manner of crimes" (cited in Livingstone, 2002, p. 164). Since Montesquieu

did not write in isolation, his climate-based philosophies relied on a number of modernistic associations and were further taken up by Romantic writers. In conjunction with climate, Italy's proximity to both the Near East and Africa reconceptualised its inhabitants. Italy, particularly the populous regions of Campania and Sicily, were increasingly characterized as located at the edge of what was presumed civilization.

Creating Italy

As identified by Moe, and further noted Casillo & Russo, 2011; Dainotto, 2007; Luzzi, 2008; Pfister, 1996; Schoina, 2009, Italy was produced within broader geographical and historical contexts, namely the "combined pressure of Western Eurocentrism, nationalism, and bourgeoisification" (Moe, 2006, p. 1). The significance of this historical overview, I believe, is to highlight how the development of Italy resulted in Italy's unresolved status (or encounter) with modernity, which continues to haunt and inform the ways we understand and construct Italian-ness.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, Italian nationalists named their movement of independence "*Risorgimento*," which was a metaphor for either "bubbling forth" or "the resurgence" (Gabaccia, 2000). The *Risorgimento* movement had two aims: "first, to end the occupation of Italy by foreign powers and their surrogates, and second, to establish in its place, a legitimate form of republican constitutionalism" (Richards, 1999, p. 77). The leading nationalists were generally from middle-class or aristocratic families and pushed from 1817 to 1831 for the unification of Italy. The elite's construction of modern Italy in the nineteenth century, with the help of Eurocentric theory, Grand Tours and Traveller's Tales, accentuated the divide between Europe and its Others. We will see in the following sections that Southern Italians (also known as the *Mezzogiorno*)[xi] were imagined as on the margins of Europe and came

to constitute a troubling border zone (Moe, 2006). Italy post-unification was now left to forge a national identity and nationhood out of a seemingly, endlessly balkanized historical experience of diverse citizens. The south is singled out as a regional case of special importance, and hence, Southern Italians came to occupy a central role in national Italian politics.[xii]

The development of "Southern Italy" as an imagined and ideological concept

As illustrated above, Italy post-Renaissance underwent a geopolitical downturn and as a whole was regarded as Europe's South. The solution, therefore, for those seeking to make Italy and to establish Italy as a legitimate nation was to "displace the failures of the country onto its most sensitive and volatile region," the south (Wong, 2006, p. 6). The emergence of the *Mezzogiorno* as an imagined and ideological concept, provided a standard from which to judge superiority and inferiority, or as Nelson Moe (2006) pointedly inquires, "how and when did Southern Italy become 'the south,' a place and people imagined to be different from and inferior to the rest of the country?" (p. 1) That of course is the key question: are Southern Italians different from the rest of the country, and if so, in what ways and to what extent do the differences influence national discourse? To answer Moe's question four historical and interrelated processes will be considered: 1) the Jesuits' civilizing missions in Naples in the 1550s; 2) the role of travelers' tales and Grand Tours during the Romantic Era; 3) the cultural pathologization of the south; and 4) the role of positivism, anthropology and criminology in the scientific racialization of the south.

Massimo D'Azeglio, a moderate Piedmontese politician, on attaining political unity in 1861 declared, "We have made Italy; now we have to make the Italians" (Richard, 1999, p. 80). It is precisely this idea of "making" Italy that will serve as the basis of investigation how "the Italians" were co-constituted within the structures and paradigms of eighteenth and nineteenth

century theorizations of Europe and have "since informed ideas of the continent and of its cultural identity" (Dainotto, 2007, p. 3-4). The development of southern Italy ran parallel to the elite's construction of modern Italy. As previously emphasized, the elite wanted to re-legitimize Italy's place in the cultural construction of Western European civilization. As Italy was politically subaltern and presumably without the necessary tenets of a modern nation (i.e. possession of a centralized administrative bureaucracy, industrialized and "civilized"), I will highlight how the pressure to conform resulted in the geographical division of Italy into two parts, "a European north and a south that deviated from the European model" (Moe, 2006, p. 23). Piedmont's step-by-step absorption of Italy, for example, served as the catalyst of what soon developed into a north vs. south divide; a divide that continues to impact Italian political, economical, social and cultural processes and definitions in contemporary times, both at home and abroad (Dainotto, 2007; Moe, 2006; Wong, 2006).

Southern Italy as Europe's "Indies"

Building on the argument above about Italy's presumably antithetical relationship to Europe, I will provide a brief summary regarding the genesis of southern Italy's problematic peripheral status within Europe. How Southern culture, especially that of Sicily and Naples, was framed and imagined conceptually to be at odds with the interest of European Enlightenment fundamentally altered how Sicily and Naples were integrated post-unification. As the northern countries had built mercantilist dynastic empires, the West's encounters with many new worlds also conditioned how Italy came to be examined and understood. For example, the Jesuits' civilizing mission in Naples not only contributed to the making of Southern Italy as foreign to the rest of Europe, but these "Jesuit texts vividly articulate the overarching framework of subalternity and peripheralization that characterizes the history of southern Italy in the modern

period" (Moe, 2006, p. 51). Therefore, my exploration of urban missions in Naples from 1550-1620 will document how a Southern Italian orientalist framework was set into motion (Selwyn 1997).

Jennifer Selwyn's (1997) article entitled "Procur[ing] in the Common People Better Behaviours: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples, 1550-1620", focuses on three areas of Jesuit activities in Naples: the reform of prostitutes, the evangelizing of prisoners, and the conversion of Muslim slaves (p. 4). I will mainly focus on the development of distinctly Southern "characteristics" through these colonizing practices vis-à-vis the rest of Italy. The Jesuits' concept of a civilizing mission sought to "elevate the cultural level of a given community as a prerequisite to religious conversion. The Jesuits believed that unless a community lived according to basic principles of civility, Christianization was not possible" and they believed in an evolutionary theory of the stages of societal development (Selwyn, 1997, p. 8). What is significant is how Southern Italians, particularly the peasantry, were associated with the Jesuits' second and third levels of a "barbaric" society. Missionaries described Italian peasants as "backward," "sexually licentious," suffering from a "dreadful ignorance," "superstitious," "savages" who acted "as if they lived in the bush" and lacked "right reason" (Selwyn, 1997, p. 10; Moe, 2006, p. 51). Widespread perceptions by the Jesuits of social and spiritual disorder in Southern Italy, were reproduced in a number of letters written by Jesuit missionaries between the 1550s and 1650s (Selwyn, 1997).

The south, particularly Sicily and Naples came to be viewed as Europe's "Indies" (Moe, 2006). The conceptualization of Western civilization during the fifteenth to sixteenth century emerged within the context of European expansion in the New world, and Southern Italy was not only integrated into this worldview, but the south came to be viewed as *Indias de por aca* (Our

own Indies). The comparison between the imagery of an Indies over here and over there (i.e. the New World) offered an historical opportunity for re-imagining the south and its inhabitants, as a region that further warranted civilizing.

Southern Italy as Europe's "Africa"

The second conceptual and ideological shift in the imagining of the south occurred during the eighteenth century. Between the mid-eighteenth century and mid-nineteenth century, Southern Italy went from being Europe's Indies to Europe's Africa as the *Mezzogiorno* came to be regarded as a "liminal zone between Europe and Africa" (Moe, 2006, p. 50). A binary vision soon developed emphasizing the backwardness of southern culture, while simultaneously presenting the south as picturesque. The dualistic vision emerged through two historical yet interrelated processes: 1) the representation of the south in a selection of travelers' texts produced mid-1820s to mid-1840s by foreigners, and 2) the initial responses and reactions to the south by the north during Italy's post-unification (Moe, 2006; Wong, 2006).

While the south came to be defined via an ethnoessentialized ideology, my analysis for the dissertation will predominantly focus on the role of Naples (and to a lesser degree Sicily) and how it was used to reconceptualize the inhabitants of Southern Italy. Naples, which is the capital of the region of Campania, is significant in this process since, during this period, it was the third or fourth most populous city in Europe, the most populous in Italy and is located at what was presumed to be the edge of civilization. As a result, travellers often stopped at Naples (Moe, 2006, p. 41). In his *Voyage en Italie et Sicile* of 1806, French traveller and Napoleonic administrator Augustin Creuzé de Lesser promoted a barbaric concept of Southern Italy when he wrote that: "Europe ends at Naples and ends there quite badly. Calabria, Sicily, all the rest belongs to Africa" (Moe, 2006, p. 37). Creuzé de Lesser further went on to portray Sicily as "a

country without roads, without bridges, without agriculture, without hotels, without any of life's niceties, or the delicacies of society" (Moe, 2001, p. 121). In like manner, German ambassador for the Viennese court, Johann Hermann von Riedesel, in *Travels Through Sicily* (1773) thought Sicilians lived in "the original, simple state of nature" (p. 86). These examples, like those discussed earlier, reveal what John Agnew (1996) refers to as Italy's "backward modern-metaphor" (p. 32). The country's image as politically unstable both prior and following the *Risorgimento* contributed to a theoretical logic. Hence, a modernistic understanding of time and space in relation to Italy positioned it in terms of its backwardness relative to modern westernized nations to the north. According to Manfred Pfister's (1996) anthology of five centuries of British travelers to Italy, he deduces that:

> The constructions of Italy that inform the Italian experience of British travellers and its representations are based on an interconnected set of oppositions setting up Italy against Britain: North vs. South (not only in terms of geographical latitude, but also in racial terms of human physiology and character), Germanic vs. Latin, male vs. female, cold vs. hot (both in terms of climate and temperament), Protestant vs. Roman Catholic (and all that entails, such as the word and the spirit vs. idolatry and show, truth vs. superstition, sincerity vs. sophistication, discipline vs. sensuous pleasure . . .), civil liberty vs. feudal or papal despotism, political order vs. arbitrary power and anarchy, modern achievement vs. classical heritage, efficiency vs. disorganization, reticence vs. ostentation, honesty (and therefore gullibility) vs. deviousness (p. 5).

These insights suggest that everyday truisms assigned to Italian culture are always in relational terms, and in turn, help us construct Northern European culture.

The above binary conceptualization of the south was further entrenched by northern politicians upon their arrival in Southern Italy. General Paolo Solaroli, after a visit to Naples, wrote in a diary entry dated 12 December 1860, "We have acquired a most evil land, but it seems impossible that in a place where nature has done so much for the terrain it did not generate another People" (Wong, 2006, p. 18). Or as illustrated in a letter to Cavour [Piedmontese Prime Minister] dated 27 October, 1860, Luigi Carlo Farini, head administrator of the south during the first months of Piedmontese control, wrote, "But my friend, what kind of lands are these, Molise and Terra di Lavora! What barbarity! This is not Italy! This is Africa: the Bedouin, in comparison to these hicks, are the flower of civil virtue" (Wong, 2006, p. 15). This alternating view of Southern Italy and its inhabitants as either barbaric or picturesque impacted how the south came to be regarded and governed with each passing decade.

The proverbial descriptions of Naples as a "paradise inhabited by devils" (*il paradiso abitato da diavoli*) or by its famous topos "see Naples and die" (*Vedi Napoli e poi muori*) or that "Italy ends at the Garigliano"[xiii] developed in accordance to these interrelated connections of orientalism and Western constructs of modernity (Gribaudi, 1996; Moe, 2006; Wong, 2006). What these letters, stories, and proverbs divulge is an unstable and contradictory understanding of the south, one marred by a disconnect between a picturesque, and hence supposedly verdant and possibly prosperous south, and the production of a presumably "barbaric" people (or, as Solaroli lamented, it is impossible that the land did "not generate another People").

Southern Italy as "impure" and requiring Northern Italy's intervention

The third conceptual and ideological shift in the imagining of the south occurred post-unification. The Piedmontese believed, due to southern Italy's foreign occupation, that it was

incapable of self-rule and thus warranted liberation at the hands of Northern Italians. Southerners' supposed lack of agency was the result of both their:

> poverty and ignorance in which the mass of the people [was] kept, and which made them incapable of defending themselves and asserting their own interest, and, on the other hand, the predatory nature of the ruling classes which further contributed to the poverty and ignorance (Gribaudi, 1996, p. 76).

The origin of the South's dehumanization, at the hands of Northerners, developed further, as revealed in earlier accounts of Jesuit civilizing missions, during the *Risorgimento* movement. Prior to Italy's unification, Southern Italy was under the control of Spain. Ferdinand II adopted an isolationist and anti-liberal regime, and the Bourbon regime was believed to be "the enemy of both European civilization and the cause of Italian nationhood. The Bourbons, it was said, had built a 'wall of China' between southern Italy and the rest of Italy and Europe" (Moe, 2001, p. 123). Therefore, Southern Italy's continental isolation and foreign control prevented it from possessing the capacity for self-governance.[xiv]

During this specific period (post-unification), images of disease and medical treatment emerged and constituted one of the most common modes of visualizing the south and its relationship to the north. The south is frequently described as a "*piaga*" (wound) or a "*cancrena*" (gangrene) that needs curing (Moe, 2001, p. 135; Wong, 2006). Further, unless the south's "abnormality" is contained, the Piedmontese leadership believed that it had the power to threaten the health of the entire nation. In a letter dated October 17, 1860 to Diomede Pantaleoni, an Italian politician who later became the first president of the Italian senate, Massimo D'Azeglio, a moderate Piedmontese politician, states that "in all ways the fusion with

the Neapolitans makes me afraid; is it like going to bed with a smallpox patient" (Wong, 2006, p. 19).

The allegations contained in these statements and ideas imply that the south's presupposed infirmity "naturally" led to its submission, which in turn perpetuated northern "moral superiority and organizational primacy in politics, administration, and military operations" (Wong, 2006, p. 20). Southern sickness defined by the north rendered it incompatible with the goals of Western Eurocentrism, nationalism, and bourgeoisification. The following section reveals yet another shift in the southern problem. Until this point within Italy's unification, southern culture, although represented as antithetical to Western progress, was not innately incapable of change. In other words, biological or cultural determinism had yet to be explicitly linked to the south. However, these previously interrelated processes (the Jesuits' civilizing missions in Naples in the 1550s, the role of travelers' tales and their contributions to the creation of a barbaric vs. picturesque binary of the south, and northern pathologization of the south) set in motion a new scientific understanding of the south. If the Jesuits' could not civilize them, a presumably fertile landscape could not enlighten them, and if the north could not govern them, then perhaps Southern Italians were prisoners of something altogether different? As explained by Wong (2006) "The pathologicization of the Italian southern question, which compared the misery of the south to a plague threatening the healthy, prosperous north, contributed to the developing discourse of physiognomy in Italy" (p. 47). We will see in the following segment how the southern problem eventually came to be understood by means of a presumably inferior biological and hence racial capacity.

Southern Italy as "scientifically" atavistic and violent

While not an exhaustive study of the rise of scientific racism, the following section on the development of the Italian school of criminal anthropology will provide a brief historical overview of its aims and key figures. It has been included since it further highlights how Italy continues to be trapped in modernity, and as later chapters will attest, the Italian school of anthropology and criminology influenced the way Federal officials came to see Italian migration to Canada as non-desirable. According to Peter D'Agostino (2002), the Italian school of criminal anthropology "coincided with the intellectual ascendancy of positivism and evolutionism" (p. 320), which held immense currency during this era as anthropological notions of primitivism and the belief in racial and biological differences dominated Western concepts of human progress and capacity. Positivist anthropology uses statistical information, such as rates of crime, education, mortality, suicide and economy, in order to measure the alleged state of civilization in a given society (Dickie, 1999, p. 2).

The founder of criminal anthropology, Cesare Lombroso, was a Jewish physician and Italian patriot born in Verona. Lombroso's understanding of criminology differed from "Cesare Beccaria's Enlightenment model of the criminal as an ordinary individual who freely chose an immoral act" (D'Agostino, 2002, p. 322). While the classical school sought to secure a punishment tailored to the crime, Lombroso considered such a philosophy unjust and more importantly, unscientific. Rather, Lombroso, in his 1876 book entitled *Criminal Man*, claimed to have:

> discovered atavistic anomalies of the body in a particular type of criminal, known within positivist discourse as the 'born criminal.' These stigmata of the body were ancient 'savage' evolutionary remnants inherited from an earlier stage of development. This notion of 'the congenital criminal as an anomaly, partly pathological and partly atavistic, a revival of the

> primitive savage,' was the root idea of Italian criminal anthropology (D'Agostino, 2002, p. 322).

Accordingly, immoral acts were not caused by free will, but by biology. Physical malformations (largely determined by means of phrenology and craniometry) were equated with moral and psychological limitations, and the severity of one's deformities determined the degree to which an individual was compromised. Therefore, punishment "should not be made to fit the crime, but rather to fit the criminal" (Wong, 2006, p. 48).

Lombroso believed that Italy was divided into three races – the Semitic South, the Latin Centre, and the Germanic, Ligurian, Celtic, and Slavic North (Gibson, 1998, p. 102). Lombroso's works, particularly *Criminal Man* and *In Calabria*,[xv] are significant because he equates apparent high levels of criminal deviancy with Southern Italians' racial disposition. Lombroso argued that it was to "the African and Eastern elements (except the Greeks), that Italy owes, fundamentally, the greater frequency of homicides in Calabria, Sicily and Sardinia, while the least occur where the Nordic races predominate" (Gibson, 1998, p. 102). Lombroso's writings on Calabria claimed to have recognized "within entire Calabrian populations atavistic characteristics evinced in primitive behavior, local folklore, and dialects" (D'Agostino, 2002, p. 323). Lombroso further declared in 1900, that an "inferior civilization" marked by a "criminality of blood" existed in southern Italy (D'Agostino, 2002, p. 323).

What I wish to make pertinent for my analysis is not simply the unstable categorization of race, but how such categorizations began to essentialize the south vis-à-vis racial projects on a society-wide level. As emphasized by Alfredo Niceforo, one of Lombroso's main followers, Italy's "two races" were not only physically different, but psychologically different as well. Consequently, physiognomists argued that "identity was formed on the basis of biology and

heredity" (Wong, 2006, p. 55). Niceforo further attested that one of the central differences between northerners and southerners was based on their "varying perspectives of the self, or the 'I'" (Wong, 2006, p. 65). On the whole:

> the physical difference between Aryans and dark Mediterraneans, is, essentially, in the major and minor excitability of the *I*: one, - the dark Mediterraneans, - have the restless and extremely excitable *I*, the other – the Aryans, - have the very balanced and cold I. Whereas the restlessness and excitability of the Mediterranean 'self' generated '*inattention, the weakness of the will, excess of banal emotion, impulsiveness, excess of the imagination, the absence of a practical sense of life, a quick and rapid intelligence*,' the Aryan, with the more docile and less excitable *I* had a 'sentiment of social organization much more developed than the dark Mediterraneans, who, having an I more excitable and very mobile, has a more developed sense of individualism and rebels at every spontaneous social and collective organization' (Wong, 2006, p. 65).[xvi]

Returning to my first point that Italian-Canadians are marked as 'different' even within Whiteness, I believe that this difference is captured in the peripheralization that characterizes how Italy has been situated in the historical and modern period; one stereotypically framed to believe in centuries-old racialized assumptions concerning the "Germanic" and "industrious" north and the "Mediterranean" and "backward" south. That is to say, stereotypes borrowed from Europe mark Italian-Canadians, who mostly come from Southern Italy, and who were seen (both inside and outside of Europe) as 'as 'swarthy,' 'hot-blooded,' (Iacovetta, 2004, p. 114, 105) 'parochial,' and possessing a 'propensity for violence' (Mullen, 2005, p. 89). Both Dina Pugliese and Mary Di Michele's words provide an entry point into common sense constructions of Italian-ness within Canadian discursive practices. By exploring people's everyday discursive

practices, we can better comprehend why and how certain types of representations come to mean something and the ways they are reproduced. As explained by Julie Byrd Clark (2009),

> [I]t becomes essential to explore how and why the different kinds of messages (be they institutional, familial, ideological, personal, etc.) that we receive across, between, and within multiple discursive spaces impact the ways in which we invest in the construction and attached representations of ourselves as social beings, engaging in the social world within/through/between discourses of languages, ethnicities, and citizenship" (p. 2).

In this way, discursive formations have deep multiple roots and continue to inform diasporic ideas about Italian-Canadian cultural identities, as communicated by Pugliese's "too-spicy Italian," and Di Michele's "*For you Italians, Life is theatre!*" (Fuller, 2009, p. 14; Di Michele, 1995, p. 42). In these two instances, the stereotypes not only directed their utterances regarding the possibilities of one's employment (that is whether they belonged and are welcomed on Canadian television and hence in Canadian homes) and the value of one's argument, but also captured the ways Italian-ness is still constructed within climatological (read Italians as "too spicy") and backward (read Italians as theatrical, and hence, puerile) ways. The implications of analyzing representations of Italian-Canadians within printed media, may aside from helping us to understand how language is linked to both processes of representation and hegemonic systems of power, also highlight when Italian-ness is at odds with the thematic claims of Whiteness studies.

Italy's cultural heterogeneity, given its balkanized past, seems to serve as a double-edged sword (Greene, 2012). As noted by Greene (2012), the characteristics of Italy that allow the country and its descendants to be viewed differently from the north are also the very stereotypes that bear judgment upon it. Recalling my original question, what becomes sayable and rendered

intelligible, the effect of Italy's unresolved status within a modernistic project equally colour how Italian-Canadians themselves internalize what it means to be of Italian descent with varying levels of critical reflection.

Lastly and conceivably to lessen the threat of essentialist discourse, Girelli's (2009) contention that "beyond the First World/Third World opposition, or the one between white and non-white, there exist other established divides of geoethnic separation, generating and legitimizing stereotyping and/or discrimination" is worthy of further investigation (p. 9).
One common thread within my literature review was to highlight how the concept of Italy and Italian-ness continues to engender complicated attitudes and beliefs regarding race, belonging, and nationhood within Canada. By exposing the inherent problems in a singular modality of the White experience, I sought to expand and complicate my own research regarding how Whiteness studies may forsake ethno-cultural differences and ongoing transnational experiences and connections for a theory that may at times be too essentialized and/or racially bound. As described earlier, the ambivalent relationship between Italian-ness and modernity has first questioned whether Italians were really Europeans, and as will be shown in the following chapters, subsequently, whether this ambivalence prevents Italian emigrants from ever being assimilable to an English-Canadian model of Whiteness. The following chapters on the Italianization of John Cabot, Italian-Canadian internment during World War II and the politics of redress, and the perceived space and place of Italian-Canadians within Canada's social and political life hopes to further complicate the narrative and expand the field's philosophical underpinnings regarding its notions of a monolithic West.

Chapter 3 – Methods

Engaging with the background information provided in the literature review, the aim of the dissertation began as an examination of the ways that constructions of the image of Italian-Canadians in culturally specific magazines served to reveal existing racialized power relations. I was interested in exploring whether printed media representations of Italian-Canadian-ness were at odds with the thematic claims discussed in critical Whiteness studies, which is often synonymous with normativity, invisibility, ahistorical, and a non-ethnic status. Furthermore, I wanted to explore how this analysis might serve as an important portal to understanding a larger story of race and citizenship within Canada. As I have suggested in both my introductory and literature review chapters, the assumptions that Whiteness studies scholars currently make and work with seem to create difficulty accounting for 1) the ways particular identities such as those of Italian-Canadians, have remained visible and hyphenated; and 2) how Italian-Canadians are marked as "different" within Whiteness.

The methodology that I selected to investigate the representations of Italian-ness in printed media is critical discourse analysis. Over the course of more than thirty years, critical discourse analysis has become a popular qualitative approach, which examines underlying ideologies and reproduction of social hierarchies as expressed in a given text. Richard Johnson (1986-87) in his article titled "What is Cultural Studies Anyway?" encourages scholars to "de-center 'the text' as object of study" (p. 62). He objects to what he perceived as a lack of subjectivity within the terms of textual analysis and considered most scholarly accounts overtly "abstract, "thin" and un-historic" (1986-87, p. 63). He seeks to rectify this "major theoretical lack" by endorsing a textual analysis approach that calls for the text to no longer be:

> studied for its own sake, nor even for the social effects it may be thought to produce, but rather for the subjective or cultural forms which it realises and makes available. The text is only a means in cultural study; strictly, perhaps, it is a raw material from which certain forms (e.g. of narrative, ideological problematic, mode of address, subject position, etc.) may be abstracted. It may also form part of a larger discursive field or combination of forms occurring in other social spaces with some regularity. But the ultimate object of cultural studies is not, in my view, the text, but the social life of subjective forms at each moment of their circulation, including their textual embodiment (1986-87, p. 62).

Rather than relying on a traditional quantitative content analysis (i.e. the use of manifest content and the assignment of numerical values to my data), my discourse analysis seeks to understand text in its broader poststructural assumptions. The suggestion here is that dominant print media are important texts by which the public acquires knowledge about the Other. This sentiment is shared by Dahlgren and Sparks (1992) who state, "journalism is something part of, rather than separate from, popular culture" and "a contribution to the construction of larger societal realities" (p. 18, 10). And in terms of the Italian-Canadian community, my analysis of both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* examines the ways their editorials, in particular, contribute to larger social realities.

Critical discourse analysis

While the term discourse analysis may signify a variety of approaches within many disciplines, Michel Foucault (2006) writes "discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that renders them irreducible to the language (langue) and to speech. It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe" (p. 54). Foucault's approach seeks to investigate the relationship between knowledge and power.

"Power produces," Foucault (1995) writes, "it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (p. 194). In this way, power constitutes and perpetuates itself through knowledge. Therefore, expressions, idioms, phrases and sentences (both written and spoken) can be understood as historical artifacts that reveal how dominant forms of knowledge and power have been created and sustained.

In addition to a Foucauldian analysis, Stuart Hall's discussion of the relationship between politics and representation is also involved in my analysis of *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia*. To begin, Hall (2003) refers to three major concepts for explaining how language represents the world. The frameworks are reflection, intention and construction. The first concept, reflection, suggests that language reflects what exists in reality. The words "Italian" and "Canadian" describe a presumably geographical and corporeal space. The second framework conveys how speakers (i.e. journalists and writers) intentionally impose their meaning upon the world. In this way, the focus is not necessarily on the content of what is being shown or reported upon, but rather on the intentionality of the person producing the content. Lastly, construction attempts to find a middle ground between reflection and intention by noting that there's a third element to be taken into consideration: the audience and its social context. As such and according to Hall, "representation becomes the process or channel or medium through which meanings are both created and reified" (1997, p. 19). Therefore, the power to produce and circulate meaning is dependent on two related systems of representation:

> The first enables us to give meaning to the world by constructing a set of correspondences or a chain of equivalences between things – people, objects, events, abstract ideas, etc. and our system of concepts, our conceptual maps. The second depends on constructing a set of correspondences between our conceptual map and a set of signs, arranged or organized into

> various languages which stand for or represent those concepts. The relation between 'things,' concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in language. The process which links these three elements together is what we call 'representation' (Hall, 1997, p. 19).

In light of the above, I use Foucault's (2006) method for analyzing discourse as outlined in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* as my methodology when undertaking my study. In what follows, I will briefly describe Foucault's main concepts and highlight how I have put them to work within my dissertation's thematic chapters. To begin, Foucault calls upon researchers to investigate how an object of discourse becomes visible. In this step, inclusion of a historical examination of how geographical spaces emerged (e.g. Italy and Canada), in other words, Hall's notion of reflection, will anchor the bulk of my thesis. Including an overview on the social-historical events that led to Italian-Canadians current status allowed me to explore representations of Italian-ness in culturally specific magazines and the underlying systems of thought and knowledge (Foucault 2006) that render the project of an Italian-Canadian identity both indefinable and knowable. Returning to my research questions outlined in the introduction, in the content analysis of both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia,* I ascertain whether Italy's marginal status within Europe influenced the discursive ways we understand Italian-Canadian migration, settlement, and difference within Canada.

The next step was to analyze the "grids of specification," which influence how objects are formed within other relative objects (2006, p. 46). In this way, I examined *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia*'s representation of Italian-Canadianness in their publications by focusing on the thematic discourses that were used to construct them. Further, I engaged in a careful reading of how the project of Italian-ness within both magazines potentially revealed an ambivalent or incomplete acceptance of Italian-Canadians within the project of modernity, and hence

Whiteness. Through what he called "discursive formations" or "epistemes," Foucault (2006) understood that discourse not only determined the boundaries of knowledge, but that content – in this case media – is produced within larger anthropological frameworks. In other words, to understand the media content of contemporary magazines, a reader's analysis ought to also attempt to cover the historic discourses that connect seemingly benign representations to their complex and ongoing historical origins. Essentially, to draw upon the many genealogical insights by which they are produced.

Sources and sampling

For this study, I identify and analyse data from the following two magazine sources: *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia.* The publications date range was from 2002 to 2012 and the rationale is three-fold. First, and what bears repeating is the relatively recent presence of Italian-Canadians in Canada (2006, 2016 Census of Canada). In this way, the Italian-Canadian community is still, on an ongoing basis, mapping out what it means to be Canadian given that a significant portion of Italian-Canadians were either born in Italy or raised by immigrant parents. Therefore, and in light of the communities' relative recent status, my analysis of the magazines examines the liminal zone or position of inbetweenness still assigned to Italian-Canadians within Canada. And by adopting a data range stemming from 2002, I seek to ensure that the voices and perspectives of the first, second and emergent third generation of Italian-Canadians are included. Secondly, little is known about the images and representations of Italian-Canadians within Canadian media sources. Research that has explored the representation of Italians either focused on American films (Casillo, 2000; Cortes, 1987), Italian-American men in film (Baker & Vitullo, 2001; Bondanella, 2004), or reality television (Klein, 2014). Aside from Francesca L'Orfano's (2002) Master's dissertation titled *Challenging Exclusion: Film, Video, Identity, Memory, and*

the Italian-Canadian Immigrant Experience and actor and playwright Toni Nardi's (2007) *Two Letters… & Counting!*, there continues to be a paucity of research on Italian-Canadian representations within popular culture. Recalling how the concept of Italy was developed within modernistic ideals, I surveyed whether the hyper visibility of the Italian in popular culture is part and parcel of how "The Italian" has been conceived in Europe and whether it continues to impact how Italy's diasporic communities are integrated within their host countries (Casillo, 2011; Dainotto, 2007). That is to say, I consciously investigated whether stereotypes borrowed from Europe mark Italian-Canadians, who come primarily from Southern Italy. As a result, these thematic constructions draw on and inform diasporic ideas about Italian-Canadian cultural identities, as elucidated by Dina Pugliese's "too spicy Italian" and Mary Di Michele's "*Life is Theatre. Or O to be Italian*." Lastly, incorporating a 2002-2012 time-frame ensured an equitable reading of both magazines as *Panoram Italia* and *Accenti* were launched in 2002 and 2003, respectively.

Accenti

Launched in Montreal in March 2003, the inaugural issue of *Accenti* addressed the primary reasoning for embarking upon a specifically Italian-Canadian magazine. In his Op-ed piece, co-publisher and co-founder Dominic Cusmano (2003) focused on the following three questions: "Why a Magazine about Italian Canadians? Why in English? Why Accenti?" (para. 1) According to Cusmano (2003), "While the answers seem self-evident, to the skeptics I can only say that there is a vibrant Italian community in Canada, and that this community is worth talking about – both amongst ourselves and to those around us" (para. 1). Originally designed as a quarterly magazine, all 28 *Accenti* issues published between March 2003 (Issue 1) and Winter 2012 (Issue 28) were sampled. While some years saw a quarterly production schedule (e.g. 2003

& 2010), other years consisted of bi-annual publications (e.g. 2007, 2009). Part of the reasoning for this unusual schedule was the changing nature of publishing (print vs. digital), readership (generational shift), and production costs. The stated intention of the magazine "with the distinctly Italian accent" was not to remain insular, within the community, as *Accenti* was made available for purchase across Canada at Chapters and Indigo, newsstands such as Benjamin News, and in "select areas of Montreal through *The Gazette*" (McParland, 2010. p. 35).

Pursuant to Cusmano's original editorial, co-publisher and co-founder Licia Canton (2010) further elaborated on the value of *Accenti* in an article titled "Writing our own stories". She maintained that *Accenti* made possible for Italian-Canadians to "bridge" the "two cultures we hold dear" and cautioned:

> If we don't write our own stories, someone will do it for us – often with less than agreeable outcomes. We know that Italian Canadians are not immune to cultural stereotypes. Too often, the mainstream media is quick to report on the less flattering and more sensational aspects that, like it or not, are associated with "Italian-ness" – unrepresentative though they may be. *Accenti* is an alternative presence in the perception of Italians in Canada. (. . .) In addition to bringing readers insightful stories on many different topics, *Accenti* is also a symbol of the vibrancy, vitality and diversity of the Italian Canadian community. We have a say in the development of our community and our culture. We all have a story to tell, opinions to share. What we write makes a difference in the way we see ourselves and the way the world sees us (Canton, 2010, p. 5).

In spite of *Accenti*'s ambitious and well-intentioned enthusiasm, the survival of the magazine, like so many in these digital times, is not quite guaranteed. In an article titled "Surviving the Digital World," Cusmano (2014) informed the readers on how the last decade saw the

disappearance of many print publications. And how *Accenti* went from a peak circulation rate of 35,000 copies to 5000 in 2012 (2014, para. 1). Beginning in 2014, Accenti was reduced to a publication frequency of two times per year (Spring and Fall) while expanding their online presence via www.accenti.ca

Panoram Italia

Initially published as a yearly coffee table magazine in 2002, the inaugural issue of *Panorama Italiano* sought to espouse a particular Italian vision. Editor Alessandra Gatti (2002) explained that *Panorama Italiano* was anchored by:

> A vision…A strong connection with our Italian heritage. A sense of belonging to a culture that has had a major impact on the world and has shaped this world in more ways than we can imagine. A feeling of great pride about who we are and where we come from, and gratitude towards past generations that left Italy and paved the way for us in this country we call "home."
>
> Panorama Italiano pays tribute to Italy, to Italian-Canadians, to all that is Italian. There are close to 250,000 Italians in the Greater Montreal Area. Statistics show that Italian-Canadians have one of the highest levels of home ownership. Typically, more Italian-Canadian children attend and graduate from University than other ethnic groups. And, Italian-owned businesses abound. We are no longer "immigrants." We are an integral part of the cloth of this society. We are important contributors to the economic growth of this city, this province and this country. Panorama italiano is the window into the "Italian way" and I hope that after reading our magazine you will have a greater understanding of what it means to be Italian (p. 3).

Beginning in Fall 2006, publisher Antonio Zara set out to redesign *Panorama Italiano* into a quarterly publication now renamed *Panoramitalia*. While the magazine's aesthetic format remained the same, Zara (2006) aspired that *Panoramitalia* would:

> become the ultimate method of communication for the Quebec Italian community. Written in English, French, and Italian, Panoramitalia Quarterly's format is simple and to the point. Firstly, we will bring important community issues to light with the hope of creating fruitful discussions. Secondly, we will cover as many local events as possible (complete with pictures and highlights of these events) so that we may foster a stronger sense of community. Thirdly, we will write cultural and life articles aimed at celebrating our wonderful Quebec-Italian culture. And finally, we will introduce you to young, up-and-coming members of our dynamic community (p. 8).

Given that the Italian-Canadian population of Greater Montreal was approximately 250,000, *Panoramitalia* publishers decided to mail, free of charge, 50,000 copies to Italian households and 5,500 to businesses owned or managed by Italians. The circulation was largely supported by advertising revenue (Zara, 2006, p. 8).

As *Panoramitalia* gained popularity and influence, the magazine went through a further redesign by first expanding into the Ottawa region and finally launching within the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) in 2011. In the inaugural GTA issue, publisher Tony Zara (2011) saw the

> …next logical step was to expand further. The time felt right to take the next step and bring PanoramItalia magazine to the biggest Italian-Canadian community in the country, that of the Greater Toronto Area. In doing so and with your help, we will be making history. It is the first time, as far as I know, that an Italian-Canadian publication will have a national scope.

> (. . .) My hope is that you recognize the importance of having and supporting a publication such as ours. Panoram Italia's ambition and mission is to inform, form and provide an accurate image of Italian-Canadians from coast to coast. We will fight prejudice, underline the positive and blame, if blame is required (Zara, 2011, p. 11).

To date, *Panoram Italia* (its most current title) has a circulation totalling 150,000 nationally and an ever-greater presence online. For the purpose of the dissertation, all 49 issues (beginning with the inaugural yearly coffee table magazine launched in 2002 and ending with the bi-monthly Toronto (Vol. 2, No. 6) and Montreal (Vol. 7, No. 6) issues published in December/January 2012) were sampled.

Sampling

Beginning in the summer of 2012, I read each issue of *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* published between 2002-2012. My initial read-through involved taking notes on the overall content and themes published in each magazine. The published subject matters for both magazines included a gamut of topics ranging from politics (both at home and abroad), fashion, business, poetry, community announcements, Italian history and regions, interviews, recipes, the arts, editorials, Italian-Canadian history, memorials, stories, and advertisement. During the second read-through, I began to narrow the focus in line with the dissertations' questions regarding the space and place of Italian-ness within Canada. This process involved focusing on recurring and overlapping themes between the magazines (whenever possible) while situating my detailed notes within the larger research questions. From this point, I began to code each magazine article based on a thematic issue, pulling interesting quotes and summarizing the overall content in Word documents based on each magazine. What began to emerge were themes on Italian-Canadian internment, stories of achievement and success, the impact that Italy

continues to have on its Canadian diaspora, the role of Italian-Canadian women, Italian history and Italy's contributions to Canada (from Caboto to business). The third and final read-through came to solidify the themes of the thesis, which are the Italianization of John Cabot, Italian-Canadian internment during World War II and the politics of redress, and the space and place of Italian-Canadians in terms of their relationship to Italy, Canadian politics, and literature. This process resulted in transferring my notes into three stand-alone word documents based on each thematic issue to be used as the data points for each chapter. Overall, I feel the topics represent a historical overview on the larger preoccupations of this thesis in terms of Italian-Canadian Whiteness, ethnicity and belonging, and nicely chronicle the history of Italians within Canada (from the 1920s to contemporary times). I endeavoured to remind myself throughout the data collection of Richard Johnson's (1986-1987) definition of "public-ation." He states:

> The public and private forms of culture are not sealed against each other. There is a real circulation of forms. Cultural production often involves public-ation, the making public of private forms. (. . .) It is important not to assume that public-ation only and always works in dominating or in demeaning ways. We need careful analyses of where and how public representations work to seal social groups into the existing relations of dependence and where and how they have some emancipatory tendency (Johnson, 1986-1987, p. 52).

Stated differently, the representational tendencies of Italian-ness as showcased in both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* existed within both of Johnson's "sealed" and "emancipatory" moments in often surprising ways, as the following thematic chapters will attest.

Chapter 4 – Claiming roots: The Italianization of John Cabot as a paradoxical source of historical pride and rootedness.

In 2011, Michael Tibollo, president of the National Congress of Italian Canadians (NCIC) launched a controversial media campaign to have Nova Scotia's Cape Breton Island's 289-kilometer Cabot Trail renamed as the Caboto Trail. Stating in an *Accenti* article titled *Despatches,* Tibollo observed "When you live in a country that is multicultural, one of the things we should be doing is making our historical records accurate" ("Despatches," 2011, p. 7). He went on to elaborate, "To me, this is also to bring awareness to the fact that it is an Italian who first came over here" ("Despatches," 2011, p. 7), as a means of declaring Venetian Giovanni Caboto, in his 1497 expedition to Cape Breton Island and Newfoundland, the discoverer of Canada. Given how heritage and culture is often constitutive of identity formation, my chapter's aims are twofold: firstly, to address the politics of exit and entry, particularly when it comes to the Italian-Canadian community, by highlighting how editorial initiatives on Caboto bear little resemblance to either the historical departure regions of Italy's diaspora or the historical transplant of Italian culture within Canada. Considering Italian-Canadians' predominantly twentieth century presence within Canada, the chapter will analyze the underlying rationale for why *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* sought to place Giovanni Caboto as the forbearer to the Italian-Canadian community. Secondly, I will explore how both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia's* Italianization of Cabot underscores how Italy's culturally ambiguous and unresolved relationship to modernity continues to impact the ways it seeks to entrench itself within Whiteness, particularly when confronted with memory-making and the delineation of progress.

The politics of exit and entry

The genesis of the Italian-Canadian community remains controversial both for what it invokes and denies about the story of Canada and Italy. When chronicling Italian-Canadian history, each magazine provided ample examples of first-person accounts of migrants landing at Pier 21 in Halifax and the myriad of ways they rebuilt their lives after the devastation of World War II. However, and quizzically, when narrating a broader historical overview of Canada involving previous centuries, the magazines anchored Giovanni Caboto as the forefather for the Italian community in approximately eight articles. While not quantitatively substantive[xvii], the Caboto campaign remains important for what it reveals about the processes of representation and hegemonic systems of power in Canada. The question that inevitably arises is how and why has Giovanni Caboto come to represent the genesis of the Italian-Canadian community?

In Wendy Roth's (2012) book titled *Race Migrations: Latinos and the Cultural Transformation of Race*, she draws attention to how migrants acquire racial acculturation both at home and abroad. Relying on interviews with Puerto Ricans and Dominicans (those remaining at home and those migrating to the United States), Roth (2012) came to name this process, by which immigration impacts concepts of race and classification, *racial schemas*.

> Racial schemas are necessarily cognitive phenomena, because they are mental processes that shape our knowledge. But they are also cultural. There are different concepts of what racial categories exist and how they are ordered in the United States, Latin American and other regions around the world. There are also differences within nations and communities in the racial schemas that people use. […] Racial schemas, like all cognitive schemas, do not exist just within people's heads. They are shared representations that are partly independent of individuals' beliefs; this is why there is overlap between those held by different people. In

> part, they are publicly shared because of the way that schemas and classifications are institutionalized (2012, p. 12-13).

These regulatory ideals of race are both institutionalized and culturalized. In other words, recalling my criticism of Whiteness studies as too often dependent on an Anglo-British and Anglo-Americanized reading of race (i.e. as a one-way process by which migrants are assimilated into a post-migration template), Roth encourages researchers to acknowledge how:

> before migrants ever set foot in their new societies, they acquire an understanding of race from their country of origin. **Their concepts of how to classify people racially are not simply formed on the plane trip to their new location** (bolded added for emphasis). Yet scholars of immigration and race rarely investigate the conceptions that migrants bring with them (2012, p. 32).

For that reason, transnationalism and its subsequent globalized ties impact and impart migratory conceptions of race and belonging (Roth, 2012). Roth's findings are equally shared by Green and Weil (2007) who have argued, "the migration process cannot be fully understood without questioning the administrative, political, and ideological forces surrounding that move" (p. 8). What is pertinent to my study, therefore, is to illustrate how the development of Italy as a modern nation has impacted the ways concepts of race and othering within Italy contributed to their forms in its diaspora. The second is to examine the politics of entry. How have Italian-Canadians conceived of Canada as home and in what ways have racialized schemas made this possible? To what extent do pre-existing processes of racialization engender attitudes and behaviours in line with those of a dominant culture (i.e. Anglo-Canadian culture)? I argue that examining the relationship between these concepts (exit and entry) demonstrates that Italian-Canadians racial subjectivity has remained fluid between the two nations. In particular, Italian-

Canadians from Southern Italy, as this and later chapters will highlight, went from one schema of being racially suspect and often regarded as racially inferior in both Italy and Canada to a racialized schema that continues to be at odds to varying degrees with the pursuits and descriptors of Whiteness.

Before I provide a detailed account of Italian immigration to Canada, I will briefly present how Italian emigration ought to be regarded within a broader diasporic focus. Key to theoretical definitions of diaspora is forced dispersal or displacement (Clifford, 1994). Yet, the point to keep in mind is that, the Italian diaspora cannot be compared to the exile of Jews or the enslavement of Africans (Fortier, 2000; Gabaccia, 2000). However, the Italian diaspora cannot also be solely viewed, given an estimated 26 million Italians left Italy between 1876 and 1976, as a "voluntary migration of individuals – usually professionals or highly semi-skilled workers – between countries of the overdeveloped worlds" (Fortier, 2000, p. 17). As we have seen in Chapter 2, the development of modern Italy ran parallel to the racialization of southern Italy. Italian emigration often stemmed from bleak conditions within Southern Italy. As illustrated by the 1951 Italian census: 900,000 Southerners lacked proper housing due to World War II bombings; 40% of their dwellings lacked drinkable water and sanitary provisions. Further, poverty within the South stood at 25% compared to 1.5% in the North (Iacovetta, 2004, p. 8). The unification of Italy in 1861, particularly the failed or abandoned promised land reforms created conditions in which Southerners did not own their land, and thus were excluded from governing their resources. Rather, their lands were owned by Northerners and the Southerners cultivated them for a small percentage of the crops. Thus, the promises of national sovereignty did little to promote southern industrial development, and the subsequent depression, Fascism, war and northern bureaucratic centralism limited the available choices for Southern Italians to

remain in Italy. Like Anne-Marie Fortier, I believe that specific diasporic imaginings connect with historically specific conditions of "dispersal and (re)settlement" (2000, p. 18).

Historical overview of Canada's immigration policy

Until the early 1900s, immigrants to Canada were predominantly from the British Isles as the fall of New France in 1760 witnessed the general end of migration from France. The question of race and suitability (apart from the ongoing and historical othering of Aboriginal nations) began to emerge more concretely in immigration policies during the nineteenth century. Groups such as the Irish or Asians were often met with virulent hostility (Avery, 1995; Backhouse, 1999). Irish immigrants, due largely to anti-Catholic nativism, were associated with urban poverty, crime and violence (Iacovetta, Quinlan & Radforth, 1996, p. 92). Asian workers, particularly in British Columbia, faced growing anti-Chinese measures (Backhouse, 1999). While a majority of Canada's immigrants were English-speaking, a considerable number of Germans, Scandinavians, and Ukrainians also settled. As explained by Iacovetta, Quinlan and Radforth, "Ethnic tolerance went hand-in-hand with economic self-interest: these normally "undesirable" ethnic minorities could be put to good national use by homesteading the west and enlarging the domestic consumer markets (1996, p. 99-100). What ought to also be noted is that Clifford Sifton, Minister of Interior between 1896 and 1905, believed that ethnic tolerance could not be extended to Blacks, Jews or Italians as "no steps are to be taken to assist or encourage Italian Immigration to Canada" (Hickman & Cavalluzzo, 2012, p. 44).

During the early twentieth century and up until the 1930s, Canada was affected by an international war (World War I) and economic depression followed by the subsequent rise of another international war in 1939 (Hawkins, 1991, p. 96). One of Canada's responses to depression and war was the restriction of the number of eligible immigrants and refugees.

Nevertheless, while Canada was ambivalent about the number of new immigrants to accept, the government was straightforward concerning who they considered to be racially appropriate. Canada's Order-in-Council, P.C. 1957, issued in 1930, demonstrates this thinking as the Order restricted immigration from Continental Europe (Kage, 1962, p. 94-95). Proponents for an ethnically selective immigration policy argued primarily on the basis that racial stratification was needed to ensure a homogeneous Canadian identity, and therefore, immigration was seen as a domestic policy. Mackenzie King expounded on the above belief by stating that: "Canada's post-war immigration policy has been to foster growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration, without altering the fundamental character of the Canadian nation" (Kage, 1962, p. 119). The homogenous defense was to secure the promulgation of British modes of law, administration, and politics and secure Canada as a nation for the White race. This is evidently displayed in the Order-in-Council, P.C. 659 issued in 1931, which prohibited immigration to Canada with the following exemptions:

> A) British subjects from Great Britain, Northern Ireland, Irish Free State, Australia, Union of South Africa and New Zealand, provided that they had means to maintain themselves until employment was secured;[xviii]
>
> B) Citizens of the United States with the means to support themselves;
>
> C) The wife and unmarried children under eighteen years of age of a Canadian resident who could receive and care for his dependents;
>
> D) Agriculturists having sufficient means to farm in Canada (Kage, 1962, p. 95).

It was only after post-World War II industrialization that Canada's immigration policy drastically changed.

In order to emphasize how *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* editorial initiatives on Caboto bear little resemblance to both the historical departure regions of Italy's diaspora or the historical transplant of Italian culture within Canada, I will outline Italian migration to Canada. Italian immigration to Canada is marked by two distinct periods: the sojourner movement and post-war immigration. The sojourner movement was characterized by a small number of predominantly Northern and Central Italian craftsmen and professional migrants during the 1880s (though they would be joined by a growing number of Southerners of peasant origin working in primary resource industries). They typically resided in Canada anywhere from a few months to a few years, and their intent was primarily geared towards economic pursuits as opposed to settlement as the sojourners typically returned to Italy (Perin, 1992). However, some did become "settlers" with wives and children joining them. Immediately following the end of World War II, Canada initially hesitated to admit large numbers of Italians and several factors account for this policy. First, Italy's role and alignment with Germany during World War II rendered it an enemy state, and Italy was only taken off the enemy alien list in January 1947 (Iacobacci, 2010, p. 15). Second, the Mackenzie King government was fearful that wartime prosperity would be followed by a recession and that the Canadian government would have to shoulder the burdens of caring for a foreign population. Third, nativist opposition to Italians based "on assumptions equating hot climates with darker populations and cultural backwardness, resurfaced" (Iacovetta, 2004, p. 21). There is a need to recall that the notion of Italy's marginalized place in Europe (be it the Jesuits' "Indies" or the Northern Italians' "Africa" of Europe as outlined in Chapter 2) migrated as well. As explained by D'Agostino, the racialization of southern Italy contributed to the notion of Italian migrants' unsuitability in North American as:

> American liberals, socialists, and conservatives alike made selective use of the Italian

> school's racial metaphysic as a form of scientific authority. It helped them articulate a racial hierarchy distinguishing 'new' from 'old' immigrants, facilitating an argument for immigration restriction. Restrictionists thus had a ready-made scientific commentary regarding the largest 'new' immigrant group, Italians, who were overwhelmingly from the *Mezzogiorno* (2002, p. 320).

The following sections will primarily focus on the perceived non-adaptability of Italians to Canada's northern latitudes and how this made them unfit for citizenship.

Laval Fortier, Commissioner for Overseas Immigration stated, that the "Italian South peasant is not the type we are looking for in Canada. His standard of living, his way of life, even his civilization seems so different that I doubt if he could ever become an asset to our country" (cited in Iacovetta, 2004, p. 22). The Italian school of anthropology and criminology influenced the way Federal officials came to see Italian culture, one stereotypically framed to believe in centuries-old racialist assumptions concerning the "Germanic" and "industrious" north and the "Mediterranean" and "backward" south (Moe, 2006; Wong, 2006). In the Fall of 1949, Commissioner Laval Fortier toured Italy and implemented a recruitment process for "quality immigrants" that presumably could only be located "around Rome and in the North" (Iacovetta, 2004, p. 27). What is also noteworthy is that the Italian government was heavily concerned with assisting the Canadian government with the fulfilment of quotas as emigration during this period was regarded as one of the few avenues to deal with the heavy burdens Italy faced during the post-war era. The 1950 immigration agreement authorized the Italian Ministry of Labour to carry out the preexamination of candidates for admission to contract labour. Under this agreement, immigrants would enter Canada under contract in order to fulfil a specific labour demand, and officials regularly referred to such cases as "bulk orders" (Iacovetta, 2004, p. 28).

While Canada had reduced the prior restrictions on Italian emigrants, "the bias against southerners was reflected in the imposition of a quota on the composition of each order: 70 percent were to be northern Italians (including north-central Italians) and 30 percent from the south" (Iacovetta, 2004, p. 29).

Even though a racialized polarity continued to mark Southern Italians, and reinforce the stereotypes associated with them, Italian immigration managed to circumvent the bulk order policies due to two pressing circumstances. First, the post-war economic boom in Canada forced the Federal government to expand their immigration laws, rendering possible the early post-war Italian settlement in Canada (Cancian & Ramirez, 2007). Second, Canada's family-reunification policy was expanded in 1947. Known as the Sponsorship Program, the act permitted Canadian relations to act as sponsors (Cancian & Ramirez, 2007). Canada's post-war Italians were sponsored by relatives at a rate of more than 90 percent,[xix] compared to the 47 percent average for all other nations (Iacovetta, 2004, p. 48). Similarly, such a process, which later became known as "chain migration," circumvented previous restrictions on Southern Italians. Chain migration is defined as "that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationship with previous migrants" (Macdonald cited in Sturino, 64). Therefore, Italian emigrants already established in Canada were able to directly sponsor family members back home.

As such, the post-war Italian immigration can be characterized as a mass movement. Between 1951 and 1961 Canada's Italian population increased threefold, from 150,000 to 450,000 (Harney Jr., 1998, p. 21). Equally relevant, between 1946 and 1983 it is estimated that 433,159 to 507,057 Italians came to Canada. Of these emigrants almost 70 percent came from

the south, 12 percent from central Italy, and 18 percent from the north (Harney Jr., 1998, p. 21). At present, 1,587,970 (4.6 percent of the total population) consider themselves to be of Italian descent. What these numbers illustrate is the relatively contemporary presence of Italian-Canadians in Canada. In other words, the Italian-Canadian community is still, on an ongoing basis, mapping out what it means to be Canadian given that a significant portion of Italian-Canadians were either born in Italy or raised by immigrant parents. In light of Italian-Canadians' contemporary roots, how and why do both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* attempt to place Giovanni Caboto as the forbearer to the Italian-Canadian community and what may be the underlying rationale?

The genesis of the Italianization of John Cabot

In "Creating an Enduring Cultural Legacy," Pietro Gasparrini for *Accenti* (2003) chronicles Italian migration to Canada by noting:

> The actual moment when the Italian immigration to Canada began is a hotly debated topic. Some consider the landing of Giovanni Caboto somewhere in modern-day Newfoundland and Nova Scotia in 1497 as the very first evidence of the Italian presence on Canadian soil (par. 1).

He goes on to describe how as part of a $46,000 grant from the Quebec government, that the "Italian Canadian community Archives of Quebec" will "be a unique source of information on the subject of the Italian presence in Canada – detailing the community's struggles and setbacks, as well as its accomplishments and contributions (Gasparrini, 2003, par 4). Pietro Vitelli (2011) in an article titled "Enrico Tonti: The Most Powerful Man in America" writes: "It is widely accepted that the Italian contribution to the exploration of the New World ceased after a brief period of great discoveries. Cristoforo Colombo discovered America in 1492, and Giovanni

Caboto landed in Newfoundland in 1497" (par 1). These two articles articulate a sense of a historic rootedness in Canada by Italian-Canadians. Of interest to me was how Garparini (2003), unlike Vitelli (2011), phrases Caboto's landing in Newfoundland as the "very first evidence" of Italian-ness within Canadian history. Many of the articles expressed a taken-for-granted view of Caboto as the genesis of Italian-Canadian histography. Yet how and when did this view become standardized in the annals of Italian history?

As discussed earlier, the Italian-Canadian presence within Canada is a relatively recent phenomenon – a history marked mostly by how a Southern agriculturally based, semi-skilled and unskilled population secured working-class employment in Canada's urban cities (Cancian & Ramirez, 2007). Although the dissertation mostly adheres to an Italian-Canadian historical timeline dating to World War II and onwards, the promulgation of what is often defined as the heroic Italian past within Canada was adopted during both the first (1880s) and second (1940s) waves of Italian-Canadian settlement. The genesis of the Caboto campaign was inaugurated within Canada's first Italian settlement located in Montreal. The Italian-Canadian population in Montreal rose from 2,000 in 1900 to 21,000 in 1931 (Painchaud, 1988, p. 69). The expansion of Italian Fascism, instigated by Mussolini's rise as Prime Minister of Italy in 1922, contributed to an ongoing commitment to *Italianita.* For Italian-Canadians, the Fascist formula of *valorizzazione Italiani* gave them a basis of credibility from which to assert their historical presence, as discoverer of Canada. The sudden rise of "nostalgic nationalism" was both in line and in response to Canada's immigration quotas and restrictions directly targeted at Italians in the 1920s (Harney, 1991, p. 49). Further, *valorizzazione Italiani* also reflected Fascist ideals of being both revolutionary and traditionalist (Ben-Ghiat, 2004). The elite, be it in Canada or Italy, were equally concerned with the expansion of *civilta italiana* – a tremendously influential

culture that had developed and spread from Italy to Europe between 1000 and 1600. Hence, fifteenth century Venetian explorer, Giovanni Caboto, became a prime candidate to reflect this culture.

Beginning in the mid-1920s, the Montreal Italian-Canadian population sought to erect a statue of Caboto recognizing him, as opposed to Jacques Cartier, as the "discoverer" of Canada. While 1934 marked the fourth centenary of Jacques Cartier's voyage to Canada, this occasion also marked the culmination of the Caboto campaign. The campaign succeeded to the extent that an estimated $10,000 was raised for the erection of a bronze sculpture with a stone pedestal in Caboto's image, which continues to exist at the corner of Atwater and Sainte Catherine (Cusmano, 2010; Salvatore, 1998, p. 23). For the Italian Consular[xx] Giuseppe Brigidi, Caboto was regarded as a means of increasing Italian-Canadians' sense of belonging - albeit artificial - in Canada, by attempting to catalogue an Italian cultural legacy to Canadian settlement, and as explained by Antonio Gualtieri, "It was necessary to encourage English [and French] Canadians to see past the humble material circumstances of most of their new immigrant neighbours to the glorious land of their provenance, and thus gain respect for them" (1991, p. 63).

This concept of respectability and provenance was equally stressed in Claudio Antonelli's (2011) article titled "I mangiatori di "Cicoria" for *Panoram Italia*. Antonelli (2011) narrates how both dandelions and wild chicory were annually harvested by "our little women dressed in black, from wrinkled peasant faces and quick fingers, which, bent on the lawn, they removed dandelions with a knife" for consumption (p. 21). This scene engendered horrified glares by non-Italians, which further fed into the notions of Italians being "ignominious eaters not only of garlic but of "pissenlits" [stems from dandelions]" (Antonelli, 2011, p. 21). Of interest to me was how Antonelli (2011) notes that these black-clad peasants were "no longer

seen like our descendants – worthy or unworthy – of Julius Cesare, Michelangelo, and Caboto, but only of Al Capone" (p. 21). By referencing Al Capone, Antonelli (2011) cites a historical form of peripheralization towards Italians, one linked to theories of criminology and deviancy. The article equally complicates Italian-Canadians presumed incompatibility with their new homeland by suggesting that the present-day community, like pissenlits, have been "rehabilitated" in the eyes of what Antonelli (2011) describes as "enlightened spirits" (p. 21).

Recalling Roth's (2012) concept of racial schemas as a regulatory ideal for how ideas about race are institutionalized and culturalized, the Caboto campaign seems to confirm that legitimization occurs by mirroring the settlement myths of Canada. Further this behaviour, as attested to how the magazines routinely cite Caboto as the forbearer of Canadian-Italian-ness, appears indifferent to critical self-reflection on the origins of this phenomenon. Rather, the founding father paradigm continues to serve, both figuratively and literally, as a cultural emblem within the Italian-Canadian national landscape. Visitors to Canada's Italian spaces will be welcomed by a Caboto park and elderly apartment complex in Toronto, a Caboto shrine, street, and bilingual Academy in Montreal, Caboto parks in Edmonton and Vaughan, a Caboto Club in Windsor, a Caboto Centre in Winnipeg and residential streets designated as Caboto Trail in Markham and Unionville.

Therefore, *Accenti's* coverage of Michael Tibollo's push to have the Cabot Trail *italiacized* further brought citizenship education to the forefront ("Despatches," 2011, p. 7). His argument that the Caboto campaign strives "to bring awareness to the fact that it is an Italian who first came over here" reflects how ethnic and racialized communities in Canada both tacitly and overtly are guided to adopt a standardized heritage ("Despatches," 2011, p. 7). Stated differently, while the *Multicultural Act* advocates for what scholars have termed a "difference-

awareness" approach since "all Canadians should have the right to their culture and heritage, and that the preservation of such culture and heritage should be supported by the state" (Steinen & James, 2013, p. 251); critics of multiculturalism have argued that the Federally-mandated Act promotes a discourse of difference ascribed to individuals considered foreign (Day, 2000; Haque, 2012; Mackey, 2002). And further it pivots ethnic and racialized groups around the settlement myths of either the Francophones or Anglophones, specifically how these two groups continue to deny their own immigrant status (Carafelli, 1999).

In search of the North American Adam(o)

In 1992, historian Robert F. Harney wrote a seminal article titled "Caboto and Other Parentela: The Uses of the Italian-Canadian Past", cautioning Italian-Canadian scholars on the perils of *scopritorismo*, which he defined as "a hunt for the *Italianita* of warriors, priests and explorers of Italian descent serving New France" (p. 41). Accordingly, Harney questioned the appropriateness of engaging in claims of respectability via the Old Stock device by problematizing how the uses of the Italian-Canadian past often, unconsciously or not, conflated ethnicity and biology. These attitudes, Harney suggests, subsume Italian ethnocentricism under the rubric of biology and makes the case that "the noun, blood, despite its allegorical charm, refers to a genetic pool. Its unsophisticated use in our search for the "Adams" of each ethnic group in Canada is not harmless; it accustoms us to think in biological, somatic and racial terms about ethnic history and contemporary ethnicity" (1992, p. 49-50). Essentially, these historical pronouncements present not only a unified and united Italian ethnic front, but also presuppose a physiognomist's argument that "identity was formed on the basis of biology and heredity" (Wong, 2006, p. 55) and therefore, culture and capacity were inseparable. Yet, Anne-Marie Fortier reminds us to question how "cultural practices are reified and naturalized as 'typical

expressions' of an ethnic identity; they are seen as resulting from that identity, rather than performing that identity" (2000, p. 5). In other words, culture is a performance, and habitual expressions of ethnicity are learnt as opposed to being innate (in this case, biological).

Like Harney and Fortier, Pasquale Verdicchio (1998) has been critical of not only *italianita*, but also of Italian-Canadian scholars' ongoing ethnocentric perceptions of Italian-Canadians. To expect a million Italian-Canadians to express and identify the same values, the same historical narratives, the same patterns of national membership despite a diversity of class, education, and paesi (home towns) is unrealistic. As such, the concept of *civilta italiana* or *italianita* attempts to erase paesi-centred migration. Chain migration enabled Italian emigrants in Canada to sponsor family members (Cancian & Ramirez, 2007; Iacovetta, 2004). In other words, Verdicchio calls for Italian-Canadian scholars, and by extension Italian-Canadian magazines, to question such static conceptions since:

> the majority of the work of Italian Canadians is rooted in a misguided nostalgia. Not a re-envisioning or re-telling of the immigrant experience as lived mostly by our parents and grandparents, which would indeed be a valuable point of reference if historicized and related to the root causes and effects of emigration. . . . We must recognize and emphasize the lives of those who came before us, document and preserve their stories, but we must also delve into the realities that created those individuals and the ones that resulted from their experiences, which, in turn, have gone to create the basis for our own existence as non-immigrant (1998, p. 5).

By supporting the Caboto campaign, the pan-nationalist effectively shunned the historical role of sojourning and the presence of a largely Southern-based derived population, and further entrenched a Western hegemony in regard to Canadian history. While the 1920s marked the

attempts of the Italian-Canadian community to situate itself as a fifteenth century historical player, Italian-Canadian settlement in Canada, as discussed earlier, only really began in the late nineteenth century. Similarly, it was Italian sojourners and post-World War II immigrants who effectively set the framework for the future mass immigration of Italians to Canada. They, not Caboto, established the connections and terrains such as boarding houses, padroni systems and the Little Italies for new migrants, which enabled the transplant of the culture. Lastly, Italy did not exist, as Robert F. Harney (1992) reminds us, as either an ideological or geopolitical entity during the fifteenth century; therefore, where did Giovanni Caboto's own loyalties lie given he sailed on behalf of Henry VII in 1497? Did he regard himself as Italian or Venetian or British? (Harney, 1992, p. 47)

Fascism and its concept of *romanita* and *bonifica*

Returning to my main theoretical argument that Italians have an ambiguous and unresolved relationship to modernity and said unresolved relationship continues to impact the ways it seeks to entrench itself within Whiteness, particularly when confronted with memory-making and the delineation of progress, the following section will address how Fascism in part developed in response to Italy's presumed backwardness. Ruth Ben-Ghiat (2004 & 2006), and to a lesser extent Marla Stone (1999), chronicle the rise of Italian Fascism and have argued that Italy's otherness within Western Europe influenced both Fascist attempts at colonial rule and its desires to impact the Italian diasporic outposts in terms of Italy's past glories.

One of the major challenges facing Italy post-unification was transforming the country into a more competitive and unified nation. Unlike other European nations, Italy remained largely agrarian and had to contend with budget deficits and a substantial national debt inherited by its wars over national unity between 1859 and 1870 (DeGrand, 2000, p. 5). While Benito

Mussolini's rise and consolidation of power are beyond the scope of the thesis, I will primarily address how the construction of the Fascist movement served as a forlorn response to Italy's absenteeism towards modernity and contributed to the genesis of the Caboto campaign within Canada.

Drawing on Emilio Gentile's work (1994) on "The conquest of modernity: From modernist nationalism to Fascism," he identifies how scholars began to study the links between fascism and culture and came to identify the movement in terms of a "modernist fascism" (p. 57). While sociological definitions of modernization generally encapsulate modernistic processes such as "industrialization, scientific discoveries, technological development, urbanization, mass society, globalization of capital, unification of the world" (Gentile, 1994, p. 58), Gentile's starting point is to anchor the political side of modernist culture based on Marshall Berman's definition of modernism involving:

> political ideologies that arose in connection with modernization, ideologies that seek to render human beings capable of mastering the processes of modernization in order not to be overwhelmed by the "vortex of modernity," giving them "the power to change the world that is changing them, to make their own way within the vortex and to make it their own (1994, p. 57).

In order to confront the challenges of modernity and re-envision Italy's place within it, Fascism came to institute "a religion of the nation" (Gentile, 1994, p. 67). Likewise, Ruth Ben-Ghiat's (2006) article "Modernity is Just Over There: Colonialism and Italian National Identity", proposes the very intriguing argument that:

> Since the country's unification in 1870, Italy's position as a bridge between northern Europe and the Mediterranean has stimulated insecurities and utopian thinking in equal measure. Was

> modernity, and geopolitical significance, always just out of reach, in the hands of what Mussolini would later call the 'plutocratic countries', or could modernity, and the hegemonic West which spawned it, be reconfigured in ways that made Italy not only relevant but essential? (…) Italian preoccupations with its status vis-a-vis other European countries shaped Italian colonial discourse as much as local colonial realities: 'over there' – the mythical locus of modernity – referred as much to l'oltremare (overseas, but used to refer to the Italian colonies) as to l'estero (outside national borders, but shorthand for Europe) (p. 380).

The tenets of modernist nationalism, according to Ruth Ben-Ghiat (2004) sought to reconfigure Italy's geopolitical position via the concept of *bonifica*, or reclamation. Italian colonial and national ideas presumably offered to produce a "new type of human being, disciplined and full of national feeling" (Ben-Ghiat, 2004, p. 382). Yet said *bonifica umana* (human reclamation) was fashioned based on Fascist claims of being "the direct inheritor of an imperial Roman civilization" (Gen-Ghiat, 2004, p. 384).

In a related analysis, Marta Stone (1999) teases out how *romanita*, the quality of Romanness, offered a form of historical rootedness for the Fascist regime. Ancient Rome's domination of the Mediterranean was used as a rationale for Fascist conquests of North Africa, as according to Mussolini, these "were only moves to regain lands properly and historically belonging to Italy" (Stone, 1999, p. 207). Further, not only did ancient Rome serve as a historical model and rationale for Fascist propaganda, but it also gave impetus to a racialized component in the idea that "present-day Italians were racial descendants of the Romans" (Stone, 1999, p. 209).

The role of Venice

Whereas imperial Rome served as the central model for a rehabilitated national identity during the twenty years of Fascist dictatorship, Venice's imperial past also helped to galvanize the nation. Venice, under Habsburg rule prior to the Risorgimento era, provided two important means to Italy's unification: The first, according to Laven and Damien (2013) was to augment Fascist ideology by shaping it to include Venice's historical "imperialist ambitions and the experience of empire" (p. 2). The second functioned as a "means of stitching the Venetians into the Italian boot" by championing its past and future prospects given how regional particularisms were resilient, and often felt alienated from, the Liberal era (Laven & Damien, 2013, p. 5).

Venice was once a major imperial power and had dominated the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans (Laven & Damien, 2013). Thus, according to novelist Ippolito Nievo, the ancient Republic of Mark not only sustained *italianita*[xxi] during times of foreign occupation, but Venice also defended and shielded Western culture against its presumed alterity, the Ottomans. Nievo states:

> Liberty and civilisation, behold the ancient characteristics of the Latin people lost in mediaeval Italy, yet preserved always by Venice and defended through an innumerable series of wars, treaties and internal tumults […] the same shield that defended Venetian trade and commercial establishments against the Turks of Constantinople, against the Uskoks of the Don, and against the Barbary Corsairs of Tunis, while at the same time defending the literary, scientific and artistic rebirth of Italy and the whole world. Venice was above all to be celebrated as the shield of Christendom, italianità, and western culture, betrayed by an ungrateful Europe both during its seventeenth-century defence of Crete and on the eve of Campo Formio, for it was to Venice that Europe owed centuries of freedom from the Ottomans (cited in Laven & Damien, 2013, p. 7).

The quote exemplifies the presumed ancient characteristics of Italy that Mussolini was keen on replicating to break free from what Laven and Damien (2013) describe as the "Anglo-French-Jugoslav encirclement" (p. 17-18). The very same encirclement addressed in my literature review that helped to relegate the Italian nation to a peripheral state beginning in the Romantic Era and beyond. Similar to the concept of *romanita*, *venezianita* was another building block in the Fascist arsenal to emphasize Italy's historical expansionism within the national narrative, and how it eventually came to be used to promote Italy's "discovery" of Canada.[xxii]

An interesting touchstone to consider given Giovanni Caboto's Venetian's connections, is whether Fascist ideology would have further incorporated Caboto's voyage as supplementary evidence of *venezianita*. While none of the research encountered has made an explicit link to *venezianita*, Ben-Ghiat (2006) encourages further research on the ways Italian colonialism saw:

> the emergence of large national communities in three continents following decades of mass emigration. This diasporic quality of the Italian nation begs treatments of Italian national identity and Italian colonialism that look beyond linear exchanges between colony and metropole. (…) It cautions us against reflectively relying on theories elaborated with reference to British and French imperialism, and reminds us of the limitations of national paradigms in general for grasping the complexities of colonial histories. (p. 383).

As an aside, Ruth Frankenberg (1993) in *Growing up White: Racism and the Social Geography of Childhood* highlights the long "colonial notion that the cultures of peoples of colour were great only in the past" (p. 78). Again, we are witness to the unresolved status of Italians within Whiteness given how Italy as a contemporary country is routinely presented as ahistorical. Paradoxically, this ahistorical depiction appears to be shared in-group given the role that ancient Rome played in the regeneration of Italy during the Fascist period, and how the

Italianization of Cabot potentially leaves us to question whether anything of significance or substance has happened within the Italian nation in the last 500 years.

The *Italianization* of Cabot and Italian-Canadian historiography

The remaining section of my chapter will focus more generally on how the *Italianization* of Cabot underscores the unresolved nature of modernity upon Italian-Canadian historiography. The social and historical narratives to which we are exposed, to quote Foucault (2006), are "composed of signs" (p. 54). Therefore, the relationship between knowledge and power in terms of a nation's meta-narratives "produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (Foucault, 1995, p. 194). In terms of a nation's genesis, that "ritual of truth" is intimately linked to notions of land ownership and access to resources. And what seems continuously missing from Tibollo's "when you live in a country that is multicultural, one of the things we should be doing is making our historical records accurate" ("Despatches," 2011, p. 7) is any acknowledgement of the subsequent practices of material and cultural genocide that the emergence of the Story of Canada engendered. Instead the magazines routinely treat Italy's fifteenth century navigators as indicative of Italy's former glory. In one example, an article titled "Giovanni da Verrazzano – Explorer of Canada" by Venera Fazio (2009) for *Accenti* argues that explorer "Giovanni da Verrazzano's name belongs on the same marquee as the great navigators Cristoforo Colombo, Giovanni Caboto and Amerigo Vespucci" (par. 1). But like Caboto, Verrazzano's namesake has only been "honoured" in America as "Canadians have all but buried him in the dustbin of history" (Fazio, 2009, par. 2). Yet what would this resurrection imply for Canadian history in general and Italian-Canadian history specifically? In terms of citing any references to Indigeneity, Fazio (2009) notes that the tone of Verrazano's "writing indicates he

had a respectful and non-judgemental attitude towards aboriginals" (2009, par. 10). Yet one of the passages cited in her article proves otherwise:

> On the more northerly section of their voyage, the navigator and his crew encountered aboriginals who were suspicious of Europeans. An incident is described which, in hindsight, is indicative of the racial conflicts in the centuries ahead: "If we wanted to trade with them for some of their things, they would come to the sea shore on some rocks where the breakers were most violent, while we remained in the little boat, and they sent us what they wanted to give on a rope, continually shouting at us not to approach the land… Against their wishes, we penetrated two or three leagues inland with XXV armed men…they shot at us with their bows (Fazio, 2009, par. 10).

What is being described in the above quotation is not indicative of a respectful attitude, but rather highlights the forceful nature of Italian navigators.

While Fazio hints as the coming "racial conflics in the centuries ahead," both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* all but omit any references to Indigeneity in their writings about Canada. Rather, *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia's* editorials on Caboto show how citizenship education within a project of a hyphenated Italian-Canadian identity (as per the pursuits of a Federally-mandated multiculturalism) bears active participation in the paradox of acceptance – in both traversing colonial boundaries and establishing them by claiming to have "discovered" an already inhabited continent. Stated differently, attempts to Italianize a Canadian founding father only fall victim to what Rinaldo Walcott (2003) has so aptly observed:

> [T]he conduct that fashions nations and the ways in which we live them does not operate from the paradigm of "Did you know?" Such a demand always unravels the violent imperatives that have sustained the normative myths of the nation. To insist on the "if you only knew" is

to reside in and inhabit the place of the melancholic, repeatedly listing facts and compulsively requesting admission (p. 20).

Challenging meta-narratives

National cultures are composed of grand narratives or what Stuart Hall would define as *foundational myths*. For that reason, "grand narratives" according to Timothy Stanley are "the stuff of the most widely circulated, 'commonsense' representations. . . . [Which in turn], suppl[y] historical accounts that make it seem both normal and natural that certain things are associated with Canada" (2006, p. 34). However, I argue in accordance with Pasquale Verdicchio that the Italianization of Cabot represents a form of "misguided nostalgia," (1998, p. 5) and hence is, in the words of Anne-Marie Fortier, is "measured in terms of the 'glories' of imperialism" (1998, p. 36).

Essentially, by promulgating misguided nostalgia in the form of editorial initiatives on Caboto, *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* have failed to address the actual meaning of Caboto. Rather the political project of recognizing Caboto as discoverer of Canada coincides with how the terms of membership to Canadian nationalism connote, in particular ways, the concept of "civility" and "Indigeneity" and contributes to a Eurocentric discourse of Canada (Fortier, 1998). Daniel Coleman in *White Civility: The Literary Project of English Canada* describes this phenomenon as motivated by "feelings of belatedness" and goes on to explain how:

> [T]he settler must construct, by a double process of speedy indigenization and accelerated self-civilization, his priority and superiority to latecomers: that is, by representing himself as already indigenous, the settler claims priority over newer immigrants and, by representing himself as already civilized, he claims superiority to Aboriginals and other non-whites (2006, p. 16).

How groups go about creating or reinvigorating cultural heritage, particularly via the politics of history, is not without consequence. The making of Italian-Canadian traditions and claims to a historically elevated pedigree do not operate outside the role race has played in the creation of North America; rather, it reflects, and in turn, supports settler colonialism on a society-wide level. Recalling Foucault's (2006) "discursive formation" or "epistemes," Italian-Canadian history ought to be considered within an understanding that discourse not only determines the boundaries of knowledge, but that historical content is produced within larger anthropological frameworks. Stated differently, this chapter aimed to highlight how the Italianization of John Cabot was not a benign representation of trying to "one-up" the founding father paradigm in Canada. Rather, the campaign relied on complex historical origins of Italy's othering and how such genealogical insights (i.e. Fascism, Italy's subaltern status) continue to be re-produced within contemporary discussions of Italian-ness within Canada.

Modernity and the heritage industry

What I wish to end with is, just as Italy's unresolved status (or encounter) with modernity suggests that characteristics established in earlier representations of the Mediterranean peninsula continue to haunt and inform the ways we in North America understand and construct Italian-ness, so too does our encounter with modernity frame our understanding of history. Indeed, many scholars – most notably Victor Roudometof (2007) have documented the ways memory and heritage are products of modernity's terminological standardization. For Roudometof, then, what becomes crucial is a consideration of how "modern societies have caused the democratization of heritage – by redefining it as national heritage" (2007, p. 4). He makes an explicit link between modernity and the heritage industry by pointing out how:

> Heritage preservation provides the concrete means for maintaining a society's real or more often alleged traditions. In this sense, concern with cultural descent or the inheritance of tradition is a problem that is borne out of modernity itself. For contrary to classical modernization perspectives, the category of tradition is a product of modernity, and its "invention" is an effect of modernization (Roudometof, 2007, p. 5).

Specifically, in relation to the Caboto campaign, Roudometof purports how the use of sites or relics is a "process [that] is inherently political, for different constituencies employ their claims to the past as a means for fostering claims to the present" (2007, p. 6).

While there is some continuity between Roudometof's scholarship and that of Carole Symes (2011), she questions the ways history silences the past while claiming to represent it. In her astute article titled "When we Talk About Modernity", she poses the intriguing question "What if our alleged ancestors were to reclaim their heritage? What if peoples of the past were to reject the "civilizing mission" of modernity and insist on the sovereignty of their indigenous culture. What if they could speak for themselves?" (2011, p. 716) Stated differently, the superstructure of periodization, drawing on the words of Dutch anthropologist Johannes Fabian, result in a "denial of coevalness" (1983, p. 25). Fabian, like Symes, does not believe in the ongoing assumptions or hypothesized stages of evolutionary development, but rather space and time are shared.

Undoubtedly, it is important to recognize the need for historical redress in light of systemic erasure, but I would also argue that such editorial interventions ought to also remain cognizant of the potential ways these narratives may become complicit in creating or sustaining problematic stories of Canada's beginnings. As has been shown, the Italian-Canadian presence is a relatively recent phenomenon in Canada – a history marked mostly by a Southern-based post

World War II population. Therefore, what is gained by capitulating our largely contemporary presence under the rubric of a meta-settler narrative? And what is unwittingly conveyed to Italian-Canadians when they are publicly encouraged to venerate a fifteenth century explorer? Perhaps Italian-Canadian studies specifically, and Canadian historiography in general, would be better served by what Symes calls for: a "more radical, more holistic view of human history will reveal deep continuities among all human actions and outlooks, constituting a normative yardstick against which all claims to "modernity" can be measured—and not the other way around" (2011, p. 725).

Chapter 5 – Uprooted: Italian-Canadian Internment and the Politics of Redress

On February 16, 1941, Leo Mascioli, a successful construction business owner and hotelier from Timmins, Ontario sent a letter, as described in an *Accenti* article co-written by his granddaughter, to his son detailing his and his brother Antonio's internment in Petawawa, Ontario. He writes:

> Eight months have been hard and long to endure. You know what this means, to find ourselves in this situation – all the while knowing we have done nothing wrong in this country. I'm not sorry, but God have mercy on them. What the heck are they accusing us of? All the good deeds we have done – have they been completely forgotten? ….Here, we are all fine except for the terrible monotony that gets on your nerves and is insufferable at times. With time we will forget about it. Hello to our friends, if there are any left….. (Mascioli & De Gasperi, 2012, p. 26).

Mascioli, like hundreds of other Italian-Canadians, was deemed an enemy alien when Mussolini declared war on France and England by joining the Axis side in 1940. Canada's enemy aliens, be they Japanese, German or Italian, witnessed the suspension of their civil liberties and a growing climate of distrust and suspicion towards their allegiances and actions. How could a community that valiantly fought as Canadian soldiers during World War I be now regarded as a national security threat? (Sturino, 1999) The primary answer to this question lies within Italy's inter-war period. This long tradition of viewing Italy as *other* within Western Europe culminated in a Fascist attempt to – at long-last – achieve modernity by way of colonial rule[xxiii] and by striving to positively impact the self-worth of Italian diasporic outposts.[xxiv] Italy's Fascist political pursuits during the inter-war period, and the central underlying justifications for it, gave way to a historical injustice towards the Italian-Canadian community. Thus, this chapter aims to

fulfil three main objectives in light of my central theoretical argument that Italians have an ambiguous and unresolved relationship to modernity and said unresolved relationship continues to impact the ways it seeks to entrench itself within Whiteness. Firstly, it offers insights into both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia*'s coverage of Italian-Canadian internment and the reasoning behind the magazine's articles of this historical chapter in Italian-Canadian history. Secondly, the chapter provides a historical analysis of Fascism as a contribution to our understanding of the ways Italy attempted to resolve its relationship to modernity via Fascist political policies and pursuits and the disastrous consequences these policies had on Italy's diasporic outposts. Thirdly, it notes how the magazine's coverage of internment and redress unwittingly propagates a heritage redress industry overtly invested in neo-liberalism while simultaneously reliant on an uncritical hard-working immigrant trope.

Italian-Canadian internment

Starting in 2010, *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* began dedicating many editorials and articles highlighting how the community was derailed by internalized and externalized suspicion, hardship, and heartbreak due to Italian-Canadian internment. The internment coverage by both magazines centered around two dozen articles depicting first-person accounts, family recollections, and historical editorials. The reasoning for this upsurge is owed in part to two events: 1) the 70th anniversary of the internment of Italian-Canadians and 2) the role and impact of the Community Historical Recognition Program (CHRP) initiatives upon Italian-Canadian redress, whereas the magazines report on the results of the CHRP funding.

Broadly speaking, the term fifth column has often been applied to "minorities with immigrant origins in countries at war or in serious conflict with Canada [as they] can become suspect" (Mass & Weinfeld, 2010, p. 16). Canadian history has shown a willingness on the part

of the Federal government to restrict civil liberties on the basis of a perceived national threat or emergency (Dhamoon & Abu-Laban, 2009; Iacovetta & Perin, 2000; Miki, 2004). During the First World War, Canada legislated the Emergencies Act, which suspended habeas corpus (Iacovetta & Perin, 2000). Ukrainian-Canadians as former subjects of the Austro-Hungarian empire were perceived, however speculatively, as a national security threat. Approximately 5,000 were interned in camps and made to perform unpaid labour. Their valuables were confiscated and during the election campaign of 1917 they were disenfranchised (Matt, 2006, p. 226). At the outbreak of World War II, the War Measures Act (amended from the Emergencies Act) was re-invoked. Under this act, the Liberals expanded the category of enemy aliens via the Defence of Canada regulations issued in 1939. Enemy aliens came to include "all nationals of belligerent states naturalized after 1922" (Iacovetta & Perin, 2000, p.4; Ranforth, 2011). Approximately 82,000 people came to be classified as enemy aliens, which included 31,000 people of Italian descent (Ranforth, 2011, p. 384). Beginning with Italy's entrance to the war on June 10, 1940, the Italian-Canadian community saw an increase in the denial of their civil liberties as "several hundred men were placed in receiving stations where they awaited transport to the two internment camps already established for the Germans" (Massa & Weinfeld, 2010, p. 18).

Italian-Canadians declared as enemy aliens lasted approximately three years and many of those interned in Petawawa, Ontario or Gagetown, New Brunswick were members of the Dopo Lavoro, Casa d'Italia, the Sons of Italy and the Fascio (Mirolla, 2011). For the remaining 31,000 people of Italian descent classified as enemy aliens, approximately 17,000 were finger-printed and photographed for police records and others had their properties seized and their bank accounts frozen (James, 2008, p. 141; Mirolla, 2011, p. 16; Radforth, 2011, p. 384). Although

ultimate figures vary regarding the scale and scope of Italian-Canadian internment, according to Ian Radforth (2011) there were approximately 700 Italian-Canadians who were interned, and as proposed by Matt James (2008), this amounted to roughly one percent of the Italian-Canadian population (p. 142). Moreover, "internees were held for periods ranging up to three years, with the average length of incarceration being 15.8 months. All internees were men between sixteen and seventy years of age, and 87 per cent of them were Canadian citizens. They came from all walks of life" (Ranforth, 2011, p. 385).

Magazine coverage of Italian-Canadian internment

To commemorate the 70th anniversary of the internment of Italian-Canadians, *Accenti* dedicated their Fall 2010 (issue 20) cover to "Italian Canadian "Enemy Aliens" Coming to Terms with Canada's Wartime Legacy." The illustrated cover depicts an RCMP officer and military personnel standing next to four interned Italian-Canadians in a backdrop that is presumably Petawawa. For their Winter 2012 magazine (issue 24), *Accenti's* cover issue made note of a "Special Section: Interment Stories." *Panoram Italia's* November 2010 cover issue (volume 5, number 4) featured the "70th Anniversary of the Internment of Italian Canadians." Articles typically featured recollections of past injustices by which members of the Italian-Canadian community or their family members received unjust treatment at the hands of government officials.

An article written by Daniela DiStefano (2012) and appearing in *Panoram Italia* with the title "Tracing the Forgotten History of Italian-Canadian Internment Camps" opens with the following recollection:

> Joan McKinnon remembers the day she came home in tears when a boy from school told her that her grandfather was in jail. It was June 10, 1940, in Timmins, Ontario, and she was in

grade one. McKinnon was unaware that earlier that day in Italy, Benito Mussolini, alongside Adolf Hitler, had declared war on France and England, and therefore on their allies, including Canada. The country that had become home to her grandfather, Leo Mascioli, and her mother, Loretta Mascioli, now considered them enemy aliens to be feared and isolated.

My mother tried to explain that sometimes in war, people become so frightened that they do unreasonable things," says McKinnon, now living in Waterloo, Ontario. "At that moment we didn't know where granddad was, but my mother calmed me down and told me he was innocent and it would all prove to be a mistake." The family soon learned that 64-year-old Leo Mascioli had been arrested and sent to an internment camp in Petawawa, Ontario along with his brother Antonio Mascioli and 600 other Italian-Canadians who were abruptly taken from their homes and places of work by the RCMP.

"We had relatively no contact with him for the year he was interned, and the separation was very hard especially since my father was fighting for Canada overseas, and my mother was left to care for my younger sister and I," says McKinnon, whose mother was born in Cocullo, Italy (p. 45).

Aside from Leo Mascioli's granddaughter's remembrances, Judi Jessen also shared similar stories of economic hardship and the weight of stigmatization cast upon her family. She states:

People in the community were afraid to shop at my grandparents' grocery store in North Bay during those years, and the business suffered," says Judi Jessen, whose grandfather Carmine De Marco was interned at Petawawa for almost two years. "My grandmother would tell me that on a good day they were lucky to bring in $22." After returning home from the camps many Italian-Canadians tried to put the dark experience behind them, but their internment left a lasting mark. "Before the war my grandfather was a prominent figure in the construction

> community, but when he returned friends and business contacts would avoid him on the street," says O'Grady. "There was a lot of shame associated with his internment and it was painful to speak about it" (DiStefano, 2012, p. 45).

Michael Mirolla (2011) in "Enemy Aliens: How Canada Declared War on Its Own Citizens" describes for *Accenti* readers the types of citizens who were commonly interned. Using the language of the era Mirolla (2011) answers the following query:

> So, who were these "slimy, subversive elements," these "enemy aliens and suspects," these "jackals"? Well, there was Antonio Capobianco, an accountant at the National Harbors Board in Montreal. The fact he'd been born in Canada and had a brother in the Canadian army didn't prevent his being hauled away in handcuffs. And Joseph Costantini of Ottawa, owner of the Prescott Hotel. And Dr. Vittorio Sabetta, the only Italian medical man in Sault-Ste-Marie. And Dr. Luigi Pancaro of Sudbury. And James Franceschini, the man whose company had built many of the roads in Ontario. And Luigi Scattalon, a coal miner in Dominion, NS. And shoe repairer Francesco Zaffiro of Hamilton. And Luisa Guagnelli from Niagara Falls, arrested while her son was in the bath and not even allowed to dress him (p. 16).

While the bulk of the Italian-Canadian internees were male, Italian-Canadian women were also subjected to degrading treatment. Daniele Bozzelli (2011) in "Italian-Canadians as Enemy Aliens" recounts Antonietta Maria Ciccarelli's story during an evening at the Columbus Centre to mark the 71st anniversary of the event. Ciccarelli vividly remembered Italy's declaration of war on Canada's allies and in her words:

> I was working at the Post Office when the war was declared at 1:00pm. Within 15 minutes of the announcement I was taken down to the RCMP headquarters. I was to report back to the

RCMP headquarters at least once every month for 5 years."[xxv]

When asked why Canadians were suspicious of her and on what reasonable grounds she was detained, she answered, "[B]ased on the grounds that I volunteered at Casa Italia, the current location of the Consulate General of Italy in Toronto. Casa Italia was a meeting point for Italians in Toronto. We would hang out and share stories. It was basically the gathering point of the Italian community, a sort of Little Italy." (…)

(…) Antonietta had endured continued hardships that followed this experience. "After being detained it was hard to find a job anywhere. No one would hire me. Finally, I had to convince a Jewish man to give me a job stitching badges on army uniforms. At first he wouldn't hire me. I told him that he didn't have to pay me if he didn't think I was doing good work. I worked very hard and eventually earned my spot. I didn't give up" (Bozzelli, 2011, p. 26).

What was common amongst many of the articles was the feeling of stigmatization due to their Italian-ness. The articles outline seemingly ordinary lives prior to Mussolini's declaration of war and the fear and bewilderment once their ethnic backgrounds became a liability. Mirolla's (2011) quote appears to uphold the view that the interned members were law-abiding, hard-working, and from all occupational strata's and hence, did not deserve to be treated as "jackals" nor with an air of suspicion. Of interest to me was how the concept of "enemy aliens and suspects" relies on pre-disposed ideas about the nature of migration. Stated differently, that despite how open and welcoming a nation may appear to newcomers, that their allegiance to their homeland can be so easily invoked in times of war. This stance relies on a form of othering against migrants by implicitly suggesting that despite their contributions to their new homes and the relationships they formed to the larger community, that their ethnic or racial backgrounds can seemingly lead to their undoing. McKinnon's recollections of her grandfather's internment

speak to this stance since her own Canadian-born father was fighting on behalf of Canada overseas while her Italian-born grandfather was interned in Petawawa (DiStefano, 2012). Before continuing with my analysis of how the magazine's pursuit of redress inadvertently propagates a heritage redress industry overtly invested in neo-liberalism as per the CHRP funding protocols, for additional context I will outline how Italy's attempt to resolve its relationship to modernity via Fascist political policies contributed to the internment of Italian-Canadians.

The West's initial response to Mussolini

Recalling Ruth Ben-Ghiat's (2006) article on how the rise of Fascism was partly in response to Italy's preoccupations as to whether "modernity, and geopolitical significance, [was] always just out of reach" (p. 380), one could argue that Fascist preoccupations with Italy's historical expansionism within the national narrative (i.e. the adoption of both *romanita* and *venezianita*)[xxvi] resulted in an overreach when it came to the Italian-Canadian community. On the one hand, it provided the impetus to insert fifteenth century Venetian explorer Giovanni Caboto within Canada's meta-narrative settler rubric, but on the other hand it culminated in the internment of Italian-Canadians vis-à-vis Mussolini's growing appetite for territorial expansionism both within and outside of Europe. Stated differently, the very apprehension as to whether Italy could ever truly be modern ran parallel to the political ethos that contributed to the rise of Fascism. Specifically, in relation to modernity, Victor Roudometof (2007) highlights the paradoxical nature on how:

> Modernity is said to cause the erosion of identity, social values, and personal integrity– and this erosion leads to a perceived loss of a heritage and the inevitable nostalgia toward a real

> but most often imagined past. These processes provide the motivation for the "heritage industry" (p. 6).

Yet what remains perplexing during this period is that Italian-ness was the very perceived cause for Italy's elusive reach towards modernity, while at the same time providing the impetus for Mussolini's heritage industry in furthering a homogenized orientation towards Italian-ness, albeit in the form of a regenerated and renewed *uomo nuovo* (new man).

Prior to Mussolini's alignment with Nazi Germany, he was celebrated for attempting to rebuild and modernize Italian infrastructure. Many aqueducts, post offices, roads, schools, piazzas, public edifices and train stations were rebuilt or redesigned during the Fascist era. According to Berezin (1997), national infrastructure contributed to the "proliferation of the fascist public spectacle," which to outsiders finally saw Italy's trains running on time (p. 65, 249). Mussolini was motivated in part to escape the imagination of the Romantic Era (1775-1825) that brandished Italy as a "premodern, sensual, and unreflective (hence, analyst-free) oasis in a dry and frenetic world" while also countering its description of Italy as transitioning "from Europe's museum to its mausoleum" (Luzzi, 2008, p. 1, 54). Italy, during the inter-war years, could boast a carefully orchestrated vibrant public and political life, and a people and country no longer languishing or slumbering in relation to its northern counterparts but awakened to cultural regeneration. This awakening is especially the case when one considers, as written by Roger Griffin, how:

> Whereas the night-time slumber of reason produces only imaginary monsters, the extreme actions that fascism's 'dreamers of the day' were prepared to take in order to realize their fantasies of a new epoch found expression in edifices of stone, technological inventions of steel, and the flesh and minds of would-be 'new men' ready to exact the 'sacrifice' –

especially the sacrifice of the 'other' – demanded by the process of regeneration (2007, p. 4-5).

As previously detailed in Chapter 4, the rise of Fascism gave much needed impetus to expand *Italianita* to include Canada as an Italian discovery by way of the Giovanni Caboto campaign. And even though the Canadian public and institutions were at odds with this historical re-envisioning, they were initially inviting of Mussolini's rise of power and mandate (Iacovetta & Perin, 2000). Massa and Weinfeld (2010) describe how from 1929 to 1940, "alliances were forged between local elites and community centers that had as their underlying purpose, the propagation of the fascist agenda and the cultivation of local support for it" (p. 17). These alliances saw the creation of local branches of the national party and the growing importance of Casa d'Italia's in both Montreal and Toronto. Italian-Canadians throughout the inter-war period were encouraged to seek pride in their homeland (Massa & Weinfeld, 2010). During a banquet in Toronto in 1933, Consul General Luigi Petrucci encouraged Italian migrants to "be good citizens, respecting local laws, loyal to their country of adoption, but ideally united to their country of origin" (Massa & Weinfeld, 2010, p. 17). Massa and Weinfeld (2010) describe such thoughts as predominantly centered on "patriotism, respectability and the building a sense of collective self-worth" (p. 18), and the Canadian government did not disavow such sentiments. Rather Fascism during the inter-war period was seen "as a sign of Italian stability" and Casa d'Italia's were often fraternized by members of Parliament and mayors (Massa & Weinfeld, 2010, p. 17).

The general disinterest in any notions or concerns towards Italian-Canadian dual loyalties only began to surface once Mussolini engaged in a military expansionist campaign into Ethiopia in 1935 (Massa & Weinfeld, 2010, p. 18). The Ethiopian War of 1935-36 saw a division of

responses by Canadian officials towards Fascist expansionism. For English-Canada, Italy was "challeng[ing] Britain's interest in Africa" (Iacovetta & Perin, 2000, p. 9). While for French-Canada, Mussolini's expansionist campaign brought to the forefront "issues of Latinness, Catholicism, anti-Bolshevism, and opposition to English colonialism" (Massa & Weinfeld, 2010, p. 18). However, Canada's regard for Fascism overall began to change when Italy, in a series of laws (i.e. Racial Laws of 1938) and pacts (i.e. the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1937 and the Pact of Steel of 1939), increasingly aligned itself with Nazi Germany (Iacovetta & Perin, 2000). Further, Italy's entrance into the war on the Axis side on June 10, 1940 radically altered the lives of Italy's diasporic outpost in Canada.

The pursuit for redress

Matt James (2006) in his book chapter titled "Do Campaigns for Historical Redress Erode the Canadian Welfare State?" characterizes redress politics as:

> …a difference-conscious focus on group disadvantage, group restitution, and group responsibilities. Activists seek apologies in the name of ethnic communities or indigenous nations, identity ethno-cultural organizations as anticipated recipients of material gestures of restitution or repair, and speak of the duties that perpetrator or beneficiary groups owe to victim communities. For these reasons, actual settlements are likely to include multiculturalist policies (p. 224).

Further, James (2015) defines redress culture as "the overall patterns of governance arising from how a community engages its historical injustices. Grasping a redress culture means grasping the recurring norms and assumptions that govern the community's apportionment of causal and reparative responsibility for historic wrongs" (p. 35-36). One of the most successful redress movements in Canadian history is illustrated in the Japanese-Canadian campaign. Inspired by

the successful precedent for reparations by Japanese-Americans by way of hearings held by the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, CBC aired a 40-minute documentary titled *A Call for Justice* in the Fall of 1982 (Miki, 2004). The documentary highlighted a call for redress and featured a 40-year reunion of Japanese-Canadians who had been uprooted from the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. Aside from a documentary, a pamphlet titled *Redress for Japanese Canadians* was also produced and widely disseminated (Miki, 2004). After years of heightened media coverage, large community forums on redress, and effective lobbying strategies, the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) President Art Miki and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney signed a redress agreement on September 22, 1988. The agreement entailed an official acknowledgement and apology on the part of the government and "$21,000 per living individual who suffered under the wartime policies, $12 million to be administered by the NAJC for social, cultural, and educational promotion of their community or human rights, and $24 million to establish a Canadian Race Relations Foundations" (Hickman & Fukawa, 2012, p. 147). Not only were interned members of the community financially compensated for Canada's wartime policies, but the additional funds administered by the NAJC for social, cultural, and educational promotion has ensured that this chapter in Canadian history is both publically well-known and pedagogically significant. Radforth (2011) highlights these trends further by suggesting, "that the Japanese-Canadian redress campaign succeeded in inscribing its collective memory on to the public record. In Ontario, for instance, beginning in the 1980s those Canadian history textbooks authorized for use in the province's schools almost invariably relate the story of Japanese-Canadian internment and usually in a way consistent with the redress movement's telling of it" (p. 382).

Seeing a chance to finally address Italian-Canadian internment, which for a variety of

reasons that will be outlined below received scant attention and was little known, Italian-Canadian organizations began lobbying the Conservative government in 1988 for a parliamentary apology (Massa & Weinfeld, 2010). Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was informally approached by the Canadian Italian Business and Professional Men's Association (CIBPA), whose president Antonio Capobianco of Montreal was a former wartime internee (Radforth, 2011). Although no formal commitments or promises were made, during this same year, 1988, the national executive in Toronto of the NCIC began to take notice of this little known, yet largely impactful chapter in Italian-Canadian history. Lawyer and president of the Toronto executive branch of the NCIC, Annamarie Castrilli, became immersed in the internment movement following a lecture delivered by Luigi Pennacchio on the topic (Iacovetta & Ventresca, 2000; Radforth, 2011). Prior to the interment campaign, the NCIC was particularly beset by problems of representation and historical cohesion. As earlier addressed, Italian-Canadian immigration to Canada occurred largely in two waves: the sojourner period (circa 1880-1920) and the post-war era (circa 1947-1980). Accordingly, the two groups had little in common due to 1) a lack of historical overlap, which problematized their ability to galvanize the community around a single cause, 2) the largely Toronto membership of the NCIC were postwar migrants, and thus, had no direct connections to family members being interred, and 3) aside from Mario Duliani's first-person account of his internment in Petawawa chronicled in his book titled, *La ville sans femmes* (1945), the internment period was little read, scantly researched, and largely unknown (Iacovetta & Ventresca, 2000; Zucchi, 1988).

Invigorated by the successful internment redress campaign by Japanese-Canadians, and under Castrilli's direction, the NCIC began to build a redress movement by first documenting the history of internment and estimating the financial burden wrongfully cast upon those interned

and their families. The objective was to both shore up social memory of this event within the Italian-Canadian community by engaging in what Matt James (2006) had previously defined as "redress culture," while at the same time pressing for "redress politics" in the form of procuring Federal support (James, 2006; Radforth, 2011). The NCIC brief was titled *A National Shame – The Internment of Italian Canadians* and was presented to the government in Ottawa in January 1990 (Radforth, 2011). Accordingly, by making inroads within Brian Mulroney's government, Radforth (2011) offers a particularly interesting point on the appeal of said movement. His argument, in part, is that "Redress would symbolically affirm both the equality of Italian-Canadians and their national organization's right to a place at the political table in Ottawa. It would serve, as historian Franc Sturino has remarked, 'as a ritual of incorporation" (James 2011, p. 383). The later part will be returned to in greater detail when addressing my second key point of this chapter.

On November 4, 1990, Brian Mulroney[xxvii] offered an official apology during a luncheon cohosted by the NCIC and the CIBPA in Toronto. His apology, consisting of a 5-page memo, contained the following excerpted statements:

> In the 1940s, more than 100,000 people of Italian origin called Canada home. These people…were proud Canadians whose contributions to our country were enormous. Nevertheless…when Canada went to war with Italy, many…were declared to be enemy aliens and were subjected to house searches, surveillance by the police, mandatory registration, employment discrimination and the denial of social services. About 700 were interned in camps…
>
> What happened to many Italian Canadians is deeply offensive to the simple notion of respect for human dignity and the presumption of innocence. The brutal injustice was

> inflicted arbitrarily, not only on individuals suspected of being security risks but also on individuals whose only crime was being of [sic] Italian origin. In fact, many of the arrests were based on membership in Italian Canadian organizations – much like the one represented here today. None of the 700 internees were ever charged with an offence and no judicial proceedings were launched. It was often, in the simplest terms, an act of prejudice – organized and carried out under law, but prejudice nevertheless….
>
> Forty-five years of silence about these wrongs is a shameful part of our history….On behalf of the government and the people of Canada, I offer a full and unqualified apology for the wrongs done to our fellow Canadians of Italian origin during World War II (Excerpts from "Notes for an Address" by Prime Ministry Brian Mulroney to the National Congress of Italian Canadians and the Canadian Italian Business Professional Association cited in Migliore & Dipierro, 1999, p. 121).

Within the literature, there have been two ongoing and unresolved points of contention regarding the Italian-Canadian redress campaign. The first, is the NCIC's attempt to endorse a version of history that treats internment as synonymous with a "war on ethnicity." As shown in Mulroney's apology and equally expressed in both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia's* coverage as will be analyzed further below, the suspension of the internees' civil liberties was the direct result of being of Italian origin. Iacovetta and Vestresca (2000) both question this form of social memory and in their words "wonder what the legacy will be of a redress campaign that drew on selective evidence, ignored competing interpretations, and offered a simplified version of the past" (p. 381). Granted the scope of the thesis is not to debate the merit or justify the War Measures Act's treatment and designation of enemy aliens, rather it seeks to clarify how historical discourse illuminates as much as obfuscates. Stated differently, the internment of

Italian-Canadians was owed largely to Italy's Fascist propaganda and policies during the inter-war period and it is disingenuous to suggest that Fascist activities within Canada did not play a hand in that regard. Citing a Master's thesis by Charles Bailey that was written in the 1930s on the Italians of Montreal, support for Fascist ideology stood at "fully ninety per cent" (Iacovetta & Perin 2000, p. 9). Lita-Rose Betcherman in her research on Fascist movements during the Great Depression in Canada made the case that Fascist leader, Adrien Arcand of Quebec, was primarily endorsed and supported by the constituency of Montreal's Italian-Canadian community (Iacovetta & Perin 2000, p. 11). Gabriele Scardaletto's (2000) chapter in Iacovetta and Perin's (2000) edited book chronicling Canada's history of internment has suggested that Mario Duliani, author of *La ville sans femmes,* was a known Fascist. Equally, a number of the internees in camps were photographed wearing a Fascist fez with logo while accompanied by a banner with the Fascist slogan "me ne frego" (I don't give a damn) that was routinely used by Fascist squads in Italy (Scardaletto 2000). And finally, Saul Cantor's (2005) memoir titled *From then to now: Growing up Jewish in Toronto's Little Italy* questions the glossing over of the community's fascist history. Addressing the Italian-Canadian redress campaign, Cantor noted:

> [F]or the past 10-15 years, there has been some rumblings from some Italian-Canadian organizations seeking reparations for the Italians who were interned during the second world war. I cannot find myself being sympathetic with them. Although Japanese-Canadians who were interned were given some reparation, there was no evidence of any organized Japanese-Canadian support for Japan before or during the war. It was very different on Bellwood Ave. I can recall a warm Sunday morning in the summer of 1938. I could hear a band playing. Leading a parade, going south on our street was a marching band consisting of drums and trumpets, belting out Mussolini's national anthem. Marching behind the band, in black jack-

> boots, black breeches and black shirts with Sam Brown belts were row on row of marchers. Their feather plumes in their hats beat time with their goose step. At the top of their voices you could hear "Giovannezia, Giovannezia". As they reached Dundas St. they turned west to Grace St. and then north to St. Agnes church community hall, which was just behind our house. There, all day long, we could hear them singing their fascist songs. We few Jewish families were enraged but helpless. I am sure there had to be plain clothes RCMP personnel around taking pictures because when Italy entered the war, some of these guys that we recognized in the parade suddenly disappeared, especially Johnny Ricci's older brother Melacar. We knew he was a marcher and later we found out that he sat out the war in an internment camp. Did those who participated in the parade deserve reparations? (Cantor 2005, p. 57-58).

What Iacovetta and Perin (2000), Scardaletto (2000) and Cantor's (2005) research reveals is a much more complicated and nuanced history concerning Italian-Canadian internment.

While other scholars offer a more robust study on the historical twists and turns of the internment redress campaign, the remaining focus of my chapter will concentrate on the discourses surrounding social memory and the political and media institutions that purport to embrace redress culture on the one hand, while limiting a more expansive and anti-racist agenda on the other. In Stuart Hall's (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, he notes that "the concept of discourse is not about whether things exist but about where meaning comes from" (p. 45). Similarly, Foucault (2006) in the *Archaeology of Knowledge*, defines discourse as: "The statement is neither a syntagma, nor a rule of construction, nor a canonic form of succession and permutation; it is that which enables such groups of signs to exist, and enables these rules or forms to become manifest" (p. 100).

Returning to Foucault's notion of epistemes and the representation of knowledge, my discussion in what follows will underscore how 1) the Italian-Canadian internment redress campaign may unwittingly propagate a heritage industry overtly invested in neo-liberalism while, 2) simultaneously reliant on an uncritical hard-working immigrant trope. Stated differently, these two processes – Canada's heritage industry and meritocracy – seem to be mutually constitutive particularly since they both fail to draw enough attention to how "'foreignness' is produced and regulated in historically specific ways with consequences for how 'the nation' is viewed" (Dhamoon & Abu-Laban 2009, p. 163). And as we will further see below, contained within both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia*'s discourses of Italian-Canadian internment is a dialectical production that portrays national historical injustices as an aberration as opposed to a polity in concert with Canadian ideals, seeing that the very notion of Canada's existence demands it (Caouette & Taylor, 2007; Dhamoon & Abu-Ladan, 2009; Schick & St. Denis, 2005).

The role and impact of Community Historical Recognition Program (CHRP) upon Italian-Canadian redress

Despite the fact that Italian-Canadians were not able to garner direct monetary compensation, as will be explained further below, for those who had suffered under wartime policies, community organizations have had, as one example, access to the Federal Government's Community Historical Recognition Program (CHRP). The CHRP provided $25 million in funding between 2008-2013 for instances of historical injustice against immigrant minorities (James, 2015, p. 39). Nevertheless, redress culture was not open to all immigrant minorities nor could funds be approved for certain activities. In Matt James (2015) "Degrees of Freedom in Canada's Culture of Redress" he notes:

The programme established a process through which voluntary groups could apply for federal

> support to do commemorative, artistic, or educational work on a range of specifically identified injustices. Funding decisions were made by government-appointed boards, composed of members from the community linked to the relevant injustice, but chosen with a careful eye to upholding government messaging and priorities. Final approval for all CHRP projects rested with Citizenship and Immigration Minister Jason Kenney, the renowned administrative micromanager who spoke at the Wheel of Conscience unveiling. The CHRP Applicant's Guide named the following eligible wrongs: the internment of Eastern Europeans, mostly of Ukrainian origin, during the First World War (CAD$10 million in total available funding); the internment of Italian Canadians during the Second World War ($5 million); the 1885–1921 Chinese 'head tax' and subsequent 1921–1947 ban on Chinese immigration ($5 million); the refusal and mistreatment of migrants from India aboard the Komagata Maru in 1914 ($2.5 million); and the 1939 'none is too many' rejection of the M.S. St. Louis ($2.5 million) (p. 39).

CHRP, while open to voluntary groups, set out strict eligibility support for particular types of historic wrongs. Further, even with allocated funds recognizing a number of injustices, these same voluntary groups had to abide by the following programme objectives, which according to James (2015):

> Above all, the CHRP aimed to shape how Canadian wrongdoing is understood and discussed. It followed the quintessentially neoliberal public–private partnership model of using conditional project funding to govern civil-society conduct (Smith 2005). For example, it stipulated which injustices could be recognized and it forbade 'political activities' and 'advocacy' as well. As the CHRP Applicant's Guide (Canada 2010) explained, the programme's 'primary objective' was to 'recognize and/or commemorate the historical

> experiences of [the] ethnocultural communities affected'; its 'secondary objective' was to 'promote the respective contributions of these communities to the shaping of Canada' (p. 39).

At this juncture I want to raise two key points as to why I am choosing to limit my analysis of the Italian-Canadian redress campaign to CHRP given how other Federal grants and programs have equally impacted Italian-Canadian projects of historical narrative revision. Firstly, many of the other projects, be they arts-based (i.e. the National Film Board's 1997 film titled *Barbed Wires and Mandolins*), public hearings (held in Montreal and Toronto), publications, or renewed legislative bills seeking an official apology in the House of Commons (i.e. Bill C-302 by way of Liberal MP for Saint-Leonard Massimo Pacetti) fall outside of the magazine's content analysis timeline (2002-2012). Secondly, many of the articles and editorials published in *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* report on the results of the CHRP funding.

For the Italian-Canadian redress campaign, the CHRP projects resulted in an exhibition, website, and publication. The CHRP funded exhibition titled *Italian Canadians as Enemy Aliens*, which is on permanent display at Toronto's Columbus Centre, resulted in a:

> 16-page brochure, 16-page exhibition guide, teacher's guide, and website was produced by a Centre team. The exhibit includes an interactive multimedia station featuring footage of the internment camps and interviews, a 'feedback area' for visitors, and a 'memorial wall' remembering the internees. It draws on a collection of more than 800 photos and 86 interviews, all available on the website (James, 2015, p. 40).

Additionally, the CHRP funded the publication in March 2012 of two companion volumes of essays undertaken by the Association of Italian Canadian Writers (AICW), *Accenti* Magazine and Guernica Editions titled *Behind Barbed Wire: Creative Works on the Internment of Italian Canadians* and *Beyond Barbed Wire: Essays on the Internment of Italian Canadians* (co-

publication with the Columbus Centre) (Zucchero, 2011, p. 10).

Magazine coverage on Canada's goodness and innocence

It light of CHRP's primary objective to "commemorate the historical experiences of [the] ethnocultural communities affected," (James, 2015, p. 39) Pasquale L. Iacobacci (2010) in an article appearing in *Accenti* with the title "Italian Canadian 'enemy aliens' Coming to terms with Canada's wartime legacy" remarks:

> Though today Canada has a stellar reputation as a champion of tolerance and human rights, the Canadian government has not yet come to terms with its internment of Italian-Canadians. It has not yet officially recognized the suffering it caused individuals and families who were stripped of their property as well as their rights and privileges as citizens – and their honour and dignity as human beings. So that our children may continue to carry with them pride for our country. It is out moral obligation to preserve for them the stories, no matter how painful and disturbing, that recount the difficulties endured by their forefathers in their journey to become proud Canadians (p. 13).

From Iacobacci's (2010) perspective, he simultaneously presents a paradoxical reading of present-day Canada. He cites a routine regard of modern-day Canada as a beacon of tolerance and a champion of human rights while also reminding the reader that modern-day Canadian governments have regularly denied full compensatory recognition for those interned. But rather than begrudge the point, he calls attention to the importance of memorializing this chapter in Canadian history as per the mandate of CHRP.

Daniela DiStefano (2012) in "Tracing the forgotten history of Italian-Canadian internment camps" for *Panoram Italia* shares a comparable interpretation of Canada *the tolerant*. In her words:

> Though today Canada has become a country of tolerance and multiculturalism, these events profoundly affected the Italian-Canadian community. By remembering and recording these stories, the Enemy Aliens: Memories of World War II project aims to help the next generation recount how the community persevered (DiStefano, 2012, p. 45).

And Amanda Fulginiti (2010-2011), equally for *Panoram Italia*, proposes a similar interpretation of Canada's presumably illustrious human rights record when she conveys the following sentiment:

> When Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King declared war on Mussolini on June 10, 1940, 619 Italian-Canadians were quickly rounded up by RCMP officers and sent to camps around Canada. The rights of 606 Italian men and 13 women were suspended on that day, often to perform hard labour. While it may seem like fiction, since by world standards Canada is a country that respects and protects its citizens' human rights, that day will forever mark a real and dark chapter in Canadian history (Fulginiti, 2010-2011, p. 57).

What Iacobacci (2010), DiStefano (2012), and Fulginiti's (2010-2011) coverage of Italian-Canadian internment advances is aligned with one of the key theoretical problems laid out by James (2015): basic justice of contemporary relations.

In Rita Dhamoon and Yasmeen Abu-Laban's (2009) "Dangerous (Internal) Foreigners and Nation-Building: the Case of Canada," they present a theoretical framework highlighting the relationship between discourses of security, race/racialization, and foreignness when addressing three instances of historical injustices involving Japanese-Canadian internment, the Front de liberation du Québec crisis, and the Kanehsatake/Oka crisis. Accordingly, they note how "processes of Othering and processes of nation-building (or what they refer to as re-nationalization) are, in some instances at least, mutually constitutive" (Dhamoon & Abu-Laban,

2009, p. 165). Their overall findings aim to show that "membership in terms of not only rights (citizenship) but also belonging (in the nation-state)" are not static or strictly contained in the past (Dhamoon & Abu-Laban, 2009, p. 165). Rather they represent, according to Dhamoon & Abu-Laban (2009), common patterns by which Canada as a nation attempts to regulate its identity vis-a-vis a security apparatus. Hence, foreignness ought to be understood as a floating signifier given how "discourses of foreignness produce images of the founder, immigrant, and citizen, whether these are positive and negative, or privileging and penalizing images" (Dhamoon & Abu-Laban, 2009, p. 166). These aforementioned linkages – security, racialization, and foreignness – also serve neoliberalism. What CHRP and its focus on "heritage redress"[xxviii] attempts to do is obfuscate how the discursive work of nation-building relies on a continuum, that of the internal dangerous foreigner. By restricting the ways ethnocultural communities respond to instances of historical injustices, the CHRP's objectives result in a:

> [H]eritage redress [that] appears to be an instance of multiculturalism in the service of neoliberalism. But what makes it useful in this role is precisely its capacity to undermine social-movement multiculturalism. Heritage redress aims to marginalize activist priorities by replacing serious negotiations over the dominant society's contemporary reparative responsibilities with scattered depoliticized acts of national 'commemoration' instead. This Machiavellian tactic exemplifies the neoliberal drive to depose social-movement organizations from their former status as accepted state interlocutors (James, 2006, p. 7).

Magazine coverage on Canada's meritocracy

In terms of aligning with CHRP's secondary objective to "promote the respective contributions of these communities to the shaping of Canada" (James 2015, p. 39), the magazines appear to concurrently present a rather uniform embrace of the standard European

mobility model on the one hand, while resisting or subverting CHRP's programme restrictions on the other. I will first address the former. When accessing the CHRP sponsored official website and digital archive titled "Italian Canadians as Enemy Aliens," online visitors are welcomed by the following narrative:

> We were the Enemy
>
> Today, Italian Canadians are a successful group. They are businessmen, skilled professionals and innovators in every field. Famous athletes, politicians and others are easily recognized. Not long ago, the loyalties of Italian Canadians were questioned. During World War II, they were considered to be fascist sympathizers and potential terrorists. Italian Canadians were put under surveillance, and 31,000 were designated as **enemy aliens**. Of these, about 600 were taken from their families and held in prisons and remote camps. This is also part of the Italian Canadian story (source: http://www.italiancanadianww2.ca/villa/home)

Correspondingly, a number of *Accenti* articles equally ascribe to the class ascent meritocracy trope when addressing the contemporary Italian-Canadian community. In Jim Zucchero's (2011) "When mass hysteria leads to injustice" he states "It is often mentioned that Italian immigrants were largely responsible for "building Canada" – quite literally. Road works, subways, houses and factories across this country bear the marks of many Italian labourers" (p. 14). Sharing a similar outlook to Zucchero (2011), Darlene Madott (2012) in her article titled "Horses" recalls how during her father's hospitalization, this former Regiment officer during World War II "began planning his last work – two horses in pen and ink. The concept is that Italians were the "work horses" of the nation, building the Canada we know today. The ultimate betrayal is that their obedience be rewarded with internment" (p. 27). These two examples published in *Accenti* exemplify a form incredulity at the unjust treatment of Italian-Canadians precisely because of

their presumed work ethic within Canada. The inherent suggestion within these texts is that hard-work and obedience, as per the standard boot-strap message of social upward mobility, is supposed to serve as a safeguard against governmental overreach.

The meritocratic notion of good citizenry was equally stressed in an article written by Michael Mirolla (2011) for *Accenti*. When discussing the eventual translation of Marcel Duliani's book and how it languished in obscurity, Mirolla (2011) in "Enemy Aliens: How Canada Declared War on its own Citizens" notes: "After all, didn't it take 50 years for the government of Canada to recognize that a great wrong had been done to some of its most ardent citizens?" (p. 21) Again and owing to being Canada's "most ardent citizens," the recognition of past transgressions should not have taken decades to resolve for Italian-Canadians. The hidden suggestion, intended or not, is that government perpetuated injustices are palatable to non-ardent, non-obedient, and non-hardworking citizens.

Italian-Canadians often portray themselves or are portrayed by others as the model immigrant group; contending that their ethnic cultural traits, and hence racialized traits, predispose them to hard-work and success. Franca Iacovetta's *Such Hard-working People: Italian Immigrants in Post-war Toronto* (2004) states that "*siamo lavoratori forte"* ("we are such hardworking people") is a refrain:

> The Canadian-born children of the post-war immigrants who left the rural towns and villages of southern Italy for a better future here – have heard their parents describe themselves as hardworking people. . . . The late 1940s, the 1950s, and early 1960s were a time when, as this book documents, our parents, as newcomers to this land, performed the dangerous or low-paying jobs that others shunned, spoke little English, and sometimes found themselves the victims of abuse. At the same time, they proved immensely resourceful, exhibiting a

> tremendous capacity for hard work and a talent for enjoying life, and each other's company, even in adversity (p. x).

What this mobility model provides is a frame of reference – an image and a performance – of an honest, hardworking Italian immigrant worker. Equally, as proposed by Iacovetta, the hardworking immigrant narrative elicits both defence and sympathy for the often back-breaking work Italian workers had to endure within a city's lower rungs of the occupational ladder, and this model further fosters the status of nationbuilders among Italian-Canadians (2004, p. 76). The European mobility model attempts to present an ethnocentric understanding of Italian culture, while also claiming status within a pan-European ideal, and ongoing investments in the family and its relation to migration as an institutional site. Anthropologist Micaela di Leonardo (1998) identifies and critiques the ways minoritized groups narrate their social upward mobility via what she terms an "ethnic report card" (p. 94). The "ethnic report card mentality," writes di Leonardo (1998), attempts to explicate group success via "proper and improper ethnic/racial family and economic behaviour rather than by the differential incorporation of immigrant and resident populations in American capitalism's evolving class structure (p. 94). Di Sciascio-Andrews (2008) perfectly reflects this paradigm when she states that "they brought with them a hard-work ethic and family values that were essential to their survival in Italy, and because of this, many of them achieved their dreams [in Canada]" (p. 15). In other words, the standard narrative that portrays European groups as hard-working people who arrived here with nothing is offered as proof of the openness of Canada which all other groups are judged against. And it is equally used to highlight the erroneous behaviour of the Canadian government to have interned such upstanding, or in Mirolla's (2011) words, "ardent citizens".

What I wish to emphasize in my study is, just as history is a racialized project, so too is the standard European mobility model. Such a concept relies almost exclusively on the concept of meritocracy and reinforces a belief in the cherished ideals of Canada as both free and egalitarian. The dependence on meritocracy, as a primary reason for Italian-Canadian success and integration, reinforces an ideology that their eventual privileged status is rightly deserved. Yet, Italians access to work (even back-breaking work) highlights privilege of opportunity that was over all restrictive in distribution.

White ethnic redress

A concern, outlined by historians Iacovetta and Perin (2000) specifically about the Italian-Canadian redress campaign, is the ways the redress campaign leaders "were guided by a simplified version of events," namely a war on Italian ethnicity (p. 6). And while Iacovetta and Perin are correct in asserting that "Italians certainly encountered widespread xenophobia in Canada, but we should bear in mind that they were never victims of its worst excesses" (2000, p. 8), I caution the ways they make use of that same history in relation to White ethnic redress. Iacovetta and Perin (2000) in describing the Ukrainian and Italian redress campaigns remarked how these popular movements "reveal a great deal about the therapeutic role that history can play for even established 'white' ethnic communities still harbouring a collective 'inferiority complex' (p. 13). Such a statement, as will be further analysed below, speaks more to critical Whiteness studies that is particularly beset by problems of representation.

It is significant to recall that the aim of this dissertation began as an examination of the ways that constructions of the image of Italian-Canadians in culturally specific magazines served to reveal existing racialized power relations. I was interested in exploring whether print media representations of Italian-Canadian-ness were at odds with the thematic claims discussed in

critical Whiteness studies, which are often synonymous with normativity, invisibility, and a non-ethnic status (Brodkin, 1998; Frankenberg, 1993; Goldberg, 1993; Harris, 1993; Hill, 1997; Kivel, 2011; Wise, 2004). Referring to said ethnic groups as "established 'white' ethnic communities" with the adjective white in quotation marks (or what linguists also refer to as inverted reconstruction), may unwittingly echo an American-centric interpretation of Whiteness, which views the 1970s "rebirth" of White ethnics by critical Whiteness studies scholars solely as an oppositional dialectic (Jacobson, 2006; Moss, 2009). Overall, there appears to be a double-edged sword throughout the ethos of critical Whiteness studies. In other words, if established White North Americans claim a self-identification aligned with a particular ethnicity, their choice is mitigated either through resentment or nostalgia; or in the case of Iacovetta and Perin (2000) a "harbouring a collective 'inferiority complex'" (p. 13). If they do not, White North Americans are acquiescing to a site of hegemonic privilege, which inevitably associates their bodies solely to a Northern Americanization process (Frankenberg, 1993). Again, and to be clear, what troubles me is not necessarily the symbolic nature of Whiteness, but rather what the discursive language of symbolic Whiteness stands for, the often blanketing and essentialist stance in which the discourse situates itself.

Just as Jennifer DeVere Brody asserts that "the hyphen performs – it is never neutral or natural," (cited in Jacobson, 2006, p. 22) so too does history as elucidated by Iacovetta and Perin (2000), and so too do discourses involving security, racialization, foreignness and nationhood. Therefore, a prime question in the quest for redress for Canadian historic wrongs is to investigate the possible ways redress for White ethnic Canadians may or may not be dissimilar to their American counterparts. Returning to Dhamoon and Abu-Laban's (2009) research on the relationship between discourses of security, race/racialization, and foreignness when addressing

three instances of historical injustices, they propose the very intriguing and astute argument that the:

> [P]rocesses of Othering and nation-building do not permanently banish all internal foreigners, for some are necessary in (re)imagining the nation. Accordingly, not all internal foreigners are simply dismissed or ignored (even if they continue to be inferiorized, criminalized, and discriminated); instead they are "managed" by the state because their presence also facilitated nation-building. In Canada's case, the welcomed newcomer or model immigrant is necessary to build the myth of a *multicultural nation*, even though racism continues to privilege subjects marked as white, western, European, and male; the French-Canadian signifies a *bilingual nation* even while practices of dominance continue; and the Indigenous subject serves as the marker of a *post-colonial nation* despite ongoing white supremacy and colonialism (Dhamoon & Abu-Laban, 2009, p. 178-179).

Just as Mulroney's apologies to both interned Japanese and Italian-Canadians reflects James' (2015) basic justice of the past;[xxix] we ought not to be too quick to manage within our scholarship a presumed undifferentiated and uncomplicated White ethnic referent in terms of redress for historical injustices. Stated differently, if the redress campaigns for established 'white' ethnic communities reveal the therapeutic role of history and the continued harbouring of a collective inferiority complex, should those instances not give us pause on the general tenets of critical Whiteness studies? I posit the need to temper an assembly-line response to White acculturation too often stipulated within critical Whiteness studies. In other words, this taken-for-granted approach that treats White ethnics as groups that came to North America and managed to shed their racial in-betweenness precisely by adhering to the interests of the nation (Brodkin, 1998; Jacobson, 1998; Roediger, 2005). Yet, it is this very presumed White pattern of integration (i.e.

from contact to accommodation), that I continue to question in light of Italy's unresolved place within modernity. Without such nuancing, are we not in danger of privileging certain instances of historic wrongs over others and further entrenching the way "CHRP projects wind up functioning as a kind of rebuke, implying: 'Earlier immigrant cohorts suffered torments that could never happen today and yet they still came out on top – so what's your problem?'" (James, 2015, p. 369).

Blue-collar resistance to CHRP objectives

While White ethnic Canadian social upward mobility ought to be further researched and investigated, in terms of the redress campaign its programming uses are not as straight-forward as the literature purports nor what CHRP desired. Even though volunteer groups who sought Federal funding had to align with CHRP's secondary objective to "promote the respective contributions of these communities to the shaping of Canada' (James 2015, p. 39), Italian-Canadian groups both placated and subverted said stipulation. Returning to Franc Sturino's concept on the "ritual of incorporation" (cited in Radforth, 2011, p. 383), one of the appeals of the redress campaign was how it "symbolically affirm[ed] both the equality of Italian Canadians and their national organization's right to a place at the political table in Ottawa" (2011, p. 383). Stated differently, both NCIC and CIBPA's calls for reparations simultaneously offered the Italian-Canadian community a national voice to address a historic wrong while calling out contemporary discourses of group alienation and xenophobia. Despite CHRP's imposed programme limitations, the Italian-Canadian exhibit, according to James (2015), "strikes a more blue-collar tone" by concurrently noting:

> [S]ubsequent Canadian internments: communists in the 1950s; Quebec separatists during the 1970 FLQ crisis; suspected Arab or Muslim terrorists in the wake of the 9/11 attacks; and

> anti-neoliberal protestors at the 2010 G20 summit in Toronto. Testing the limits of the CHRP prohibition on 'political activities' and 'advocacy', the panel concludes: 'Canada has a history of interning populations it considers a threat to public safety . . . . Holding views in favour of fascism, communism, or religious fundamentalism is not specific to certain communities; nor does this necessarily make a person or group of people a security risk.' There is no comparable message in the other CHRP works examined here (p. 43).[xxx]

The Italian-Canadian exhibit seems to be unique in the presentation of a more expansive and intersectional appeal, and *Accenti and Panoram Italia's* coverage of the redress campaign, as will be shown below, offered similar cautionary tales on the harmful effects of stereotypes and the mistreatment of others, particularly involving Western government's behavior toward Muslims and Arabs.

Returning to Jim Zucchero's "When Mass Hysteria Leads to Injustice" (2011), even though he aligns with CHRP's emphasis on Italian-Canadian contributions, his article also offers a cautionary note on the consequences of a post 9/11 world. He describes how "Recent cases like those of Maher Arar, Omar Khadr and the "Toronto 18" are stark reminders that the balance between providing security for the masses and maintaining the rights of individuals is, indeed, a delicate one" (p. 14) and:

> The project being undertaken by various Italian cultural groups across the country as part of the CHRP program are an opportunity to reflect, re-examine, and re-interpret past events in an effort to better understand them. Ultimately, we are being invited to share our new understanding with others who might face similar challenges to those endured by Italians in Canada in the 1940s – around issues of ethnicity and belonging, and around how to become agents of positive change in contemporary Canadian society. This can be another important

> marker in writing the history of Italians, and those of Italian heritage, in Canada (Zucchero, 2011, p. 14).

Of interest to me was how Zucchero (2011) makes mention of ethnicity and belonging. That for present-day peripheral groups, the suggestion is that the Italian-Canadian community will remain vocal and vigilant in terms of governmental abuse. This perspective was equally present in *Panoram Italia's* coverage of former internee and prominent industrialist and owner of Dufferin Construction and Dufferin Shipbuilding Companies, James Franceschini, Michael Harrison (2011-2012) reflects on the symbolic nature of his Myrtle Villa Estate. Harrison (2011-2012) makes the case that:

> The wonderful thing about this estate is the story that it tells, of which the most important is that of personal freedoms and human rights. I cannot think of a better "teachable moment" than for people to be able to stand in front of the Franceschini mansion and reflect on the fact that even a man who had obtained such wealth could be arbitrarily denied his human rights, be jailed and have his property seized for no other reason than being Italian. If it could happen to him it could happen to anyone unless we are vigilant about our personal freedoms and the consequences of prejudice. Protecting and preserving the Franceschini estate as part of the redevelopment of the property would ensure that that important story is never forgotten (p. 12).

Michael Mirolla (2011) in "Enemy Aliens: How Canada Declared war on its own Citizens" not only questions why it took 50 years for the government to recognize a "great wrong," but also chastises a lack of civic reflection pertaining to contemporary manifestations of fifth-column scare tactics. Mirolla (2011) argues that the lesson from Italian-Canadian internment is one of "Never again must answering "yes" to "Are you Italian (or Somali or Pakistani or Iraqi)?" lead to

the summary denial of the rights of citizenship in this country. The price to pay for capturing a few potential subversives is just too great" (p. 21).

Domenic Cusmano (2012) in an article for *Accenti* titled "Italians as Victims" similarly addresses the CHRP program and the surrounding issues of "coming to terms with this disturbing episode" (p. 34). He like Mirolla (2011), Zucchero (2011), and Harrison (2011-2012) notes how:

> Like all victims of bullies and abusers, Italians in Canada *must* move on, of course. But they will not forget, nor will they stop talking about the fact that they too were victims – if only as a reminder to others to be on their guard (Cusmano, 2012, p. 34).

Irrespective of the CHRP's two main programme objectives (i.e. "recognize and/or commemorate the historical experience of [the] ethnocultural communities affected" and "promote the respective contributions of these communities to the shaping of Canada" (James 2015, p. 39), the published content of both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* concerning Italian-Canadian internment, were "far from being complicit, most Canadian redress movement strongly resisted it" (James, 2006, p. 233).

In summary, the internment of hundreds of Italian-Canadians and the suspension of the civil liberties for thousands of others, ought to serve as a cautionary tale involving governmental overreach in times of perceived national threat. That being said, the discourses employed by victimized groups in their attempt to collect reparations are neither without consequences nor potential problems. As James (2006 & 2015), Radforth (2011), Cantor (2006), and Iacovetta and Perin (2000) have shown, the vestiges of history can easily be abused, simplified, and commoditized. Yet our criticism of said approaches ought to also engender a more nuanced and expansive understanding on the discursive reasoning behind said strategies and pursuits. Returning to Massa and Weinfeld's (2010) "We Needed to Prove We Were Good Canadians:

Contrasting Paradigms for Suspect Minorities", they remarked how the Italian-Canadian community:

> [S]trove to once again prove their goal was "good and responsible citizenship" (…). This zeal was displayed through projects like community centers and other institutions. One man actively involved in the construction of Villa Colombo, an Old Age home for elderly Italians, stated bluntly: 'I felt we needed to prove we were good and hardworking Canadians, but of Italian extraction. What better way to do it than to show some sort of civic responsibility, taking care of your own, building an old age home. Sure some of us were poor, but we worked hard and did well. It was time to give back' (…). A general discourse emphasized "giving back to Canada," and aimed to demonstrate or prove to Canadians at large that Italians were a loyal, responsible and united community (…). The loyalty of Canadian-Italians during World War Two and Italy's emergence as an ally within NATO, did much to erase the stigma of fascism from the community and to increase participation in political life. (2010, p. 19).

Therefore, references to the community's contributions to the shaping of Canada was not solely focused on emphasising the standard European mobility model (which again, was part and parcel to CHRP's programme funding), but also motivated by a need to repudiate any ensuing charges of disloyalty given the devastating consequences of internment. They, unlike many other groups, had to re-assert their citizenship that others were able to take for granted.

Chapter 6 - Peripheral roots and routes: The perceived space and place of Italian-Canadians within the nation's social and political life.

In the final sampling year of *Accenti*, a 2012 issue serendipitously focused on "Home, Belonging and Identity," the guest editor and doctoral candidate Laura Sanchini (2012) from the Department of Folklore at Memorial University, writes:

> My fascination with cultural identity stems from the fact that I grew up immersed in three separate cultures that were often at odds with each other. I was legally Canadian, culturally Italian, and linguistically a Quebecker. This hyper-awareness surrounding my cultural identity was only compounded when I left Montreal and moving to the more culturally homogenous city of St. John's heightened my understanding of my Italian identity. Suddenly, I was the token ethnic in my groups of friends. The foods I cooked, the languages I spoke, and my olive complexion were exotic markers of my place as an outsider. *I never felt more Italian* (p. 10).

This persistent feeling of Italian-ness as previously articulated by Pugliese (2009) and Di Michele (1995) suggest that Italian-Canadians continue to have feelings of being peripheral within Canada's social and political life. As this final chapter will show, Italian-Canadians within both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* are represented as a community that remains not quite fully embedded nor uncomplicatedly subsumed into the theoretical characteristics of Whiteness. That is, Italian-Canadians have not become normative, invisible, natural, and non-ethnic. This lack of a perceived embeddedness challenges Whiteness studies theoretical orientations in three manners: 1) the ways the scholarship addresses the space and place of White ethnic travel to the "homeland"; 2) the perceptions of Italian-Canadians' presumed political influence within their adopted countries; 3) the notions of the place of White ethnic journalistic works within identity

construction. The following sections will attest to a community whose roots and routes (both in terms of traversing Italy and establishing roots in Canada) are not necessarily fixed and/or congruous with notions of European Canadians' places and spaces within the nation, that is "those 'real' Canadians who are part of a "capital-C Canadian" society" (meaning French and English Canadians) as described by Mahtani (2002, p. 16). Rather, this chapter will contemplate Italian-Canadian discursive perceptions of their identity in terms of travel, politics, and literature.

White ethnicity as suspect and symbolic

Recalling my earlier criticism of the ways a number of foundational texts underpinning the field of critical Whiteness studies are often formulaic and Anglo-British and Anglo-American bound, I wish to return to and expand on my previous criticism of the field related to its treatment of White ethnicity as suspect and symbolic. American sociologists and anthropologists during the 1960s and 1970s began to take notice of a resurgence in White Americans' willingness to indicate ethnic designations, particularly within U.S. Census reports. This deviation from the American expressed goal of being a "melting pot" led anthropologist Frederik Barth (1969) to suggest that ethnic identity was fluid, mutable, and the result of internal and external ascriptions. He proposed that social organization largely explained ethnic identity and that it was dialectic in nature. By this statement he suggested that ethnic boundaries are constructed by both the participation of ethnic group members themselves within their group and through interaction with others outside the group (Barth, 1969). Beginning in the 1970s, American sociologist Herbert J. Gans, in response to White ethnic revivalism, developed and defined a theory of "symbolic ethnicity" as "characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour" (1979, p. 9). It is this

concept of symbolic ethnicity by which Gans' (1979) further defines as "expressive rather than instrumental" that will be questioned (p. 9). With this in mind, how, why, and when did Italian-Canadians, as chronicled in both magazines, visit Italy; and in what ways do a number of the foundational texts underpinning the field of critical Whiteness studies attempt to make sense of it? I will first focus on the latter.

Mathew Frey Jacobson (2006) describes how following both the print and televised accounts of Alex Hayley's blockbuster *Roots*, White Americans became overtly focused on their own heritage projects. Citing the influential impact of Haley's work, Jacobson quotes the remarks of a *Time* magazine journalist on how "not only blacks but all ethnic groups saw themselves whole, traceable across oceans and centuries to the remotest ancestral village….Americans have become like those adoptees who demand the long-denied knowledge of heritage" (2006, p. 42). Jacobson goes on to note that following the broadcast of *Roots*, which was seen by an estimated 80 million viewers, that "hundreds of thousands of white Americans descended on local libraries and archives in search of information, not about slavery or black history, but about themselves and their own ethnic past" (2006, p 43). In what is commonly referred to as "heritage tourism" within the field of critical Whiteness Studies, Richard Butler (2002-2003) draws on MacCannell (1976) to explain some of the motivations ethnic travelers seek as:

> the structures which have tended to be demolished by modernity and thus are absent from everyday contemporary life, and thus tourists seek the Other, both authentically and in the imagined world of earlier times. This has potential links to travel 'back' to one's homeland, both in the contemporary sense and in a historical sense of returning to something from 'before.' (p. 319).

I believe one of the more frustrating elements of critical Whiteness studies lies in its treatment of European immigration to the United States, and in turn the problematic ways it may result in steering how critical Whiteness scholars outside America analyze White acculturation. This particular way of thinking, when analyzing European migratory patterns to North America, almost always places them under the rubric of some distant watershed moment. In other words, a number of scholars have set up the nineteenth century (i.e. the "Great Migration" of Europeans to the United States) as the definitive and authentic migratory time-frame by which they analyze and measure White North American levels of acculturation, racialization, and Americanization, particularly for the three main groups routinely under study, namely the Irish, the Jews, and the Italians (Brodkin, 1998; Jacobson, 1998; Roediger, 2005). Yet, how does one consolidate the presumably long-standing members of said groups with their much more contemporary members? Rather, many of the seminal texts for critical Whiteness studies (see Frankenberg, 1993a/b; Jacobson, 1998, 2006; Roediger, 2005) seem to omit any overt analysis of the contemporary status of post-World War II European immigration. The same contemporary group raised under the rubric of a global, multicultural, hyphenated transnational context.

Consider, for example, how both Jacobson (2006) and Halter (2000) interpret the upswing of Americans of Polish ancestry identifying themselves as Polish-Americans within the United States Census. Marilyn Halter in *Shopping for Identity: The Marketing of Ethnicity* discloses how "Among Polish-Americans, the fervor of the ethnic revival was so great that a 1972 survey by U.S. Census Bureau interviewers found that over a million more individuals were identifying themselves as Polish-Americans than had done only three years earlier" (2000, p. 79). While I am not trying to suggest that ethnic revivals particularly focused on folklore, history, and culture have not been impactful, particularly on self-identity, the field ought not to

equally deny the way that the heritage industry also represents *different migratory segments* within each ethnic group. This means that while Jacobson (2006) and Halter (2000) present a surge in what appears to be a claim of roots more or less in line with sociologist Mary Waters' "ethnicity-as-a-choice" paradigm, both books failed to contain a single reference to a third wave (1960-1970) in Polish immigration to the United States. According to Helena Znaniecka Lopata (1994) in *Polish Americans*, the Polish-American population (defined to include "the foreign born and the native born whose parents, one of both, were of Polish birth) in the United States in the 1970s ranged from 2 to 3 million" (p. 44). Accordingly, Lopata (1994) argues that:

> when we add all the immigrants and all the nonimmigrants [including tourists, vacationers and those eventually given amnesty due to Poland's past Communist regime] we have a grand total of 1,587,412 Poles who have come either in the second wave [World War II refugee cohort], many of whom are still alive, or in the third wave [communist-reared cohort] which consists of young adults; *it is easy to see why Polonia in America has not vanished* (Italics added, p. 44).

The question to ponder, given the contemporary generational status of many Polish-Americans, is whether the surge in individuals identifying themselves as Polish-Americans in the 1972 U.S. census can be reduced in the words of the *Time* magazine article on the impact of Haley's *Roots* seeking "long-denied knowledge of heritage"? And if seeking long-denied knowledge of heritage is not applicable to some Polish-Americans given their contemporary immigration status, how ought the field of Whiteness studies chronicle travels by White ethnics to Europe?

Routes and roots

In Andre Louie's (2001) research on the ways second-generation Chinese Americans in the San Francisco experience China, she suggests:

> Connections take a variety of forms; people maintain social obligations and emotional ties to family, village, or clan members; they feel loyalty to their villages as remembered places; they identity with a particular region and local culture; and they retain nationalist sentiments. Connections can also exist on more abstract levels, as (often romanticized) identifications with a homeland, or as a place to search for one's family roots and to recover a sense of history (p. 345).

Similarly, analysis on the relationships between diasporas and tourism travel, Richard Butler (2002-2003) posits:

> Irrespective of the nature and origin of these ties [the cause of emigration], one result is travel between the diaspora and the original homeland, not only from the emigrant location, but also from the homeland by those still remaining there. The combination of different links and ties, and thus different motivations for travel, and the different populations involved, means that the relationships between diasporas and tourism are like to be more complicated than perhaps expected (p. 318).

As these scholars indicate, travel to one's homeland is varied and often complex and cannot be reduced to a narrow interpretive tool that treats ancestry as purely symbolic and/or nostalgic and they are important to keep in mind as it challenges how the field discusses White ethnic travel to Europe.

Returning to how critical Whiteness studies research on this topic relates to Canada, recent research on White ethnic Canadians' travel to ancestral lands is much more in line with Louie's (2001) and Butler's (2003-2002) analysis. Take for example, Anastasia Panagakos' (2004; 2014) research on Greek-Canadian women. In her article titled "Tourist, Local, or Other? Greek Canadian Women and the Heritage Fling in Greece," she researched the romantic

encounters between Greek Canadian women and local Greek men, which, according to Panagakos's (2014) relied on ambiguous insider-outsider identities based on Greek-Canadian women's subject positions within Greece. During her fieldwork (which involved interviews), she stated how she:

> [W]as struck on several occasions by the use of the term 'going back' as a way to describe the migration process. Having been born in Canada, none of these young women who desired to live in Greece had ever lived there before. Growing up in a tight immigrant community, however, they were reminded daily of their hybrid Greek/Canadian identities. From an early age, these young women were exposed to the nostalgic longings for Greece of their parents' generation. It was common for their parents to associate solely with other Greek immigrants and to expect the same of their children (Panagakos, 2014: 3).

Panagakos further suggests in her study on Calgary's Greek-Canadian women and their cycles of migration between Canada and Greece, particularly following their marriages to Greek men, that their connections to Greece and their ancestry was not based on a fleeting or nostalgic orientation. Rather, in her analysis of the narratives of three transmigrant women in "Recycled Odyssey: Creating Transnational Families in the Greek Diaspora", Panagakos (2004) notes how one of her participants, Margarita, took her:

> [F]irst solo trip to Greece, a gift from her parents. The plan was for Margarita to spend two months in Greece visiting her grandparents and other relatives while enjoying the warm weather and beaches. The trip itself was becoming a rite of passage in Calgary's Greek community, as numerous immigrant parents, proud of their children's accomplishments in Canadian higher education, funded these vacations back to the homeland. The trips usually ranged from one to three months in duration and occurred at a convenient breaking point in a

> child's education, either after high school or college graduation (or both). As a cultural form, the trips were significant in a number of ways. For the parents, being able to afford such a trip indicated a certain level of economic achievement, of 'making it' in the adopted country. In addition, it provided a means of rewarding the child/student without allowing them the total freedom afforded in a vacation to a *really* foreign country such as Jamaica or Mexico. Greece, although a top resort and vacation destination with all the requisite temptations, was a better choice because it was expected that family and kin could keep a watchful eye over one's child (2004, p. 301).

Stated differently, 'going back' for the participants in Panagakos' study was not about reclaiming a long-lost or denied culture nor was heritage tourism part and parcel to an oppositional dialectic anti-minority stance (as previously defined by Moss 2009). Rather Panagakos' research is more in line with Noula Papayiannis' (2011) analysis of second-generation Greek-Canadian women who were described as having to "negotiate their personal and collective identities within and between borders and borderlands" (p. 71).

What seems neglected within critical Whiteness studies perceptions of heritage tourism in the form of nostalgia is the very identification of these tourists and the impact of transnationalism. Panagakos (2004) in her concluding remarks from her "Recycled Odyssey: Creating Transnational Families in the Greek Diaspora" article notes how:

> Cases such as these are poorly documented in academic literature since scholars may assume that 'white' ethnic groups in Canada and the United States are more assimilated and detached from their homelands. Given the forces that drive transnationalism, belonging to an imagined community has different implications than it did in the past (Panagakos, 2004, p. 309-310).

Panagakos critiques the assimilative stance embossed within the field and argues that modern-

day transnationalism shapes community life differently than in the past.

In Butler's (2003-2002) article, he addresses these different implications by focusing on tourists known as "Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR)" and believes this segment has been "relatively ignored until recently, but one which is itself complex and varied in its composition and the motivations of those participating" (p. 317). Recalling earlier observations on the perceived ethnicity-as-a-symbolic-choice for Polish-Americans, how would both Halter (2000) and Jacobson (2006) be able to make sense of this tourist segment if, aside from recognizing the second and third emigration wave of Polacks to America, also included studies like Ostrowski's (cited in Butler 2003-02) that "examined inbound ethnic tourism to Poland, and found almost 40% of these were Polish born" (p. 320). And how "a further study of tourism in Poland by Kraskiewicz (1990) also related ethnic tourism to emigration from Poland and identified specific visitor characteristics, such as social and cultural kinship to the country, visiting family and friends, and emotional ties as being important in the decision to visit the country" (Butler, 2003-2002, p. 320). Thus, for many White ethnic tourists, trips to their ancestral lands are noticeably marked by concepts of kinship.

Greek-Canadians, like Italian-Canadians, are largely a World War II invention. Therefore, the migrants themselves and that of their descendants may have a variety of reasons, routes and roots for traveling back to their respective homelands. The following section will highlight a range of responses as to why several Italian-Canadian writers featured in both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* chose to visit Italy.

Traveling to Italy

"A flight across the Atlantic is more than a vacation to me; it is a journey home," writes Elizabeth Cotignola in an article appearing in *Accenti* titled "I Left my Heart in Campania"

(2012, p. 15). Cotignola remarks how she has "always grappled with my identity. I think that might be a common thing for the children of expatriates, who are born of one country but bred for another" (2012, p. 16). And how as a young girl, her mother remarked "Italy is the only place you will never be considered an ethnic. You may live in Canada, but you are an Italian" (2012, 16). For Cotignola, her several trips to Italy further crystalized such notions, particularly when visiting Teggiano, a "small town in the province of Salerno in the region of Campania…. population of 8139 and also the birthplace of both of her parents" (p. 16). For it was during her visits to Italy where Cotignola (2012) realized "I belonged to this country as much as I did to Canada" (p. 12). Her account suggests a more expansive orientation to "heritage tourism" based on the immediacy of kinship underpinning her travels to Italy, which was shared by many other Italian-Canadian writers.

Sylvia Fiorita Smith in "Only a Heartbeat Away" suggests how:

> There is only one other country in the world besides Canada in which I cannot be wholly a tourist, and that is the land of my parents' birth, Italy. This means that in spite of living and growing up an entire continent away, my life has been intertwined with the lives of people I barely knew and never saw, but who played a significant role in the way my heart would love, swell with pride, break, and ultimately heal (2009, p. 12).

From a young age, Smith had been encouraged by her mother to write to her cousin Lucia in Italy. When she was fifteen years-old, she traveled with her mother to Italy for the first time for a month-long visit. It was then that Smith "learned quite quickly that no matter where I may have been born, blood is blood after all" (2009, p. 12). Upon her return to Canada, her correspondence with Lucia had taken on "a different tone. It was less stilted, more intimate. We wrote about our young adult lives" (Smith, 2009, p. 13). Again, she returned to Italy, 29 years

following her first visit, and 18 years since seeing Lucia and her husband Torino who had honeymooned in Canada. The author equally points out that in 2008 her two daughters "visited their grandparents' native country and met their relatives in Calabria for the first time. They stayed with Lucia and they had a chance to visit with others. She lavished them with love, food and attention. They could not understand why their grandparents chose to leave and now talk about Italy all the time. They too, will never just be tourists there" (2009, p. 14). Thus, for Smith, traveling to Italy has cemented a generational attachment to her parents' homeland.

Tony Zara (2011), in "The Letter" published in *Panoram Italia* recounts how he and his wife had "decided that the time had come to take our two boys, Adam and Anthony, then 8 and 6 years old, to Italy. After all, I was 8 years old when we immigrated to Canada" (p. 18). The intent of their 6-week vacation, as explained by Zara, sought to introduce his children to the country he and his parents left in 1962. "This is THE trip," remarks Zara, "you know that trip that many of you made to retrace the steps of your youth. The trip where you showed your kids where you came from, where you were born, where you lived and played, and where you showed them what your front door actually looked like..." (2011 p. 18).

Shauna Hardy (2009) in her article for *Panoram Italia* featuring international DJ Barbara Bonfiglio (known as Misstress Barbara) notes how the DJ was born in Sicily and had moved to Montreal with her family when she was seven and-a-half years old. Bonfiglio discusses how her childhood was "interrupted and I sometimes feel caught in the middle - I'm not from there and I'm not from here" (2009, p. 45). While Bonfiglio expresses a similar hybridity to cultural heritage to that of Cotignola and Smith, and while she still "manages to return to Italy and soak up the food, the culture, the sea and the weather" she is grateful that her family had emigrated to Canada for the opportunities (2009, p. 45). As Cotignola (2012), Smith (2009), Zara (2011) and

Bonfiglio report they had each returned to their places of birth or that of their parents and suggests that "heritage tourism" for some Italian-Canadians is more in line with kinship and the maintenance of family relations, which time, assimilation, and distance could not seem to nullify.

Similarly, a number of other Italian-Canadian writers, aside from kinship, record a variety of other reasons for traveling to Italy, which did not always fit neatly into critical Whiteness studies emphasis of White ethnic identity as indicative of either a leisure and/or consumptive-type emphasis (Alba, 1985; Gans, 1979; Jacobson, 2006; Waters, 1990). Loretta Di Vita (2010) recounts her time in Rome as a consultant for an aerospace company in her article for *Accenti* titled "Just Visiting." Upon departing Canada for her 2-year contract, she writes:

> My parents accompanied me for a proper *arrivederci.* They took turns patting me on the shoulder in dutiful support, but their body language seemed tempered by an undercurrent of melancholy. Having once succumbed to a wave of immigration that carried them from their motherland to the shores of another country, they surely thought of how home roots can be deceptively weak and easily yield to tugging influences (2010, p. 22).

Those "tugging influences" structured Di Vita's (2010) initial thoughts on her presumed easy transitioning to Italy for "The transition wouldn't be so difficult, I naively thought. I'm the daughter of two Italians, speak Italian (to some comprehensible degree), and kind of look Italian. I have the requisite DNA. Will anyone know the difference?" (p. 23) Yet those differences, while charming to her Roman co-workers, brought a form of "identity crisis" that reminded her of her childhood in a "predominantly English-Canadian neighbourhood" where she hid her "brown paper lunch bags from school mates, since mine were polka-dotted by telltale ethnic oil stains from typical *Panini* fillings like rapini and leftover meatballs. And now, I'm not Italian enough? Haven't I already suffered my due share of cultural angst and ostracism?" (Di Vita, 2010, p. 24).

Yet by the end of her work experience, Di Vita's self-described life lesson was to accept that she was not Italian, and she now grins "at the irony of being wooed by the very country that my parents dismissed. And remarkably, I feel serene as a by-product of diaspora, taking solace in knowing that I can extrapolate the best from two worlds" (2010, p. 25).

While work obligations initially structured Di Vita's motivations for traveling to Italy and her growing appreciation of being a by-product of a diaspora, other Italian-Canadian writers structured their motivations of traveling to Italy differently. Licia Canton, editor of *Accenti*, described one of her recent travels to Italy in support of "five young Montrealers, with roots in the Veneto region of Italy, on an 18-day language and culture "expedition" to Friuli" (2011, p. 5). Her decision to serve as a chaperone was explicitly in service to heritage. She discusses the "difficulty" that many parents and grandparents confront when attempting to support Italian as a "heritage language within a North American context" (Canton, 2011, p. 5). It is why, according to Canton (2011), that by enabling young Italian-Canadians to:

> literally walk in the footsteps of their grandparents – when they are made to feel the pulse of their past, as they try to understand their present and appreciate their future. These young hearts and minds are, in fact, an investment for the future. By fostering cultural exchanges in the regions, Italy is planting the seeds that create a bond with our children, future Canadian leaders. And this creates opportunities for cultural and business exchanges on a long-term basis. Challenging as it may be, we must encourage our children to become acquainted with their heritage. Everyone will be richer for it (p. 5).

The emphasis on cultural exchanges also highlights the role that Italy plays in their availability. By overlooking different migratory segments is to also deny *the active role that receiving countries play* in terms of the connections they seek to maintain with their respective diasporas.

Stated differently, contemporary migration is also a story about the development of global family economies by way of remittances (Gabbaccia, 2000) and socio-political roles in terms of dual citizenships. In terms of socio-political motivations, Cancia and Ramirez (2007) highlight how since the 1970s regional Italian governments (or *giuente regionali*) have developed initiatives by which they have established a "network of relations" with the "immigrant communities" (p. 267). And these relations have involved "*artigianato* exhibitions, folklore shows, or travel and research grants for students" (Cancia & Ramirez, 2007, p. 268). Italy has also expanded the political influence of its expatriates in terms of political franchise. Known as the "Tremaglia Law," Italy passed election reforms in 2002, which granted 18 seats in Italy's parliament for Italians living abroad and those holding dual citizenship (Saunders, 2005). Thus, with the expansion of voting rights, Italy now offers full suffrage to Canadians who are descendants of Italian citizens.

Returning to the other varied reasons for traveling to Italy, "Daniela Nardi's Espresso Manifesto, Staying True to her Heritage Through Music" by Ola Mazzuca (2012) chronicled how Daniela Nardi decided to record her 12-track tribute album titled Via Via in Calvi Dell'umbria, Italy. After attending a Jovanotti concert in New York City, Nardi, a classically trained musician, "became inspired to acknowledge her Italian heritage on Via Via, pairing modern jazz arrangements with timeless melodies" (Mazzuca, 2012, p. 46). Nardi explains how "when I heard him sing in the language I had grown up with and took for granted, it hit me deep" and "that's when I thought, 'I need to sing in Italian and this next project has to be in Italian" (Mazzuca, 2012, p. 46).

Aside from work, language and culture expeditions, and music, Nicola Di Narzo (2009) in "A Pilgrimage to Rome, From Dream to Reality" describes his travel to Italy as religious in

nature. He notes how he and 13 other Italian-Canadian men, after two months of fundraising by "various Italian organizations" were able to travel to Rome to "follow the footsteps of Peter, Paul and the first martyrs" (p. 27). Di Narzo's (2009) account demonstrates the enduring influence of Italian-Canadian organizations and parishes upon the motivations of not only seeing Italy as a heritage destination for Canadians of Italian descent, but also the role that Italy continues to serve in terms of religious observance for Roman Catholics.

As these writers indicate, travels to Italy were varied and often multilayered. Therefore, heritage tourism ought not be reduced to a narrow interpretative tool that treats ancestry as purely symbolic and/or nostalgic. Nor should our analysis be dependent on America's historiography in terms of immigration status. To do otherwise is to deny Italian-Canadians, and other White ethnic groups, the ability to share their own experiences, stories, and reasoning for what motivates their movements across and between borderlands.

The place and space of Italian-Canadians within Canadian politics

"There is an archetype of the Canadian elected official - male, White, middle-class, middle-aged, Christian, Canadian-born, and majority-language speaking" writes Andrew, Biles, Siemiatycki and Tolley (2008) in *Electing a Diverse Canada: The Representation of Immigrants, Minorities, and Women* (p. 18). In terms of influence, Whiteness has been described as occurring "as the normative, ordinary power to enjoy social privilege by controlling dominant values and institutions and, in particular, by *occupying space* within a segregated social landscape" (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000, p. 393). It is this social landscape that presupposes a homogenized representation and dominance of Whiteness across European descent lines and the political spectre. And while Carolle Simard (2008) correctly states that "Almost everywhere in the Western world, middle-aged White males dominate parliamentary and representative

institutions," (p. 78) she, like Andrew, Biles, Siemiatycki and Tolley (2008) equally remind the reader that White ethnic representation within Canada's political experience is neither uniform nor normative.

Ethnic-racial minorities and women often face greater barriers in terms of governmental representation. Racist, xenophobic or sexist attitudes often limit their ability to network effectively, be taken seriously, and mentored into higher positions of power. As a response, some communities will "use their voting strength to take control of riding executives or to support particular candidates" (Stasiulis & Abu-Laban, 1991, p. 30). While some media outlets and party establishment gatekeepers have critiqued this process as the making of "instant" Liberals and/or Tories, minority activists share a different sentiment on ethnic community networks. In terms of candidate selection, Daiva K. Stasiulis and Yasmeen Abu-Laban (1991) in "The House the parties built: (Re)constructing ethnic representation in Canadian politics" highlighted an implicit bias against candidates of non-Anglo and non-French origin. Citing an interview with then NDP Toronto councillor, Joe Pantalone, he argued that "Those people who criticize this process are being intolerant of other peoples or other cultures. No one objects if recruitment occurs within an Anglican parish, and parishioners come out. The same should be true for the Sikhs, Italians" (Stasiulis & Abu-Laban, 1991, p. 31). Stated differently, ethnic-minority communities were often expected to support the established and/or incumbent candidates, who were often disproportionally Anglo or Franco-Canadian.

Aside from an implicit bias favouring Canada's "founding" settler groups, another factor influencing Canadian politics during this post-war era was the dominance of "an Anglo-Canadian vision of Canada" (Wood, 2002, p. 99). Patricia Wood (2002) in *Nationalism from the Margins: Italians in Alberta and British Columbia* describes this vision as centering "on a love-

hate relationship with the United States, this vision had a resurgence in academia and the arts in the late 1960s and 1970s that was bitterly anti-American as it sought to articulate "Canadian" as something distinct" (Wood, 2002, p. 99). However, she goes on to note how the Italian-Canadians concept of nationalism:

> did not participate in the Anglo movement, although it developed alongside. In many ways, Italians were able to use their segregation from dominant socio-intellectual circles as a buffer zone, enabling them to pick and choose within which symbols and ideas they would identify, and in what ways (Wood, 2002, p. 100).

Despite Italian-Canadians adaptations and attempts to enlarge the representational field in regard to national politics, both magazines expressed concern and frustration with the political process and what they perceived as a lack of an Italian-Canadian presence.

Domenic Cusmano's reporting for *Accenti* on Paul Martin's election as the Liberal Party leader during the 2004 Liberal Leadership Convention, summarized how "since its creation almost 150 years ago, the Liberal Party has traditionally alternated leaders on the principle of Canada's "Two founding peoples," that is, between English and French" (2004, para. 8). This apparent ethnocentric monopoly is not just limited to the Prime ministership, but also in terms of ministerships with high visible portfolios. Cusmano (2004) provides a brief overview of the Liberal governments high-profile positions and Italian-Canadian nominations. He notes that Pierre Trudeau had nominated two Italian-Canadians to the Senate (i.e. Pietro Rizzuto and Peter Bosa), but successive governmental appointments have been sparse if not halting for not only Italian-Canadians but other members of ethnic-racial minorities. Aside from the Liberals, Cusmano further points out that the other three federal party conventions held in the past 18 months following the 2004 Liberal Leadership Convention (i.e. Progressive Conservatives,

Reform/Alliance, and NDP) all featured party leaders whose backgrounds were either French or English. Cusmano (2004) concludes by stating "at some point Canadian society will make the psychological leap and accept that someone whose heritage is neither English nor French can govern the country" (para. 25). Yet over a decade later we have yet to witness this leap.

In terms of provincial representation, *Panoram Italia* was thoroughly critical of Quebec politics. Since the magazine was first established in Montreal, many articles and interviews would dovetail on Quebec politics. Two articles written by Filippo Salvatore titled "Our Piece of la tourtière! Que notre fête commence!" (2009a) and "A Community in Search of its Adulthood" (2007) attributes Quebec's insularity, lack of grassroots mobility on the part of Italian-Canadians, and negative stereotypes of Italians as impactful towards Italian-Canadian political visibility and feasibility. Citing academic research, Salvatore (2007) argues that Italian-Canadians living in Canada and Quebec in particular "proved to be a model of harmonious social integration, probably the best immigrants Canada ever received, as renowned writer and Roman civilization scholar Hugh MacLennan used to repeat" (p. 12). What many can describe as ethnic-chauvism is also, to varying degrees, in response to Quebec's insularity in terms of the socio and political structural advantages disproportionately offered to "francophones de souche." (2009, p. 13). Salvatore (2007) reasons that proportionally Italian-Canadians are under-represented in Quebec politics and notes how:

> we need to keep reminding our fellow citizens of French ancestry and Quebec political class that we too are entitled to our place in the sun. We ought to receive and we shall strive to obtain a slice of power proportionate to our size and to the truly exceptional economic contribution we are making to the society in which we live and to which we belong. Our

presence in the political arena that counts and in the civil service is still ridiculously small. This has to change" (p. 12).

He goes on to describe during Jean Charest's Liberal premiership that:

> Three mnas [Members of the National Assembly] of Italian origin were elected and one of them has been appointed as a junior minister. It is something, but it is NOT ENOUGH. The Italian community almost 300,000 members strong, the second largest demographic component after the francophones, is entitled to at least 6-7 mnas and a senior portfolio (and even to a prime-ministership). Why are we being shortchanged? Why are we not yet receiving the right share of Quebec's collective tourtière? (2009a, p. 13).

Part of the reason for the "shortchange" is due, according to Salvatore (2009a), to a lack of "grass-root level in political organizations" and disagreements within the community in terms of priorities and egos (p. 13). Another reason is owed to there being "still a negative gap between who we are and the manner in which we are perceived" (Salvatore, 2007, p. 12). Italian-Canadians, as will be noted by several writers below, continue to be suspect in terms of trustworthiness and links to illegal activities, which may in turn limit their perceived feasibility as political candidates, particularly at the provincial and federal levels.[xxxi]

Italian-Canadians within politics and commerce

In theory, any Canadian citizen over the age of maturity can run for office, yet the Federal House of Commons is disproportionately represented by the following three professions: businessman/woman, lawyers, and consultants (Parliament of Canada). The significance of this monopoly, it will be argued, impacts the headways Italian-Canadians can contribute to Canadian political life particularly when they come from business acumens. Francesca L'Orfano (2009) in *The Overwhelming Albatross: Stereotypical Representations and Italian-Canadian Political and*

Cultural Life recounts the many difficulties and stereotypes encountered by both Italian-Canadian politicians and artists. Not only is there a dearth in the proportional representation of Italians-Canadians within politics, but their appointments and positions are often acerbated by long-standing negative stereotypes associated with Italian-ness – that is of criminality and untrustworthiness. The following section will highlight a few of these examples.

During the sponsorship scandal that engulfed Prime Minister Jean Chretien's Liberals in the early 2000s, one minister's name stood out the most: Alfonso Gagliano. Gagliano, who was the Minister of Public Works and Government Services, sought through the sponsorship program to temper Quebec independence by highlighting the role the Federal government played within Quebec industries and culture. However, the eventuality of the programs misuse of public funds, particularly in regard to government advertising in Quebec, led to Gagliano's dismissal and eventual banishment from the Liberal Party. What is of significance to this study is the discourse that surrounded Gagliano in terms of how politicians and the press described his actions. While other politicians at the Federal level have been embroiled in scandals (i.e. the Julie Couillard scandal in 2007, the Robocall scandal of 2012, the Canadian Senate expenses scandal of 2012, to name just a few) none have appeared to take on an increasingly reductive ethnic tone. Stated differently, Gagliano's Italian-ness became part and parcel to the timbre by which the sponsorship scandal was described to the public at large. L'Orfano (2009) notes how in the wake of the scandal, Don Martin, a reporter for the *Calgary Herald*, while being interviewed by CBC regarding "the recent *Group Action* patronage scandal that had hit the Liberal government. After discussing the bureaucratic quagmire, Martin was asked what role he felt Alfonso Gagliano had played in the entire situation. Martin, without hesitation replied: "He's sort of the godfather of the whole scandal" (2009, p. 137). On another occasion, Bloc Quebecois MP Serge Cardin,

suggested that Gagliano had links to the mafia and publicly apologized "when caught humming the theme from *The Godfather* while a Liberal minister of Italian descent was speaking" (L'Orfano, 2009, p. 147). L'Orfano (2009) summarizes that "The language used when dealing with Italian-Canadians includes the language of the cinema" (p. 141). And given how the Federal House of Commons is disproportionately represented by the following three professions: businessman/woman, lawyers and consultants, both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* highlighted the ongoing need to challenge negative ethnic stereotypes of Italians, particularly within the business sector. The following section will address these concerns in more detail.

Michael Mirolla, in a 2010 *Accenti* article titled "Stereotypes Beware: Le Donne Briganti Have Your Number" wrote about a group newly formed by women of Italian descent in the Montreal area who have "made it their mission to speak and act out as one against what they feel is the malicious stereotyping of Italians" (p. 18). For businesswomen like Giovanna Giancaspro and owner of La Molisana restaurant, she explained her involvement with *Le Donne Briganti* as part of her activism. The article related how her activism:

> included running for political office in the last municipal election, organizing a petition among local businesses to protest parking meters, and generally being a thorn in the side of what she feels is a fiscally irresponsible City Hall. She, too, finds that being Italian can raise issues that it shouldn't." "I was running as an independent candidate in the Ahuntsic area," she says, "and there were even rumours saying: 'At, it's all mafia . . . part of Zampino. I'm an activist for everybody against the city and as soon as I speak out . . . well, it's because she's Italian." "Italian cafes are being targeted and no one's going to find out why they're being targeted. Everyone's saying" 'It's all a mafia thing.' There were some targeted in my area. My uncle goes there, my aunt goes there for coffee; I go there. There are no drugs, no

gambling. Nothing. My father at 91 goes there. It gives him something to do" (Morilla, 2010, p. 19).

In other words, the mafia stereotypes too often associated to Italian-Canadian businesses may impact the political aspirations of individual members of society given the number of politicians who are business holders. That "being Italian can raise issues that it shouldn't" does not only impact how Italian-Canadian businesses are investigated by varying levels of government, but also media portrayals (Mirolla, 2010, p. 19).

Both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* wrote columns on how Canadian newspapers adhered to outdated and Italiaphobic representations. These involved several articles ranging from taking the *National Post* to task for lack of accurate reporting of crime and the "lazy sensationalism involving the much-overworked word "mafia"' (Sabetti, 2008, p. 18); to criticizing the *Montreal Gazette* for their "long history of publishing negative stereotypes, exaggerations and clichés about Italians and North Americans of Italian origin" (Sabetti, 2007, p. 17).

In Filippo Salvatore's (2009b) column titled "Is Montreal Truly "a Palermo on the Saint Lawrence"? Let the truth come out, but stop Italian bashing" he highlighted how the Montreal scandal on the allocation of construction contracts by Gerald Tremblay's municipal administration resulted in the following:

> During the month of October 2009, French and English language media (TVA, Radio Canada, Le Journal de Montréal, La Presse, The Globe and Mail, The Gazette, etc.) have underlined with front-page headlines and a plethora of reports that the construction business in the greater Montreal area is rotten to the core with bid rigging run by organized crime as a cartel. The Journal de Montreal and La Presse have been particularly scathing in their accusations. Even The Globe and Mail, usually more even-handed, came out with a sensationalistic front-

> page headline that read: 'Shady dealings. Police Probes, Mafia allegations in the Palermo of Canada. Fresh claims of corruption revive old shadows over Montreal' (p. 13).

The backdrop to this discussion, aside from relying on harmful stereotypes originating from Italy's presumed incompatibility with modernity, is equally linked to, per Salvatore, Italians "taking too much space" (2009b, p. 13). Salvatore (2009b) provocatively suggests that:

> It is this newly acquired status and clout that French and English media find difficult to accept. They presuppose or just assume that successful Italian-Canadians hoarded riches not by playing according to democratic rules, but by intimidation and violent means. The implicit logic is that 'Italians' are congenitally prone to crime. This is a logical fallacy because it is simply and absolutely not true. Italian Montrealers have acquired social mobility and economic clout by means of sweat, sacrifices and perseverance (p. 13).

To regard Italian-Canadian politicians or Italian-owned businesses with an air of suspicion does not operate outside of how Italy, and its descendants, are regarded within the present. Rather, words like "mafia" or "Palermo" provides entry point into common sense constructions of Italian-ness within Canadian discursive practices. Foucault (1995) writes how "Power produces," and notes how "it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (p. 194). In this way, Canadian political power and representation constitutes and perpetuates itself through knowledge. Therefore, expressions, idioms, phrases and sentences (both written and spoken) can be understood as historical artifacts that reveal how dominant forms of knowledge and power has been created and sustained. And in terms of the Italian-Canadian, as highlighted in both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia,* a negative orientation towards Italian-ness, particularly in terms of governmental representation, persists.

Overall, *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* both provided strong critique of Canada's political ascendancy, particularly the perceived space and place of Italian-Canadians within the nation's political and economic life. Their critique exemplifies ways that critical Whiteness studies might benefit from thoughtful reflections in terms of how White ethnic Canadians fit within its structural paradigms. In other words, how migratory history is researched, how ethnicity is conceptualized, how homeland and hostland are impacted by transnationalism, and how a British and/or American interpretation of Whiteness falsely claims a global perspective in Whiteness. Both magazines offered important insights into Italian-Canadian political representation in Canada, highlighting how political ascendancy continues to be mollified by the two-founding nation paradigm and antiquated notions of Italian-ness, to the detriment of far too many voices, experiences, and representation.

Italian-Canadian writers and identity creation

Antonio Zara, deputy editor of *Panoram Italia*, when reflecting on the magazine's 10th anniversary in 2012 stated:

> Italian-Canadians have a specific identity and *Panoram Italia* exists and grows to help foster and express this identity. *Panoram Italia*'s magazine's mission for the last ten years has been to cater to an anthropological specificity: to combine and express a southern, Mediterranean sensibility, often of peasant origin, with a northern climate in a highly urbanized environment (Salvatore, 2012, p. 9).

It is precisely this "southern, Mediterranean sensibility," within a Canadian "northern climate" that is often overlooked within the field. A common theoretical analysis within critical Whiteness studies is the ongoing treatment of White ethnicity as either ahistorical or symbolic. This in turn has contributed to an interpretive reading of ethnic European media in North

America as outdated, inauthentic or nostalgic. Recalling American historian Marcus Lee Hansen, who suggested in a 1938 essay titled "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant", "What the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember" (p. 9); that is, Whites in their varied desires to be distinct, are taking up a lost or assimilated culture. Yet such an outlook would deny, as claimed by Stellin (1997), Principe (2004), Salvatore (2012) and Pivato (2002) (and as will be noted further below), Italian-Canadians' long-standing publication record of speaking of and on behalf of the community within the literary realm. Anagnostou (2009) in *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America* describes this denial process as subjugating White ethnicity into a "paradigm that theorizes white ethnicity in terms of individual choice, malleability, and creative self-fashioning. It situates ethnic identity in relation to postmodernity" (p. 72). However, Italian-ness continues to have an unresolved relationship to modernity, which in turn may structure the degree by which individuals of Italian descent are malleable to post-modernity's "creative self-fashioning." Returning to Anagnostou (2009), he equally reminds readers that:

> Although scholars pay due attention to processes of cultural fragmentation, ethnic amnesia, individual agency and self-invention, they often neglect or minimize the importance of the simultaneous operation of practices and narratives that anchor or seek to ground individuals in enduring structures of collective belonging. They fail to recognize that the individual is still partly enmeshed in familial and ethnic determinations and that the postmodern self, therefore, escapes the determining group of ethnicity only partially (p. 73-74).

With such concepts in mind, the final section of this chapter will address the space and place of Italian-Canadian journalistic writing within identity creation. I will first briefly explore the general history of Italian-Canadian literature within Canada, followed by an analysis of both

magazines' discursive discussions on Italian-Canadian writing, and ending with the wider implications this topic may carry in terms of 1) the impact of Italian-Canadian writing on maintaining group identity, particularly an Italian-ness that possesses "a southern, Mediterranean sensibility, often of peasant origin, with a northern climate in a highly urbanized environment (Salvatore, 2012, p. 9); and 2) the degree of acceptance and belonging allocated to Italian-Canadian editors within Canada's literary representation.

Monica Stellin (1997) notes that "the Italian diaspora led to the production of many Italian literatures of migration across the globe" (p. 195). Accordingly, the character of the literature reflects "a particular moment in the history of Italian migration to North America" (Stellin 1997, p. 199) and she offers the following four broad phases of the literary movements:

1) 1880-1920: The first literary movement involved the pioneers of Italian immigration to North America and the writing centered on "a first-hand description of the hardships early immigrants had to endure" (Stellin, 1997, p. 200).
2) WWII: The distinguishing feature of this period is the "sense of *italianita* created by local Fascist propaganda and the difficulties emerging from the *enemy-alien* status of the Italian immigrants during World War II" (Stellin, 1997, p. 200).
3) 1950s: Owing to the mass migration of Italians following World War II, Italian-Canadian writers depicted "personal migratory experiences" and notions of the "impossible return" (Stellin, 1997, p. 201).
4) 1980s: The fourth phase, according to Stellin (1997), witnessed a "significant increase in the number of publications by writers of Italian origin; this is reflected also in the number of works in Italian. They can be divided into two main groupings, basically the *emigranti-scrittori* (i.e. writer with "little formal education whom the trauma of the

> migratory experience has induced to write") and the *scrittori-emigranti* (i.e. "the intellectual or academic who has come to America *not* with the intent of performing manual work, but retaining a national cultural background" (p. 196, 202).

In conjunction with Stellin's (1997) work, Angelo Principe (2004) in "Centring the Periphery, Preliminary Notes on the Italian Canadian Press: 1950-1990" highlights how Italian-Canadian writing also delved into social-political matters. Toronto alone had 11 Italian-Canadian radical periodicals – ranging from communists to socialists. What these phases highlight is the broad and historic nature of Italian-Canadian journalism, one that began with Italian sojourners in the late nineteenth century and continued to contemporary times. While their motivations and methods differed, the Italian-Canadian community, via newspapers and magazines, continue to share their stories, outlooks, and personal histories in textual form. *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* are part and parcel of the community's output in terms of visibility and representation and are read, shared, and supported by the community.

"Do Italian-Canadian writers still have a story to tell?"

This provocative question initially posed in Michael Mirolla' (2008) article for *Accenti* titled "Italian-Canadians – Writing From the Edge to Find the Centre" focuses on the space and place of Italian-Canadian writers on maintaining and reflecting identity creation. Highlighting a list of recent publications by Italian-Canadians, Mirolla (2008) argues that it is their very Italian-ness that is at the heart of their prose. He notes:

> What the majority of these publications and events have in common is the central influence of the experience of being and growing up Italian in Canada. These writers, be they novelist, short story writers, poets, family historians, or anthologists, are not afraid to declare to the world where they are rooted and where the well-spring for their inspiration lies. They are not

> afraid of the accusation (often disguised as a theoretical construct) that being ethnic means you cannot be universal. Or that being ethnic means you're shut out of the ongoing central cultural dialogue in your adopted country (Mirolla, 2008, para. 5).

Italian-Canadian writing, according to Mirolla, continues to assert group identity and ethnicity. And that through writing, individuals of Italian descent are "rooted" – not in nostalgia or symbolism – in ongoing identity creation that reflects their Italian-ness, irrespective it if may be labelled as "ethnic" or "peripheral." However, Mirolla (2008) does, to some degree, assert an assimilative tone in terms of the future of Italian-Canadian writing when he states:

> (…) they've decided to embrace that ethnicity and to use it as the basic ingredient for a mix of themes that draw their power from essential human emotions. At the same time, they are all too well aware of the ephemeral nature of the "Italian-Canadian" identifier, the marginality of that place holder, something that can only last for one generation or two, at the most. Some have already watched their children morph into unhyphenated Canadians or struggled to hold back for as long as possible the flow of entropy. So there is definitely a moment to be seized here (para. 6).

Given the persistence of Italian-ness within popular culture it will be interesting to see whether such developments, and in what identity form, take hold for future generations of writers of Italian descent.

Both magazines, in conjunction with noting an Italian discursive sensibility, also offered insightful coverage on Italian publishers and editors. "Italian/Canadian Writers Debate Their Role at Metropolis Azzurro" by Elvira Truglia (2009) highlighted a panel discussion held at the Blue Metropolis International Montreal Literary Festival in April 2009. The panel was titled "Italian-Canadian Writing Inside/Outside" and featured many well-known Italian-Canadian

publishers and authors "on the role and value of Italian-Canadian writers inside and outside the community" (2009, p. 24). While panelist Antonio D'Alfonso and founder of Guernica Editions perhaps provided the most sobering view on the feasibility of the ethnic designation in terms of readership given he stated he was "going to be burning 93,000 books' because they don't sell" those same books encompassed "450 titles, winning numerous awards" (Truglia, 2009, p. 24). Other panelists, like the editors of both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* offered more encouraging words on the evolving nature of Italian-Canadian literary works and that the debate is also a question of craft.

Founder and artistic director of Blue Metropolis Foundation, Lisa Leith (2010), shared her observations regarding Italian-Canadian writers in an *Accenti* article titled "Metropolis Azzurro: Sharing the Pleasures of Writing." Commenting on how Metropolis Azzuro has featured "nearly 50 Italian Canadians and half a dozen Italian writers in more than 20 different events," she questioned what she sensed was a dissatisfaction among many Italian-Canadian writers in terms of "feel[ing] they are given less than their due in the Canadian literary landscape" (Leith, 2010, p. 24). "From where I stand," writes Leith (2010):

> Italian Canadian writers look impressive. Active and innovative and full of ideas – and with the ability to carry them out. In comparison to Canadian writers from other cultural backgrounds, Italian Canadians are doing pretty well. The Italian Canadian literary community has talented writers – including some figures of considerable stature and some young stars who will go far. Academic works are devoted to Italian Canadian writers and writing, as are an association, conferences, publishers and magazines. The Italian Canadian community is reflecting on its position and its writers are prepared to take action." (p. 24)

Recalling Stellin's (1997) migratory literary phases, Connie Guzzo McParland (2009) for

Panoram Italia perhaps offers a more contemporary space to contemplate the future of Italian-Canadian writing within the twentieth-first century in terms of how it is both labeled and whether it can "take advantage of the global while not destroying the local" (p. 24). She writes "by confining themselves to an Ethnic Labeling 'Italian/Canadian writers' may not receive the proper attention they deserve. By wanting to preserve their identity, they are at the same time setting themselves apart. Are 'Italian/Canadian writers' looking at their own belly-button?" (2009, p. 20). And while Guzzo McParland may interpret such stances as navel-gazing in terms of fostering a broader appeal, what these columns have emphasized is that both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* are devoting a lot of space to the discussion of the literary works, production, and marketing of Italian-Canadian authors. Editor and co-publisher for *Accenti* magazine, Licia Canton (2010), in "Writing our own Stories (From the Editor's Desk)" succinctly argues that "What we write makes a difference in the way we see ourselves and the way the world sees us" (p. 5). It is this representational difference that seems to be at the heart or root of what motivates many of the authors to write their unique stories about being of Italian descent within Canada and believing that such stories matter. Despite these challenges and debates, the Italian-Canadian community continues to produce, decade after decade, generation after generation, a particular *type* of literary representation within their journalism.

"What are we to be called?"

My interest is to take this notion of identity creation in a similar direction, namely, to explore more broadly how despite critical Whiteness studies claims that Whites are increasingly indistinguishable, that there appears to be successive generations of Canadians who continue to both self-identity as Italian and are equally labelled by others as Italian. Joseph Pivato (2002) in "Italian-Canadian Writing and Identity: Questions of Culture and Politics" surmises that "Not

only is the body of literature trilingual, but it is massive with over two hundred and fifty titles of separately published volumes. And it is still growing at the rate of about ten titles each year. It is a critical mass which cannot be ignored, dismissed or explained away" (p. 110). One of reasons for the continued production of Italian-Canadian writing is the very nature of the thematic types these works employ. Stated differently, Pivato (2002) argues that:

> Italian-Canadian writers have rejected these American models of Italians. There is no Mario Puzo in Canada, there are no Canadian *Godfather* films, there is no literature of the Mafia. (In Quebec the French series, *Omerta*, is the exception). Of the 200 books which I have examined, not one deals with organized crime. This is not part of the experience or history of Italian-Canadians. Instead, the literary works of these writers explore, in a realistic manner, the lives of immigrants, their extended families and their Canadian-educated children. These people encounter many real problems in adjusting to various Canadian societies and harsh environments. These writers have produced a literature that is socially responsible and which looks at questions of language, identity, and community (p. 117-118).

As noted throughout the dissertation, a key criticism I have of the ways several of the foundational texts underpinning the field of Critical Whiteness studies overtly rely on American history is the disservice it may render when analysing diaspora groups outside its sphere of influence. In other words, Canada (with all its historical and contemporary blemishes) is not the United States, but rather Italian-Canadians and others are "suspended between the English/French Canadian reality and their own cultural background, the result of which one could imagine as a center/margin relationship in which every day, every single act and thought enacts a continual switching of positions from the centre to the margins, and back again" (Verdicchio, 1999, p. 212-213).

What has remained constant throughout the final chapter and the dissertation overall is a persistent Italian-ness that continues to be articulated in travel, in politics, and in literature. The ethos that has come to define Whiteness as normative, invisible and natural still does not neatly encompass Canadians of Italian descent. And rather than trying to fit the group into the theoretical orientations of the field, perhaps it would be equally beneficial for the field to expand its notions of White ethnicity, transnationalism, and belonging. Antonio D'Alfonso (1996) in his book of essays titled *In Italics: In Defence of Ethnicity* provocatively states:

> such is the plight of many second-generation immigrants. We are neither from there nor from here. We are the offspring of men and women born in a foreign country; we are born here with a distinct characteristic: **We do not need to disappear into a dominant culture to exist. What are we to be called?**" (emphasis added, p. 143).

It is this very act of naming that continues to define this community in terms of representation and authenticity vis-à-vis Whiteness studies. It is time for Whiteness studies, in general and within Canadian studies in particular, to provide additional spaces to tackle the differences within the monolithic block that presumably represents Canadians of European descent. From Italy's incompatibility with modernity to the stereotypes that continue to be associated with Southern Italians, it is my hope that this work will provide a more complex and reflective stance on how groups become part of the Canadian "mosaic" and to what varying degrees. Perhaps we should strive to have our research and interpretative frameworks acknowledge Zara's southern, Mediterranean sensibility, hence Italian-ness, especially considering the varied reasons Italian-Canadians provided for traveling to Italy, the barriers experienced when running for politics, and the reasons they continue to represent the community in journalistic prose.

Conclusion

I began this dissertation with a retelling of Dina Pugliese's apprehension of being "too spicy-Italian" for Canadian television viewers (Fuller, 2009). That her Italian-ness seemed to be at odds with the tenets of critical Whiteness studies, and that her Italian ethnicity had not been uncomplicatedly subsumed under the banner of Whiteness as invisible, normal, ahistorical, and non-ethnic. Within this work, I have attempted to illustrate how a number of the foundational texts underpinning the field of critical Whiteness studies are often formulaic and Anglo-British and Anglo-American bound. How such limitations may overlook how Italy (particularly Southern Italy) has been situated in the historical and modern period, and how this construction subsequently informs diasporic ideas about Italian-Canadian cultural identities. For these reasons, I was interested in examining how ongoing popular cultural references of Italian-ness served as an important portal to understanding a larger story of race and citizenship within Canada.

Italy's unresolved status (or encounter) with modernity suggests that characteristics established in earlier representations of the Mediterranean peninsula continue to haunt and inform the ways Italian-ness is constructed and understood. The literature review explored Italy's peripheralization within Europe, while also highlighting how Italy's unification embraced growing ideologies of racialization and how these impacted concepts of citizenship and contributed to the politics of exit. My empirical chapters, based on my discourse analysis of both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia*, illustrate a growing need for critical Whiteness studies to re-investigate the intersecting relationships between race, racialization, and ethnicity and how groups come to self-identify and are labelled by others.

In the fourth chapter, I focused on the Italianization of John Cabot and the paradoxical editorial initiatives of both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* in terms of situating Giovanni Caboto as a fifteenth century Italian historical referent within Canada. That these editorial initiatives on Caboto bear little resemblance to either the historical departure regions of Italy's diaspora or the historical transplant of Italian culture into Canada. I argued that the Caboto campaign was an attempt by the Fascist government and Italian elites to address Italy's culturally ambiguous relationship to modernity and sought to galvanize Italy's diasporic outposts by rekindling Italy's historical greatness. The chapter equally stressed how the founding nation paradigm is informed by the ethnicity of French and Anglo-Canadians and how minoritized groups seek to entrench themselves within the founding nations meta-narrative by ascribing to a conflated past. Italy as Europe's south continues to impact the ways Italian-ness is rooted within Whiteness, particularly when confronted with memory-making and the delineation of progress.

Chapter 5 investigated the politics of redress via the campaign to recognize Italian-Canadian internment during World War II. The long tradition of viewing Italy as *other* within Western Europe culminated in a Fascist attempt to – at long-last – achieve modernity by way of colonial rule and by striving to positively impact the self-worth of Italian diasporic outposts. Yet Italy's Fascist political pursuits during the inter-war period, and the central underlying justifications for it, gave way to a historical injustice towards the Italian-Canadian community within Canada by way of the suspension of their civil liberties and a climate of distrust and suspicion towards their allegiances and actions. The coverage of this affair and the redress campaign for Italian-Canadians interned during World War II within both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia*, had, at times, unwittingly propagated a heritage redress industry overtly invested in neo-liberalism while simultaneously reliant on an uncritical hard-working immigrant trope as per

CHRP funding.

Chapter 6 highlighted how the perceived space and place of Italian-Canadians within Canada's social and political life remains not quite fully embedded into the theoretical characteristics of Whiteness. That is, it has not become normative, invisible, ahistorical, natural, culture-less and possessing a non-ethnic status. This lack of a perception of embeddedness challenged critical Whiteness studies' theoretical orientations in three ways: 1) how the scholarship addressed the space and place of White ethnic travel to the "homeland"; 2) perceptions of Italian-Canadians presumed political influence within their adopted countries and; 3) notions of the place of White ethnic literary works within identity creation. The chapter contemplated Italian-Canadian discursive perceptions of their identity in terms of travel, politics, and literature, and their implications in terms of self-identity. The data also revealed that different migratory segments within each ethnic group need to be analyzed under a transnational rubric. Otherwise, the field may neglect to contemplate how transnationalism and its subsequent globalized ties impact and impart migratory conceptions of race and belonging.

Prospective research endeavours

On a broader note, I wish to address the main shortcomings I have found, and that I see remaining within critical Whiteness studies and offer a few recommendations in terms of future scholarship. Firstly, the field ought to question the veracity of promoting a supra-discourse on Whiteness, particularly one heavily dependent and reliant on a British-Anglo and Anglo-American interpretation of Whiteness. I hope my thesis has shown that differences matter in terms of a country's history (both in respect to the politics of exit and entry), powerbases, and current political tensions. Context matters in terms of how groups come to name themselves and be named by others. Critical Whiteness studies, as a potential toolbox for academic analysis and

self-reflection, ought not to render an Anglo and/or British-Anglo specificity as a universal ethos within the field. To treat the "west" as a monolith is to deny, even at the most casual of glances, twentieth century European history, let alone centuries that have marked and continue to mark, sometimes starkly, European geo-politics, the formation of diasporas, empires within, and varying cultural values. Similarly, to treat Canadian society and Italian immigration to Canada as indistinguishable from the United States within the construction of Whiteness is simply bad scholarship.

Secondly, the field would benefit from a broader understanding of the intersecting relationships between race, racialization, and ethnicity and how those three concepts manifest themselves in terms of self-labeling and societal perception. For reasons I have always found perplexing and strove to convey in this dissertation was how and why has Italian-ness belied a post-modernistic approach to identity formation? In other words, rather than be routed in post-modern notions of de-territorialization, multiplicities, and fragmentations, popular references to Italian-ness continue to emphasize modernistic discourses of selfhood (i.e. those which are homogenous, complete, and stable). What I believe makes this possible is how the Mediterranean has been both conceptualized and historicized (Casillo & Ruzzo, 2011; Dainotto, 2007; Moe, 2006). Therefore, terms like "the west," or "Europe" or "Western values" need to be tempered and non-essentialized. To suggest otherwise is to deny how localized forms of cultural expression elicit a particular Canadian and Italian understanding of race and belonging.

Critical Whiteness studies, it seems, continues to impart a double-edged sword throughout its ethos in terms of self-labeling and societal perception. Stated differently, the field appears to have all but eradicated ethnic identity markers for White North Americans as a self-labeling tool (Kivel, 2011). Migrants and their descendants who were of Irish or Italian

ethnicity, as hypothesised within the field, "relinquished" ethnic demarcations under the theory of labouring class privileges (Levine-Rasky, 2006, p. 144). Yet when White North Americans claim a self-identity aligned with a particular ethnicity, the field responds with a narrow interpretive tool aligned with dismissive terms like "nostalgia" and "symbolic." However, can this be the case for all European-descent groups and what European migratory time-frame is taken for granted to sustain such claims? Rather, the field as elucidated within the seminal texts (Allen, 1994; Brodkin, 1988; Frankenberg, 1993; Hill, 2000; Ignatiev, 1998; Jacobson, 1998; Roediger, 1991) has serious limitations when transnational voices and modern-day migratory patterns appear to be outright ignored or under-researched.

At an affective level, the editorials by Italian-Canadians published by both *Accenti* and *Panoram Italia* suggest that Italian-ness is often peripheral to the dominant socio-cultural traits that presumably make up Canadian culture. I principally argued that this positionality is owed to post-Renaissance representations of Italy as a climatological backward nation and Italy's post-unified attempt to resolve this conundrum via Fascism. Therefore, Italian-Canadian editorials, as one source of analysis, may assist researchers' understanding of the ways post-World War II Italian migrants and their descendants frame and inhabit their hyphenated identities. Why, how, when, and by what means of discursive practices do some members of the Italian-Canadian community narrate their migratory and settlement stories? To overlook such voices is to deny the impact this community has had on Canadian society and vice versa while also allowing critical Whiteness studies to remain unscrutinised.

On my third and final note, the aim of the dissertation sought not to outright dismiss critical Whiteness studies nor the scholarly benefits contained within each seminal text. Rather, I have suggested that research ought to also impart attention to communities who appear, even at a

surface level, to depart from the tenets of the field. Otherwise how may the field, given its stance towards ethnic disavowal, hypothesize how Italian culture has remained so visible within North American popular culture? Research by Satzewich (2000), Papayiannis (2011), Anagnostou (2009, 2013) and others suggest that a symbolic reading of ethnicity may not be adequate when analyzing how certain groups have remained hyphenated and visible. Rather, Canadian multiculturalism as reflective of a form of Canadian political philosophy needs to be included within critical Whiteness studies discussions of Italian-Canadian othering and belonging in Canada (Hutcheon, 1998).

In terms of future research, I would suggest that the concept of the Mediterranean needs to be further taken into consideration when discussing the formation of Europe and Italy in general and Italian-Canadians in particular. Perhaps Antonio Zara's description of Italian-Canadian culture as possessing a "southern, Mediterranean sensibility" (Salvatore, 2012, p. 9) can also be expanded to serve as a supplementary research point for other Mediterranean nations and their diasporic communities. In other words, the field may very well benefit from a more expansive reading of Portuguese-Canadian (Aguiar, 2001), Greek-Canadian (Papayiannis, 2011), Jewish-Canadian (Arviv, 2016) and Italian-Canadian (Cancia & Ramirez, 2007) scholarship in light of unresolved questions regarding the Mediterranean, chiefly in terms of its unique history and perceived incompatibility with the West. One particularly telling illustration of both the complexities and geographical contingencies of Southern Europe comes from Luis M. Aguiar's (2001) essay "Whiteness in White Academia". Aguiar (2001) notes how as an Azorean member of the Portuguese community, he experienced similar processes of peripheralization both within Portugal and Canada. He describes an often-fraught navigation in what he terms "White academia" as a first-generation Portuguese-Canadian from a working-class background. That the

institutional practices within the university structure embodied a "foreign culture, a culture of whiteness" (Aguiar, 2001, p. 186), which he was required to learn.

In Tamir Arviv's (2016) dissertation titled "The diverse geographies of Jewishness: Exploring the intersections between race, religion, and citizenship among Israeli migrants in Toronto" he similarly explores the hybrid and transnational identities of Israeli Torontonians. He succinctly notes that:

> The fact that many of these histories and struggles are relatively unknown outside of Israel, even amongst Jews, should not be a reason to ignore them. On the contrary, it should provide a hint that a *historicized* understanding of Jewish identities and politics (as well as Palestinian ones) can open new avenues for more critical anti-racist and anti-colonial solidarities… (p. 157).

It is that historicized understanding that my thesis sought to recognize in terms of how Canadian culture has developed a consistent and stereotyped representation of Italy and the Italians, and that Canadian printed media by Italian-Canadians has made a specific use of this representation. By engaging in a discursive framework of two Italian-Canadian magazines (analysis involving a ten-year span between 2002-2012), I have offered a more contemporary framework of analysis while also highlighting some of the problems in critical Whiteness studies. In other words, how does one talk about racial difference or different modes of racialization across and within discreet national formulations? Rather, I argue that the field has serious limitations, particularly when an Anglo-British and an Anglo-American pattern of analysis is emphasized at the expense of varying histories, locations, governances, and internal inconsistencies. It is my hope that the scholarship presented within these pages may only

strengthen the field in terms of self-reflection, praxis, and its ability to continue to be transformative in our courses and within society at large.

Endnotes

[i] Italian characters (often portrayed as violent, misogynist, dim-witted, exotic, sensual, and deeply familial) first began appearing within North American movies in the early twentieth century (e.g. The Black Hand (1906), The Italian Blood (1911), The Last of the Mafia (1915), The Italian (1915, and originally titled The Dago)) and have yet to abate over time. See also: Reality television: Cake Boss (2009-present), Growing Up Gotti (2004-2005), Jersey Couture (2010-present), Jersey Shore (2009-present), Mob Wives (2011), The Real Housewives of New Jersey (2009-present), Staten Island Cakes (2011); Television series: Chucky Pancamo and Nico Schibetta from Oz (1997-2003), Ciao Bella (2003), Dani Santino from Necessary Roughness (2011-present), The "Fonz" from Happy Days (1974-1984), Joey Tribbiani from Friends (1994-2004), Johnny and Francesca from Rent-a-Goalie (2006-2008), Marco Del Rossi from Degrassi: The Next Generation (2002-2009), Sophia Petrillo from The Golden Girls (1985-1992), The Sopranos (1999-2007), Vinnie Barbarino from Welcome Back, Kotter (1975-1979); Movies: Analyze This (1999) / Analyze That (2002), City Island (2009), Donnie Brasco (1997), Do the Right Thing (1989), The Godfather (1972, 1974, 1990), Goodfellas (1990), Jungle Fever (1993), Mambo Italiano (2003), Moonstruck (1987), My Cousin Vinny (1992), Shark Tale (2004), The Untouchables (1997); World-renowned entertainers: Lady Gaga, Madonna, Frank Sinatra, Ariana Grande and countless commercials.

[ii] The inclusion of Levine-Rasky's (2006) quote is solely used to highlight the concept of "relinquishment" within critical Whiteness studies. It should not be read as indicative of her scholarly approach to or analysis of White ethnicity.

[iii] A troubling example of a hegemonic American reading of Whiteness and identity can be found in Yiorgis Anagnostou's (2012) "When "Second Generation" Narratives and Hollywood Meet: Making Ethnicity in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*." Anagnostou astutely undertakes a critical race analysis of *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, but at no point does he acknowledge that the creator, star, and one of the producers of the film, Nia Vardalos is Canadian, born and raised in Winnipeg, Manitoba to first generation Greek parents. I would argue that this Americanization of Vardalos entirely overlooks the impact that Canadian multiculturalism and education may have had on her self-identification and societal perceptions.

[iv] Some might contend that Canadian "Whiteness" has equally been identified with and defined by French-Canadian culture. While I do not disagree that Francophone culture has come to represent a form of Canadianness, I will simply state that it has not secured the same advantages as Anglo-Canadian culture as an unproblematic entity within Canada (and one that has provided a standard against which to judge and compare). French-Canadian culture has historically been problematized and therefore, I would state that Francophone culture falls squarely within Chambers (1997) "degrees or shades of Whiteness." Pierre Vallières acknowledged this position in his autobiographical work "Nègres blancs d'Amérique" (1968), and Michèle Lalonde's "Speak White" poem reappropriated a term that was often directed at French-Canadians for their supposedly stubborn refusal to learn the English language and emulate a Canadian way of life. Lastly, one can look towards the Quiet Revolution, Bill 101 (the Charter of the French Language), the 1995 Sovereignty Referendum, the Parti Québécois and Richard Day (2000) and Eva Mackey's (2002) scholarly work for a more nuanced perspective on contemporary issues of bilingualism and biculturalism.

[v] Ignatiev and Roediger are not alone in researching Whiteness historiography in the United States, but are part and parcel of a discipline spanning over 25 years including the work of historians on various groups such as Karen Brodkin (1988), Matthew Jacobson (1998), and Theodore Allen (1994).

[vi] To further expand on this point, the Italian peninsula by the 1800s was made up of several states ruled either by foreign powers or local sovereigns. The northern Kingdom of Piedmont, which included Sardinia and Liguria was ruled by Vittorio Emmanuele II of the House of Savoy. Italy's northeastern part was under the direct control of the Austrian Empire and the Habsburgs, and its indirect control of the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany. Italy's central part, which included Rome and the Papal states, was defended by French troops. The southern "Kingdom of Two Sicilies" (Naples and Sicily) were ruled by the Spanish branch of the Bourbon family (Doyle, 2002, p. 30).

[vii] With the exception of Venice, Absalom (1995) describes Italy post-Renaissance (seventeenth century) as "a poverty-stricken backwater dominated by religious obscurantism and the Holy Inquisitions" (p. 7).

[viii] Graziano further explains that for the five city-regions (Milan, Florence, Rome, Venice and Naples) that dominated the peninsula prior to Italy's unification, none "was too strong to allow one of its rivals to impose hegemony on it and too "weak" to succeed in imposing it" (2010, p. 33).

[ix] Moe's use of "bourgeoisification" refers to the "elites" preoccupation, both at home and abroad, with Italy's presumably divergence from the European "norm." Generally speaking, the elite were middle-class nationalists, urban, educated and bourgeois. While consisting no more than 10 percent of the population, this group as explained by Gabaccia (2002) identified mainly with pride in the accomplishments of medieval merchants and Renaissance artists, or what later came to be known as *civilta italiana*, a distinguished culture that had spread from Italy to Europe between 1000 and 1600 (p. 8). To feel "Italian," according to the elites, was to identify culturally with *civilta italiana*, and that Italy needed to reawaken the presumed civilizing mission of *civilta italiana*.

[x] While specific notions of Italian-ness were influenced by intra-European travelogues, Italian-ness was also produced and perpetuated via the development of positivist criminology, physiology (particularly phrenology and craniometry) and orientalism.

[xi] John Dickie defines the *Mezzogiorno* as the creation of an ethnoessentialized South in which the "*Mezzogiorno* is conceived as a single, simple reality that is Other. In other words, theoretically speaking, there is no absolute divide between ethnocentric stereotypes of the South and the idea of the South as a geographical totality" (1999, p. 14).

[xii] Southern Italy generally includes the regions of Basilicata, Campania, Calabria, Apulia, Molise, and Abruzzo, historically part of the Kingdom of Naples.

[xiii] The Garigliano River is located halfway between Naples and Rome and had historically been used to separate the Papal States (Central Italy) from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily).

[xiv] Giuseppe La Farina encapsulates this philosophy in his 21 November 1860 letter to Camillo Benso, conte di Cavour and Piedmontese Prime Minister in which he states, "The Bourbons surrounded Naples with a Great Wall of China, and the Neapolitans are so used to considering their great city as a world unto itself, that it is necessary not only to invite them but to force them to enter into the common life of the nation" (Moe, 2001, p. 135).

[xv] Lombroso had resided in Calabria for a period of three months when he volunteered as a doctor for the national army and had participated in a military campaign against the brigands.

[xvi] Wong and Gribaudi furthermore note that physiognomists also included stereotypes of gender and sexuality. Stereotypes that continue to hold currency in modern times as recounted by Gribaudi's following observations: "Common opinion (and, unfortunately, some academic circles too) still attributed the same characteristics to Northerners and Southerners as Niceforo, who used the then current terms 'Aryans' (*Ari)* and Mediterraneans. The dark Mediterraneans are individualists and in consequence their society is 'fragmented' or 'disaggregated'. The peoples of the North, on the other hand, have collective consciousness and therefore social organization, institutions, and discipline. Neopolitans, dissolute and weak by nature, are a 'popolo-donna', a female people, while the others are 'popoli uomini'. In their context these statements might appear amusing but if one thinks of passages one has read, conversations heard in the street, on television or even in learned discussions of the *Mezzogiorno*, one cannot fail to notice similarities. I remember a discussion in 1992 in *La Repubblica* about the fact that in the North people follow the dictates of the father and in the South dictates of the mother: the male principle and the female principle, very much like Niceforo's male/female distinction" (1996, p. 77-78).

[xvii] Since it falls outside the magazine's content analysis timeframe (2002-2012), I wanted to briefly mention *Panoram Italia's* August/September 2017 dedicated their cover story to "John Cabot: Rediscovered."

[xviii] Section A refers only to "British subjects" who were indeed White.

[xix] On a personal note, my Italian family's origins in Canada are the result of the family reunification policy. My Nonno's (Italian grandfather) application for Canadian citizenship was sponsored by his Canadian-based brother, Michele. Once settled in Canada, my Nonno was able to sponsor both my Nonna and father's application for citizenship.

[xx] For further information on Italy's attempt to foster a fascist *colonia* (colony) in North America and elsewhere, please see Filippo Salvatore's "Facism and the Italian's of Montréal: An Oral History, 1822-1945"

[xxi] While no equivalent English term exists, *Italianita* generally seeks the promotion of an Italian national character by the Italian intelligentsia.

[xxii] All references to the "discovery" of Canada is not to claim fidelity with this term or historical positionality. Rather, it is included in quotes to reflect how the magazines and the Fascist movement routinely associate Caboto's voyage to Cape Breton Island and Newfoundland in colonialistic terms.

[xxiii] Fascist conquests of North Africa according to Mussolini, "were only moves to regain lands properly and historically belonging to Italy" (Stone, 1999, p. 207).

[xxiv] As per Guarltieri (1991), Italian consulars sought out to "encourage English [and French] Canadians to see past the humble material circumstances of most of their new immigrant neighbours to the glorious land of their provenance, and thus gain respect for them" (1991, p. 63).

[xxv] By virtue of the National Registration regulations.

[xxvi] Fascism relied on rooting the regime with Italy's imperial past. *Romanita* sought to emulate the quality of Romanness, while *venezianita* re-emphasized Venice's role as a historical major imperial power.

[xxvii] A further point of content within the literature regarding the Italian-Canadian redress campaign suggest that Mulroney's apology, albeit for all intents and purposes was sincere in its offering, uncritically endorsed the NCIC's version of events while also serving as a politically expedient solution

for the Conservatives. Italian-Canadians had historically voted Liberal and Mulroney saw an opportunity and opening (given Trudeau's stance of offering non-apologies) to make inroads within this community, particularly for a community with a sizable voting record in urban ridings (Radforth, 2011). Further and as noted by Iacovetta and Ventresca (2000), Mulroney was attempting to engage ethnic leaders following the failed 1987 Meech Lake Accord constitutional negotiations. Another enticing incentive for Mulroney was, unlike the NAJC, the NCIC had agreed to not broach the topic of financial compensation. Rather the organization had "made it clear that it was willing to accept, at least as a first step, an acknowledgment alone. Because there was no cost to taxpayers, Mulroney could make his move sooner rather than later" (Radforth, 2011, p. 387). However, following Mulroney's acknowledgement and apology for Italian-Canadian internment, the NCIC requested financial restitution in the form of $13,000 for internees and compensation for Italian-Canadians placed on the enemy alien lists (Radforth, 2011, p. 387).

[xxviii] The term "heritage redress" stems from a Conservative 2004 election platform that, according to James, has yet to be properly defined (2006, p. 7).

[xxix] According to Radforth (2011), Mulroney's public apologies "affirmed modern Canada as an inclusive nation and distanced late twentieth-century Canada from the racism of the past" (p. 369).

[xxx] The other CHRP projects James (2015) assessed were: "They Gave Up Themselves for the Next Generation": The Working Lives of Chinese Canadian Women, 1923-1967; "The Ties that Bind" (30-minute film commemorating the Chinese Railroad Workers); "Enemy Aliens: The Internment of Jewish Refugees in Canada – 1940-1943"; 'Wheel of Conscience" (a sculpture dealing with the exclusion of Jewish refugees aboard the M.S. St. Louis).

[xxxi] Lack of representation at the municipal level, particularly for the Greater Toronto Area, appears to either match the Italian-Canadian metropolitan population or far exceed it.

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