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THE CONGREGATION OF ITALIANS IN VANCOUVER

by

Christopher William Collett  
B.Sc.(Hons) Loughborough, 1979

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS  
in the Department  
of  
Geography

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## ABSTRACT

This study explores a particular aspect of the social geography of Vancouver. Its subject matter is the Italian community, and the major concepts used are segregation and congregation. The emphasis in the literature has been on segregation, a term which implies the social and spatial isolation of an ethnic group. This, however, neither describes nor explains the situation of the Italians in Vancouver. The emphasis is, therefore, moved to congregation, the definition of which is taken from James E. Vance, who viewed it as a process of drawing together of, for example, an ethnic group through a variety of institutional practices. The development of the Italian community is examined here by the application of this concept.

The method used is to study the spatial and temporal growth of the community. Information was found in the census and city directories, and was supplemented by field observation and personal interviews. Two components of development were examined, namely residential and institutional.

The analysis of residential characteristics is approached in a conventional way by describing the growth of the residential areas which are identifiably Italian. Past studies of segregation also have focused on residential data but the application of congregation implies that ethnic groups cohere for reasons in addition to mere residential proximity. In this framework, the emphasis is thus also placed on internal

organization, expressed as a network of institutions, which provides a way of assessing the nature of Italian community cohesion. The concept of congregation permits a more accurate view of the community's character than would the concept of segregation.

The unity of congregation, however, may be more apparent than real when seen from an individual perspective. It was found that the Italians are not a unified group. There is a clear congruence between subdivisions of the community and region of origin in Italy. In addition, subdivisions occur in response to patterns of adaptation to the host society in Vancouver. As the Italian community has quantitatively grown and socially diversified, congregation becomes less applicable to the situation. The concept may be best applied to the formative years of the community, when internal differentiation was less apparent.

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## I. Research Aims

### Introduction

The population of Vancouver is culturally diverse. It is composed of people from many different ethnic backgrounds who have arrived at various times since the incorporation of the city in 1886. Certain ethnic groups are highly visible in the day to day functioning of the city and form distinct districts throughout the metropolitan area. This phenomenon is not limited to Vancouver but can be applied to the wider North American context. As Schlichtmann (1977;10) indicates,

"It is a basic observation that people of common ancestry tend to be concentrated in certain localities in cities, as well as in the country, although the degree of clustering varies widely."

This 'clustering' of groups of common ancestry throughout the city creates a distinctly cosmopolitan 'mosaic' of people. Such distinctiveness of particular groups is exemplified in many ways, in linguistic diversity, in the presence of varying architectural styles, cosmopolitan shops and restaurants and in a dense network of ethnically orientated institutions.

This study will examine the character of one distinct element of this mosaic that has 'clustered' in the city. The Italian community has grown in importance throughout the

twentieth century and the purpose of this thesis is to examine the formation of the present day distribution of the Italian ethnic group in Metropolitan Vancouver.

### The Problem

The basis of the thesis is an examination of the growth of the Italian ethnic group. To achieve this, social, spatial and temporal aspects of development will be considered. In addition, the community will be examined on various scales ranging from the group to the individual. Through these means, it will be possible to assess the important elements that have led to the locationally concentrated development and, conversely, it will show factors that have also led to a disaggregation within the community.

To emphasize the study of an ethnic group is by no means unique in social science research. Since the early decades of the twentieth century, the presence of various ethnic groups in the North American urban environment has stimulated much academic interest. Studies that span the interests of the social sciences have been carried out to investigate various aspects of immigrant life.<sup>1</sup> A research perspective that has been of particular interest to geographers has been the description and analysis of emerging and changing distributions of cultural

---

<sup>1</sup> A review of the literature in relation to the study of ethnic groups is presented in the following chapter.

groups in urban and rural environments and the formation of associated cultural landscapes. It is such an approach that Tracie (1977;6), at the risk of oversimplification, suggested has been a major contribution that geographers have made to ethnic studies. This perspective provides a central theme for the study of the Italians in Vancouver, through the identification, description and subsequent analysis of how and why the ethnic group has developed through time to form the present day distribution. Within this problem, an emphasis is placed on the aspect of change through time, both socially and spatially. This is imperative because ethnic groups are in a constant state of change, for example, with the arrival of new immigrants or in changing attitudes and customs as adaptations are made through interaction with the wider society. Further, the idea of temporal change is an important element of research because to understand the present, or to speculate for the future, reference has to be made to past distributions and processes, from which influences the present day grouping has emerged.

Such an approach is facilitated by research on a group scale, in which the changing patterns of the group defined as 'Italian' may be examined. This provides the starting point for the thesis, allowing generalization in terms of Italian development in the region. However, to rely solely upon an analysis based on general data such as census figures, would provide one perspective and only a partial explanation of the



trends of development. By the use of 'Italian' as a general phrase to include all people of Italian ancestry, an implication of homogeneity is made. Such generality of definition may mask considerable variations between the people that compose the group. The knowledge of these differences provides an alternative perspective to the problem, one which focuses on the internal structure, through the utilization of information pertaining to individuals, where it becomes apparent that differences do exist among 'Italians'. This study incorporates both of these perspectives, because it is perhaps a combination of both the group and individual scales of research that provides a wide variety of information and data, which is of most use for these research purposes.

However, it is not only for thoroughness of research that the problem should be addressed on both scales. As Jansen (1981b), in a study of the internal differentiation of the Italian community in Vancouver suggests, if both scales are not identified, the absence of understanding of the individual or sub-group level could lead to political problems. He states:

"If Canadian society at large continues to act towards ethnic minority groups as if they were homogeneous, it will continue to find itself in the dilemma of having to compensate one faction of an ethnic group because of earlier support of another faction." Jansen (1981b;ii)

For this reason, Jansen's study specifically examines the internal structure and differences within the defined group. This study, published in June 1981, and also another published in April 1981 by the same author, represent the most detailed of

the limited number of studies related to the Italians in Vancouver. They have been published at a time when this particular thesis was in the writing stage. Interestingly, there are some similarities between sections of the thesis and the approach taken by Dr. Jansen, especially in the latter of the two publications. However, this study will complement those already published, rather than duplicate them.

It will also present new information and a theme of research, namely an application of a statement of the formation of an ethnic concentration, that has not been extensively applied to the study of ethnic groups in Canada. In achieving this, it is hoped that the thesis will add to the limited research that has taken place in relation to the Italian communities throughout Canada.

#### The Aims and Objectives of The Study

Within the generalized frame of the stated problem, it is necessary to explain the main aims and objectives of the study that must be addressed in order to investigate how and why the Italian community has developed to the present day situation.

The major impetus for the research has arisen from personal interest and curiosity in a particularly diverse region of the metropolitan area, the East End of the City of Vancouver. This area has traditionally been the site of initial location for many of the newly arrived immigrant groups in the city and has

provided the staging ground for the Italian community, as well as for other groups, for example the Chinese, East Indian, Portuguese and Greek.<sup>2</sup>

Within this region, the Italians have formed a highly visible and distinctive group in day to day life. From the research viewpoint, the Italians provide an inviting case because, at the time that the research was formulated, only limited detailed work had focused upon the group. This has changed somewhat with the publication in 1981 of the two studies, already referred to, by Clifford Jansen.

Following this impetus, the main aims of this research have been to focus upon the patterns of development, the changes that have taken place as adaptation has occurred to a new way of life and upon various processes acting to unify or disaggregate the community respectively. The rationale for such an approach in geographical research is, in part, indicated by Schlichtmann, who reviewed the major themes in ethnic research in Western Canada, noting that:

"Geographic research seeks to show why, to what extent and how spatial concentrations of people of shared ethnicity have come about and why they developed just where they did." Schlichtmann (1977;10)

However, more than this, there is also a practically orientated reason behind this approach, that is a need to be

-----  
<sup>2</sup> Although the East End is no longer the centre for the Greek community, it was the initial location for many Greeks in the early years of the city, as it was for other groups that have subsequently dispersed around the metropolitan area. This point has been investigated by Walhouse (1961).

aware of the different ways of life of the various ethnic groups that comprise parts of Canadian society. This is especially important for those in decision making positions, for example planners in those districts of Canadian cities which are composed of large numbers of immigrants; those who would 'plan for people' must be aware of the types of people, their backgrounds, characteristics, internal differences and problems in order to be able to plan effectively for the future.

To focus upon these aims, a series of objectives must be met. In all, three primary objectives are examined. These are:

(1) To examine the spatial and temporal growth of the Italian community in Vancouver. Particularly, to focus upon:

(a) The residential component of development.

(b) The institutional component.

This first objective covers the necessary background information from which more detailed analysis can take place. It is important to note that two components are considered, residential and institutional. Often in past research, studies have examined only the residential distribution of ethnic groups in cities and have commonly concluded by describing a pattern of residential segregation between the particular group in question and the wider society. Such an approach can be achieved without knowing anything more than abstract, residential data about the particular group, thus presenting a general overview. To

understand more fully the internal character of the community, further indication must also be given by the examination of the development of the institutional structure of the ethnic community which has formed in parallel with the residential component. In this context, the term 'institutional' refers to the wide variety of formal institutions such as shops, businesses, restaurants, bars, lawyers and other professional services, clubs, churches and media services, which have grown to support the community. This point is important because it enables the utilization of both a general level of information and more specifically research methods, for example related to aspects of the institutional network.

(2) To examine the process of 'congregation' in the case of the Italian community.

The second objective further explores the relationship between residential and institutional development. This is expressed through the process of congregation of an ethnic group. It is a term employed by Vance (1977) in his book "This Scene of Man". 'Congregation' refers to a process by which people of similar origins tends to group together in an urban area. Vance suggested that this might be internally induced from within the group by the desire to link together and maintain a certain ethnic identity. This can be achieved by the creation of a series of ethnically orientated institutions and activities,

acting to bond the group together.<sup>3</sup>

It is a term that has not been widely used in the literature and although the process may be considered along with segregation, conceptual differences exist and will be expanded upon. This provides a unique research theme, that is an examination of Vance's theoretical framework and subsequent application to a particular case study.

(3) To investigate the internal differentiation of the Italian Community.

The first two objectives tend to imply an indication of unity within the Italian community, with a reliance particularly upon generalized sources of information and an assumption of a grouping together through the process of congregation.

However, to stop at this point would be misleading and would neglect an important consideration. When the various component parts of the group are examined at the household or individual scale, many differences become apparent, a point which alters the notion of a unified entity. Such differences emerge due to a variety of factors and the research related to this objective will describe those factors of particular relevance which contribute to the internal differences. In this context, the differences which have occurred as a result of

<sup>3</sup>-----  
This process and it's various applications are explained in greater detail in Chapter Two.

social processes acting within the group, namely assimilation and acculturation, are of particular importance. This third objective is an important one in that it stresses an idea that has not been greatly emphasized in research related to ethnic groups in the urban environment.

### The Method

It has already been noted that the initial impetus for this study grew from a curiosity in the diverse ethnic population in Vancouver. From these origins, the data and general information for the research have been collected from a series of sources, both primary and secondary. These sources include the use of census figures, personal fieldwork in terms of field observation and mapping, a sample survey of Italians, localized secondary sources such as newspapers, aural histories and city directories and finally, the wide ranging literature related to ethnic groups in North America. With this wide range of data, the methods of analysis are based on the reconstruction of the changing distribution of Italians since the turn of the century. In this, the analysis incorporates both statistical and spatial descriptive methods as a general approach to the problem. In addition, description and analysis of the character of the community is made, based on the personal survey data and on comparison with other studies of Italians in Canada.

In this respect, of particular importance has been a participation observation methodology. This has involved the spending of much time in and around the Italian region of the city. The emphasis was on meeting and talking to people, sitting in the cappucino bars and restaurants simply watching, observing and formulating fieldnotes. In general, this has constituted an attempt to obtain a personal feeling for the actual day to day life of the Italian group in Vancouver, which has been vital in the analysis of internal differences. Although on a smaller scale, this is a similar method to that used by Gans (1962) in his influential study "The Urban Villagers", which focused upon the Italian community in Boston.

For the more detailed data collection, the original plans for this study were to perform a formal questionnaire survey, as had other studies of Italians in Canada, for example by Ziegler (1971), Jansen (1971, 1981a, 1981b), and Boissevain (1965). However, this original idea was rejected for a number of reasons.

For a questionnaire survey, there were two choices in basic organization. Firstly, a mailed survey could have been carried out. Unfortunately, two major problems were found with this. One, and perhaps the most practical, related to the costs involved in mailing to households. The second problem related to the probability of low response rates, which are often associated with mailed surveys. From previous studies, this is a particular problem for Italian communities, for example Ziegler



(1971) in her study of Italians in Toronto achieved only an 18.9 per cent response. For Vancouver's Italians also, a survey related to the plans for the Britannia Community Services Centre in East Vancouver, indicated a lower response rate for Italian households than for others.<sup>4</sup>

The second type of questionnaire survey that could have been utilized was a door to door interview survey. However, in this case, overriding problems would have distinctly lessened its effectiveness. Specifically, the author's linguistic inability in Italian presented a personal problem because to carry out a door to door survey only in English could potentially mean the loss of vital data, if no one present in the house at the time could speak English. To avoid this, there was the possibility of the employment of Italian speaking interviewers, but again the economic limitations did not make this possible.

In the light of these problems, a more personal approach was adopted and a series of individual interviews were carried out. These were deliberately informal occasions in atmosphere, but the interviewer structured the discussion by directing a general line of questions. A free response was allowed and, in this way, a vast amount of information was collected and pieced together. The length of the interview simply depended upon the

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<sup>4</sup> The article, written by Britannia Design, was published in The Canadian Architect (1972) pp.32-45 and reported on the early stages of planning for the community centre which caters to the cosmopolitan East Vancouver population.

desire of the respondent to talk about his or her views of the community. Here again, the author's linguistic inabilities presented a potential problem, although in many cases, when the respondent realized a genuine interest to find out about the Italian group, interaction in English was satisfactory. These interviews covered a wide range of people, which included businessmen, workingmen, community workers, people involved with particular institutions and services, and students. These respondents were chosen in a variety of ways, with some already being aware of the research (for example, students), others were approached through personal connections and, yet others were simply approached in restaurants, offices, or shops and asked if they would be willing to help. Therefore, this was a group of people that were willing to offer information, rather than one chosen through random or other statistical sampling techniques. It transpired that the respondents were from vastly different backgrounds. Of these, the interviews with students were especially rewarding. Many were the children or grandchildren of the Italian immigrants and provided the interesting perspective of people growing up in a dual-cultural atmosphere, while also providing information about the lives of the older members of the family.<sup>5</sup>

The information generated by the personal interviews and, more generally, by the participant-observation methodology, is

<sup>5</sup> Although a formal questionnaire was not used, the general line of questions and the responses obtained are documented in Appendix One.

not the only source of data for the study, In addition, various other sources have been utilized. A wealth of general statistical data is made available through the Canadian census. For Vancouver, data are available on the census tract scale from 1951, a fact that is especially useful for this study because it provides a datum just before the major period of growth of the Italian community.

A final source of information at both the local and general level, which provides the necessary background information, is the wide ranging literature that has been produced in relation to the study of ethnic groups in the North American city. This literature is reviewed in Chapter Two, when various themes of research are examined, important terms are defined and, overall, a wider context is formulated into which this study may be placed.

From this point, following Chapter Two, the previously stated objectives formulate the structure of the remaining chapters.

Chapter Three will examine the residential and institutional development of the community, particularly using the census and localized fieldwork data.

Chapter Four will consist of a discussion of the process of 'congregation' and the application to the specific case study, which stresses the 'unity' produced in the coming together of the ethnic group.

Chapter Five will question the idea of the 'unity' that is suggested in the process of congregation and will investigate the reasons for the internal differences in the community.

The concluding chapter will summarize the major points and findings of the thesis, and will, in the light of the following discussion, look to the future of the Italian community in Vancouver. Finally, possible research directions that may continue in the years to come will be suggested.

## II. Review of Literature

### Problems of Definition

"By land, sea and air they have come--the oppressed and the opportunists, the refugees and the fortune seekers, the relatives of earlier immigrants and the young adventurers. Canada is, by world standards, a nation of immigrants." Hill (1976;231)

Since the days of pre-confederation, Canada has attracted people from all over the world. As the above quote illustrates, they have arrived from various areas of the world under greatly varying circumstances. Such arrivals have been categorized into a series of ethnic groups by the host, receiving society. These labels are still apparent in the modern day, reinforced by subsequent waves of immigration.

This label 'ethnic group' is a term which requires clarification in the context of this study. It implies a group of people set apart as a distinct element of society as a whole, due to identified traits or characteristics. Milton Gordon, for example, in his study of assimilation in American life states:

"When I use the term ethnic group....I shall mean by it any group which is defined or set off by race, religion or national origin, or some combination of these categories." Gordon (1964;27)

Within the context of this study, using Gordon's basic definition, it is possible to define a distinctive group,

'Italian' through national origin. However, in this context, Gordon's definition needs further clarification. It should be stressed that such an ethnic designation is not a voluntary one but may be traced back to a person's ancestry. This is the case for the official data collection in the Canadian census where ethnic origin is traced through the father's background. Therefore, the term 'Italian', like other ethnic designations, refers to ancestry and not necessarily to nationality.

This problem of definition is one that has not been extensively addressed in research. As Raitz (1979;79) points out, few geographers have concerned themselves with the problem of defining ethnicity. This limitation is not only to be found in geographical research, however, as a similar situation exists in sociology and anthropology. For example, Isajiw (1974) surveyed sixty-five studies dealing with various aspects of ethnicity and found that only thirteen included some form of definition. Raitz (1979;80) in his review concluded that:

"A satisfactory definition of ethnic groups remains somewhat enigmatic."

With this being the case, the burden perhaps shifts to the individual researcher to outline and suggest a working definition, as general or as specific as is necessary for the particular research.

An ethnic group could be identified in research by the presence of particular traits such as language, food and diet preferences or other specific criteria. Such an approach would provide a somewhat more specific interpretation than a

generalized ancestry definition. For example, defining 'Italian' through linguistic ability, would preclude many people of Italian ancestry that would be considered 'Italian' through the census definition.

For the main purposes of this thesis, a general approach, which utilizes the ancestral definition is taken, although it should be noted that when identification is made of an Italian core area in Vancouver, a more specific criterion, that of institutional location is utilized.

In the use of the ancestral approach, which defines 'Italian' through Father's background, within the term 'Italian' exists a wide spectrum of people displaying a wide variety of characteristics. Some are more recent immigrants, while others may be third or fourth generation Italian-Canadians whose ancestry dates back to the early pioneers in the country. They have achieved different levels of education and occupation, come from contrasting home areas, have a wide variety of linguistic capabilities and institutional requirements, yet are all 'Italians'. This variation, and the problems it may create in research, will be considered in greater detail in Chapter Five. At this stage, it is important to be aware of the variation.

The terms 'Italian' or more generally 'ethnic group' in this context must be considered as convenient summary terms, which enable an overall research theme to be identified. Indeed, it has been the presence of people with different backgrounds in urban areas that has been of particular interest to all branches

of the social sciences. The presence of different groups exhibiting distinctive characteristics which distinguish them from others, both socially and spatially has provided the impetus for varied academic research in North America.

### Development of Themes in Ethnic Research

Since their arrival in North America, different ethnic groups have displayed differing characteristics in their social and locational patterns. This ethnic settlement has taken place both in urban and rural areas. The city provides the setting for the present study.

In reviewing the themes of ethnic research a starting point is provided by the work of the Chicago School of Sociologists and human ecologists in the 1920's. The principal workers, from the point of view of ethnicity, may be suggested to be Professors' Park, Burgess and MacKenzie. Their work constituted some of the earliest examinations of ethnic groups in the urban environment and helped to stimulate an academic interest in ethnicity, an interest that has received growing attention throughout the twentieth century.

It has perhaps been the post 1960 period that has witnessed the most diverse research interests. In general terms, the research in this period has adopted a more specialized approach, with investigation of detailed aspects of life in ethnic groups. This is indicated by both Schlichtmann (1976) and Kaitz (1979)



in overview articles related to ethnic studies in Western Canada and the United States respectively. Both authors review wide ranging aspects of research and note several recurring themes. For example, between the two authors, over ten themes for research are identified including locational aspects, movements related to ethnicity, the problems of adjustment, ethnicity and religion, and ethnic distinctiveness in the cultural traits and landscapes. Even the broadness of this classification does not give a thorough indication of the diversity of research, particularly in recent years. As a further example, Schlichtmann cited 213 references solely in relation to the Western Canadian context, these comprising only a portion of the research throughout North America.

For the purposes of this present study concerned with the Italians in Vancouver, two broad research themes are focused upon. These are

1. The Study of Ethnic Residential Patterns
2. The Study of Social Processes

The emphasis upon these two themes is necessary in order to provide a wider context and starting point from which the stated research objectives can be examined. These themes are not intended to be exhaustive for all ethnic research, and concentrate upon a focus of interest relevant to the problem. Also, although it is possible to differentiate between the two themes, it must be recognized that they are not mutually exclusive. Various aspects of the relationships between the two

have been studied, for example by Johnston (1971;113) who suggested a series of models of spatial assimilation indicating that a spatial component could be added to the study of social and cultural change in an ethnic group. Lieberman (1963) also investigated the links between the themes in research that suggested that the degree of assimilation of a particular ethnic group was inversely proportional to the degree of residential segregation.

Before examining the chosen two themes of research, it is useful to refer to the early influences in studies of ethnic groups in North America, particularly to the work of the Chicago School because their interests have helped to provide the initial academic stimulation from which further research has continued.

#### The Chicago Urban Sociologists and Beyond.

The early decades of this century saw the beginnings of the study of ethnic groups in cities. Initially the focus was upon the large North Eastern Seaboard Cities in the United States which had been the major receiving areas for the mass migrations from Europe during the 19th century and early 20th century and also for the exodus of Negroes to the North in the decades following the American Civil War (Handlin 1959).

A realization that these groups tended to cluster in particular locations and faced varying problems in adapting to

the alien environment stimulated the interests of academics at the time. A major focal point of this interest was in the rapidly expanding city of Chicago. Here, in 1925, as part of a study of the city in general, E.W. Burgess (1925;47-63) postulated a theory of urban growth. This was a concentric zone theory which emphasized a central area in the city and how physical distance from this central core was reflected in land values and social space. In stating this, Burgess focused upon the internal structure of the city of Chicago and used these empirical findings to formulate the theory. Although a generalized expression of urban land uses, this theory did introduce an element of ethnic studies because within the spatial structure of Chicago (as was evident with other cities of the time), various ethnic orientated concentrations at particular locations were identified. For example, in the zones adjacent to the Central Business District, Burgess distinguished such areas as Chinatown, Little Italy and a Black Belt within a "working mans zone", which emphasized ethnicity as well as economic background as a locational factor.

This early work was not, however, merely spatial identification. Implicit in Burgess's model was also a recognition of the fact that people could move from their initial concentrations in the inner city. He identified locations in the outer zones where later generation immigrant groups resided. This point perhaps suggests the notion that the ideas, conditions and opportunities of the group had changed

enabling social and spatial mobility. In fact Burgess saw mobility as a vital point in his explanation, and termed it, "The Pulse of the Community." Burgess (1925;59).

The aspect of changes in any community in response to a new environment was another point of interest to the Chicago School. A colleague of Burgess, R.E. Park explored these changes in greater detail in 1926 in an article entitled, "The Urban Community as a Spatial Pattern and Moral Order." He identified various social processes occurring in the city at the time, and their effects. In particular, he referred to them as part of the process of assimilation. At this time, his writing suggests that the study of assimilation was a recent phenomenon. He suggested it was:

"Something which we have just, in recent years begun to consider with any real sense of importance." Park (1926)

Park noted the social and spatial segregation of different peoples and, in turn, linked this to assimilation. With this being the case, his ideas may still be taken as a starting point for debate and research on this process.

Overall, the early work of the human ecologists in Chicago, although not entirely concentrating upon ethnic groups, certainly emphasized their situations and the problems faced by groups, both in inter and intra group relations. This work has often been labelled sociological, although the starting points for the research were in the investigation of the distribution of groups across the city, both in terms of ethnicity and socio-economic status. This may be thought of as geographical in

nature. It appears that the use of spatial description really provides the initial data from which more detailed work followed. As Burgess noted years later in relation to his research:

"I had students in my courses making maps of all types of social problems for which we could get data." Burgess and Bogue (1967;3)

However, it was from these initial aspects of data collection that the spatial emphasis diminished. The main line of enquiry in the years following Park and Burgess's major research was into social processes. An example of this is Zorbaugh's "The Gold Coast and the Slum" (1929), a study of Chicago's near East side, an area of settlement for segregated ethnic groups and also for wealthy Chicagoans. He noted that these groups lived in close physical proximity but at an immense social distance apart. This study was followed up and extended by Suttles (1968) who recognised the persistence of ethnic segregation in the inner city.

In all, the initial impetus provided by the Chicago School represented a new direction of research, one which concentrated upon aspects of the newly-emerging metropolitan areas. This pioneering work must be considered as truly influential and it was from these origins that further, more detailed and specialized work was to follow.

In tracing the development of ethnic-orientated research after the Chicago School, the pre-war period produced a series of studies which may be considered criticisms, refinements and

extensions of Burgess's idea. For example Hoyt (1933) and Harris and Ullman (1945) produced the sector and multiple nuclei models respectively. In these two models, however, the ethnic emphasis diminished with explanation of the internal structure of the city being related to socio-economic status rather than ethnicity. Little major research was published in relation to ethnic studies. One exception was the work of Cressey (1938) who, in a study following a classical Burgess schema, examined the changing distributions of various immigrant groups in Chicago over time, postulating a relationship between residential mobility and assimilation.

In the post war period, further investigation of residential differentiation within the urban area took place. Attempts were made to determine particular dimensions of urban society, of which the factor of ethnicity was considered as one important dimension. Such research was initiated by a group of sociologists in Los Angeles and may be termed 'Social Area Analysis'. Their work initially called for identification of social areas of a city and subsequent relation and integration of the observed residential differentiations to a theoretical situation. The first of a series of studies focused upon Los Angeles, by Shevky and Williams (1949). Subsequently, studies focused upon San Francisco (Bell 1950) and then more widely on a series of American cities (Shevky and Bell 1955).

An important contribution made by such studies was in their distinctive methodology. Utilizing census material, the method

of analysis was statistical in nature and emphasized the formation of indices of social rank, urbanization and segregation, a method much replicated in later studies. This was an early indication of the so-called 'Quantitative Revolution' in the social sciences in the 50's and 60's, a development which had an important impact upon the nature of ethnic studies and on the social sciences in general. In relation to ethnic studies, quantification enabled more systematic approaches, particularly to the segregation of groups. Further, it facilitated comparison between cities and helped to stress the complexity of the urban situation, a point not emphasized in the general, descriptive approaches of Park and Burgess.

From the early sixties onwards, following the contributions of social area analysis, and in light of the continued presence of various ethnic groups in North American cities, research interest in ethnicity was further stimulated. From this time, a large number of studies have been produced. Indication of their subject matter and variety is offered by Johnston (1971;chap 6) and the previously mentioned articles by Schlichtmann (1977) and Raitz (1979) who review the literature written about minority groups. Although the authors have suggested several research themes, it is nonetheless difficult to generalize about the vast array of studies which span both urban and rural environments. They range from specific studies of one group in one location (eg. Ziegler 1971) to more generalized, theoretical statements about the spatial patterns and social processes inherent within

groups (Lieberson 1963), some utilizing highly abstract statistical methodologies (Fromson 1965), others far more personalized researcher participation methods (Gans 1962).

In the context of the present study of the Italians in Vancouver, it is important, as already noted, to review two of the major themes of research in order to define and conceptualize a framework within which the particular example can fit. With this it is hoped to be able to explain and understand the patterns and processes which have shaped the present day Italian community in Vancouver.

#### The Study of Ethnic Residential Patterns

As an element of ethnic research, the study of the spatial distribution of groups is of prime interest for geographers. The distribution of phenomena through space has even been suggested as providing a central theme for geographical research, although this is by no means a consensus viewpoint. As Broek and Webb (1978;17) note:

"Some geographers declare it to be the hallmark of geography, but this seems to be an error. The purpose of geography is to understand places; the study of distributions is one of the means to pursue that end."

However, in order to understand the character of particular places and the peoples located there, the analysis of distribution is a useful tool. Thus, in the present study of the Italians in Vancouver, the starting point for research is an investigation of the residential distribution and how this



element has developed in the city. This, however, must be viewed as the starting point. To exemplify the words of Broek and Webb, to stop at this initial stage would be of limited use.

Obviously, further investigation into the character of the Italian community is imperative. Before this though, it is important to examine the existing literature concerned with the spatial patterns of ethnic groups, particularly to clarify and understanding of the terminology.

As previously indicated, the work of Burgess noted such spatially segregated areas as Chinatown and Little Italy. The presence of these neighbourhoods has stimulated a variety of studies. In the literature, a number of different terms such as 'ghetto' or 'segregation' have been used. It is useful to define these and other terms because they have been used confusingly and interchangeably.

One distinction that needs to be made is between a 'Ghetto' and an 'Ethnic Residential Concentration'. This point is made by Richmond (1972;1) in his study of Metropolitan Toronto. He refers to the former as a residential and economic area of a group in a city, set apart or segregated from other groups, with the clearest examples set in the Negro ghettos in the United States. The latter, the ethnic residential concentration, differs from this because, as Richmond suggests, it involves:

"A varying degree of overrepresentation of ethnic minorities in certain areas and neighbourhoods of extreme cultural diversity." Richmond (1972;1)

This differentiation therefore depends on the degree that a

group is set apart and isolated from the rest of the population in spatial terms. With this definition, it is apparent that the Italians in Vancouver form an ethnic residential concentration, centred in a cosmopolitan district of the city. These definitions are not completely satisfactory, however, and shift the focus to the most widely used term in the literature, 'segregation'. Despite the use of the term in numerous studies (Richmond 1972, Lieberman 1961, 1963, 1970, Fromson 1965, Duncan 1959), it is not easy to find a concise definition for it. The tendency has been to assume a general understanding and then further analysis follows from this. This understanding includes the idea of the group centred in a particular location, i.e. not distributed uniformly around the city. Here, it is apparent that the ghetto provides the characteristic example of the concept of segregation. However, the research has not applied the concept only to ghettos. Duncan (1959) examined the population of Montreal and, by utilizing census material and calculating an index of dissimilarity,<sup>1</sup> he suggested that certain groups exhibited higher degrees of segregation than others. In this case, segregation is used as a term for overrepresentation. In fact, this somewhat simple approach and conclusion has been used by others. The use of a series of indices has been employed by, for example, Lieberman (1963) in his study of ethnic patterns in the United States and by Fromson (1965) studying ethnic groups.

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<sup>1</sup> The index of dissimilarity indicated the proportion of one group which would have to move in order to be distributed similarly around the city to a comparison group.

in Winnipeg.

The quantitative nature of these studies tends to treat the concept of segregation as a physical entity recognizing an uneven distribution within the urban area. Such an approach does not include any possible psychological aspects of a sense of isolation, both socially and spatially, within a wider community. Because the purely physical explanation does not sufficiently explain the effects of segregation, therefore, perhaps an adequate definition should also examine it's causal factors. In explaining how and why segregation occurs studies have introduced a human element in the explanation. Morrill (1965), in his study of the Negro ghettos in Seattle, incorporated a sense of despair of the inhabitants in his definition.

With the inclusion of a human as well as a physical expression of segregation, researchers have differentiated between a situation of forced and voluntary segregation. Gist and Fava (1965;119) and also Balakrishnan (1976) suggest that a forced situation can occur when a group is viewed with prejudice, hostility or fear. From this it is unlikely that other groups will choose to reside in similar neighbourhoods or may prevent the feared group from migrating to new areas, thus forcing a sense of isolation both socially and spatially and introducing a psychological aspect.

Voluntary segregation indicates a significantly different situation. It occurs when an individual or group seeks to live

with others of their own kind, perhaps with a perceived need for retention of cultural norms and values, but again indicating a residing apart from others.

Vance (1977) explained a similar differentiation but actually used two terms for this. He describes segregation as a grouping together of people through external forces, forcing them apart from the population at large, this being comparable to the 'forced segregation' as used by others. The voluntary situation, where a group comes together of its own accord, is stressed as being internally induced, a condition which he terms congregation. With this differentiation, the psychological aspect of the definition emerges. As Vance (1977;35) suggests for the U.S.,

"In American cities the blacks are mostly segregated whereas the Jews, Italians and Poles are largely congregated."

This implies that the U.S. Blacks in general are viewed with greater prejudice than the other groups. Vance was not, in fact, the first to use the term, because Beshers, Lauman and Bradshaw (1964) use the term 'ethnic congregation-segregation', in an analysis of ethnic residential patterns in Philadelphia, although they make no reference as to the definition or from where they have derived the term. The interpretation from the article is a suggestion that the two are complimentary.

This term 'congregation' is an interesting one. Apart from the single example noted above, it is not used elsewhere in the academic literature to this reviewer's knowledge. As a concept,

it implies an added notion to the study of ethnic groups. The various studies that focus upon 'segregation' and 'ethnic residential concentration' rely upon residential patterns for their definition and explanation. Congregation implies more than a simple residential grouping of people. It also implies a set of activities present within the group, an institutionalized network which pulls a group together. As Vance (1977;36) states:

"Whether it be the use of shared sources of materials, the selling to a common body of customers, the practice of a specific religion or the speaking of a particular language, the institutional practice shapes the process of congregation."

This is an important idea because it points out that where a residential concentration of the group is formed, alongside it will exist a series of institutions at the core of the ethnic community.

The role of the institution in ethnic communities in Canada has been researched in the major Eastern metropolitan areas, by Breton (1964) in Montreal and by Ziegler (1971) in Toronto. Breton examined the quantity and type of institutions that existed, thus studying the degree of 'institutional completeness', of particular ethnic communities. Further, he investigated a relationship between institutional completeness and the degree of assimilation of a group, concluding that the existence of a highly developed institutional framework would have a negative effect upon the degree of assimilation, that is the greater number of ethnic-orientated institutions present in a community, the less need to fully participate directly within

the wider society.

Ziegler (1971), in her study of the Italian Community in Toronto, also mentioned the institutional completeness aspect, following up previous work by Richmond (1967), noting that the Italians in Toronto had achieved a high level of completeness.

However, it should be noted that these studies do not formulate any links between institutional completeness and residential patterns, as Vance's definition of the process of congregation suggests might be the case. In this respect, the idea of 'ethnic congregation' offers a method by which it is possible to examine the social and spatial development of an ethnic group in greater detail, without simply utilizing the generalized data generated by the census or other such surveys.

This study attempts to apply a theoretical statement (as offered by Vance) to the particular situation of the Italians in Vancouver. By examining this, it will be utilizing an infrequently used term for a concept important in the formation of an ethnic community. It is a concept, however, that has been overlooked in the literature, in many studies which have concentrated particularly on analysis solely of the residential patterns. This grouping together of peoples in particular locations within the urban areas has been termed 'segregation', although it has been used in research, in a very general manner, to apply to wide ranging situations of both forced and voluntary residential concentration. The term 'segregation' may best apply to a particular situation when a group is forced apart socially,

economically and institutionally from society at large.

The use of the term 'congregation' as noted, implies something else; particularly it examines the grouping of a people in order to maintain a certain ethnic distinctiveness for a period of time in which a transition is made towards a new, different way of life.

The idea of transition or changes that take place as an immigrant group to a new environment, is another important element of ethnic research and constitutes the second of the themes which it is necessary to review. To concentrate only on the residential and institutional patterns exhibited by ethnic groups, misses a vital element in any attempt to study the development of an ethnic community, that is the social processes and changes going on within the group, which in turn emphasizes the differences within the group.

### The Study of Social Processes

To observe an ethnic group in a particular location at one point in time provides an insight into the life of the group. However, by adding a temporal element of research and therefore extending the examination through a time period, other factors of ethnic group life are highlighted. Of particular interest in this context are the changes and adaptations made by members of the group in response to the host society. These changes provide the second aspect to be examined in this thesis. In the present

study, the perspective of adaptation and change must be linked to the residential and institutional patterns and the process of congregation. In particular, a connection exists between the two elements. As noted, the process of congregation implies a desire to maintain an ethnic distinctiveness, hence implying a sense of unity. However, as internal changes occur, for example as subsequent generations grow in an environment different from their parents, there may well be fewer ties to ancestral backgrounds. This would imply a reduced need for, and perhaps a reduced attachment to, ethnic institutions, which would, in turn, imply a decline in importance of the process of congregation in the shaping of the community. This relationship is examined in the latter stages of the thesis. To facilitate this, at this stage, it is important to be aware of the trends of research in the literature related to social processes.

Since the early research of the Chicago School, the element of change within ethnic groups has stimulated a great deal of academic interest. A number of studies have focused on and attempted to define this process, for which the term 'assimilation' has been used. However, there has tended to be confusion in the actual terminology used and it is important to examine the literature to clarify the various ideas and subsequent definitions.

Mitchell (1968;9) defined assimilation as:

"A term usually applied to an immigrant or ethnic minority in the process of being absorbed into a receiving society."



This definition indicates a process which leads to the total absorption of a group into the host society. This is the end product of a continuum ranging at one end from a recently arrived immigrant, living totally apart from the host society and having a different set of values, customs and characteristics, extending to members of the host society, exhibiting no traits of ethnicity.

Gordon (1964) saw this progression to total assimilation as a seven stage process. This starts with a basic change in the cultural patterns of an immigrant or ethnic group which he termed 'Cultural Assimilation'. It is followed by large scale entrance into clubs and cliques of the host society, a stage termed structural assimilation. Extending from here, according to Gordon, were stages of inter-marriages outside the particular ethnic group, a development of a sense of belonging to the host society, an absence of prejudice and discrimination and an absence of conflict in the society. Overall, this sequence leads to total assimilation.

While acknowledging this overall process, geographical research has tended to concentrate upon groups that have had an impact on the landscape implying a visible unit distinguished from the rest of the population, that is a group tending towards one end of the continuum. With this being the case, the research has concentrated upon the first two stages of Gordon's classification, these being cultural and structural assimilation. However, this is not to say that the other

possible stages have been totally neglected because elements of these can be included in definitions of structural and cultural factors.

The differentiation between stages of adaptation has facilitated a need for definitive statements by researchers. What has occurred has been the use of a number of terms to signify the same processes. For example, in a study of Italians in the West End of Boston, Gans (1962) differentiated between acculturation (synonymous with cultural assimilation as defined by Gordon) and assimilation. The basis for this was that acculturation referred to changes in Italian cultural traits and patterns such as food traits, language and ties with the homeland whereas assimilation referred to changes in the Italian social structure of the community for example, in the role of the family, social relationships and social values.

This influential study by Gans was one of the first to provide an extensive view of Italian life in North America. He became involved in the community itself and studied the day to day life, the social attitudes and the pressures in the region. It was a predominantly second generation community where the immigrants had attempted to adapt their non urban institutions and culture to the urban milieu and had created an 'urban village', and as part of the study Gans examined the assimilation and acculturation.

This differentiation is also been employed by other researchers, for example by Ziegler (1971) in her study of the

Italian Community in Toronto, and by Lai (1971) in studying the Chinese in the same city. In both cases, they use a basic differentiation between cultural and social differences as a basis for their studies, the former using acculturation and assimilation and the latter, cultural and structural assimilation, indicating a variety of terminology in the literature. This has tended to cause confusion, as noted by Porter (1965;72) when he remarked that assimilation was not a well defined concept. In his attempt to clarify the situation, it is interesting to note that Porter uses yet another term, Behavioural Assimilation, which is synonymous with acculturation as defined by Gans.

Lieberson (1963;11) also noted the problems of definitive clarity stating:

"Assimilation is, nonetheless, one of the most elusive concepts employed in the study of race and ethnic relations."

Whatever the terminology, writers have generally recognized differentiation of cultural and social changes and has defined cultural (or acculturation) traits and social (or assimilation) traits that are indicative of change within a group. For example, Ziegler (1971) used criteria such as linguistic ability, media preferences, knowledge of political and cultural aspects of the new society and self identification as measures of acculturation. For measures of social attitudes and assimilation, Ziegler used indices of inter ethnic friendship patterns, membership of ethnic orientated institutions and

residence in ethnic orientated neighbourhoods.

Although such differentiation may be recognized, it should be noted, as Gordon (1964) and Ziegler (1972) both indicate, that the two processes are not totally independent. They both jointly contribute to the overall process of adaptation to the new society. In fact, the links between the two have provided a major point of contention in research. This relates to whether the social or cultural change occurs first. Gans (1962;33) found that:

"Generally speaking, the Italian and Sicilian cultures that the immigrants brought with them to America had not been maintained by the second generation."

This indicated that acculturation was proceeding whereas he found that assimilation, as exemplified by changes in the Italian social system had taken place at a far slower rate.

This idea of acculturation preceding assimilation is one that has been stated for research carried out in the United States. Gordon, for example, includes acculturation as the first stage of the process and saw it as a prerequisite to assimilation. Rosenthal (1960) also found this for the Jewish population of Chicago in his article "Acculturation without Assimilation", and Glazier and Monyihan (1963) exhibited similar findings in their study of New York.

This idea has not been confined to U.S. studies, however, because Fromson (1965;2b) in a study of segregation in Winnipeg indicated that:

"Acculturation has occurred, assimilation not to the same extent."

One Canadian writer, Porter (1965;72), has observed the opposite to be true, stating:

"Structural Assimilation, no doubt leads to behavioral assimilation." (or acculturation)

In looking for explanations as to why these understandings vary, Ziegler (1972;84) suggested differences in attitudes between the North American neighbours may well be the effect of a difference in setting. She notes that Canada tends towards a more heterogeneous society than the United States because, historically, its foundation is based upon two cultures rather than one. In addition, it should be noted that Canadian attitudes towards multiculturalism are positive.

However, little detailed work has been carried out on this topic. As Ziegler (1972;84) notes,

"Whether such a difference in attitude at the official level affects the immigrant's real behaviour as it does the picture social scientists hold of that reality, remains to be seen."

Examining these differences in detail, if acculturation precedes assimilation, this would imply that a group would lose various cultural traits and customs before a change in their social system would occur. Therefore, in order for an ethnic group to become part of the host society, this would first mean the loss of any cultural distinctiveness. Theoretically, this may reflect the attitude in the U.S. where the tradition is one of the 'Melting Pot', a term which suggests that people mix together in the new environment and become American.

In the Canadian context, with an emphasis on multiculturalism and a suggestion of 'Unity through Diversity' (Porter 1965;393) and the maintenance of an ethnic mosaic or Kaleidoscope, (Krauter and Morris 1978;7)<sup>2</sup> there is a theoretical suggestion that ethnic groups can maintain an identity while still participating in the wider society. With this, assimilation would be more likely to occur before acculturation because cultural traits would facilitate distinctiveness. In fact, such an ideal has led to the use of a further term in the Canadian context, that of Integration. It has been used, for example, by Richmond (1974), Norris (1971), Lawless (1964) and Ziegler (1971;72).

Overall, a series of concepts and definitions have been examined. In the application of these concepts to this study, the main emphasis is placed on an investigation of the influences of change in relation to the process of congregation. An examination of the assimilation, acculturation and integration of the Italians in Vancouver is discussed in Chapter Five, where comparison is made with other researchers.

From reviewing the theoretical nature of the literature, a more practical aspect of the research emerges, that is how researchers have examined the actual changes in social and cultural values that have occurred, and which factors are important in influencing the process of change.

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<sup>2</sup> The authors use the term Kaleidoscope to emphasize the constant changes in the population structure.

In stating this, it must be noted that a complex of factors and influences exist which can affect the degree and extent of the assimilation and acculturation of a group or individual.

With this complex, time has been considered an important factor because a logical process of development would indicate that as a group or individual resides in a country for a lengthening period of time, the ties with ethnic origins will weaken. For example, Gans (1962) noted that the Italian culture in Boston had not been maintained by subsequent generations. However, it is not only the inter-generational element that is important, but also, the length of residence in years (irrespective of generation) influences the assimilation and acculturation process.

These processes are not, however, solely a function of time. Other factors must be considered to understand this complex process. In making reference to these factors, the work of the Institute of Behavioral Research at York University is particularly informative.

Ziegler (1971) noted the importance of the pre-migratory backgrounds for the Italians in Toronto. She examined regional origin, educational levels and pre-migratory occupation and found that they all influence the processes of assimilation and acculturation. She later followed up this research, in 1972, and again stressed background, education and occupation as important in influencing the degree of change. It was found that those immigrants who had higher levels of education and who originated

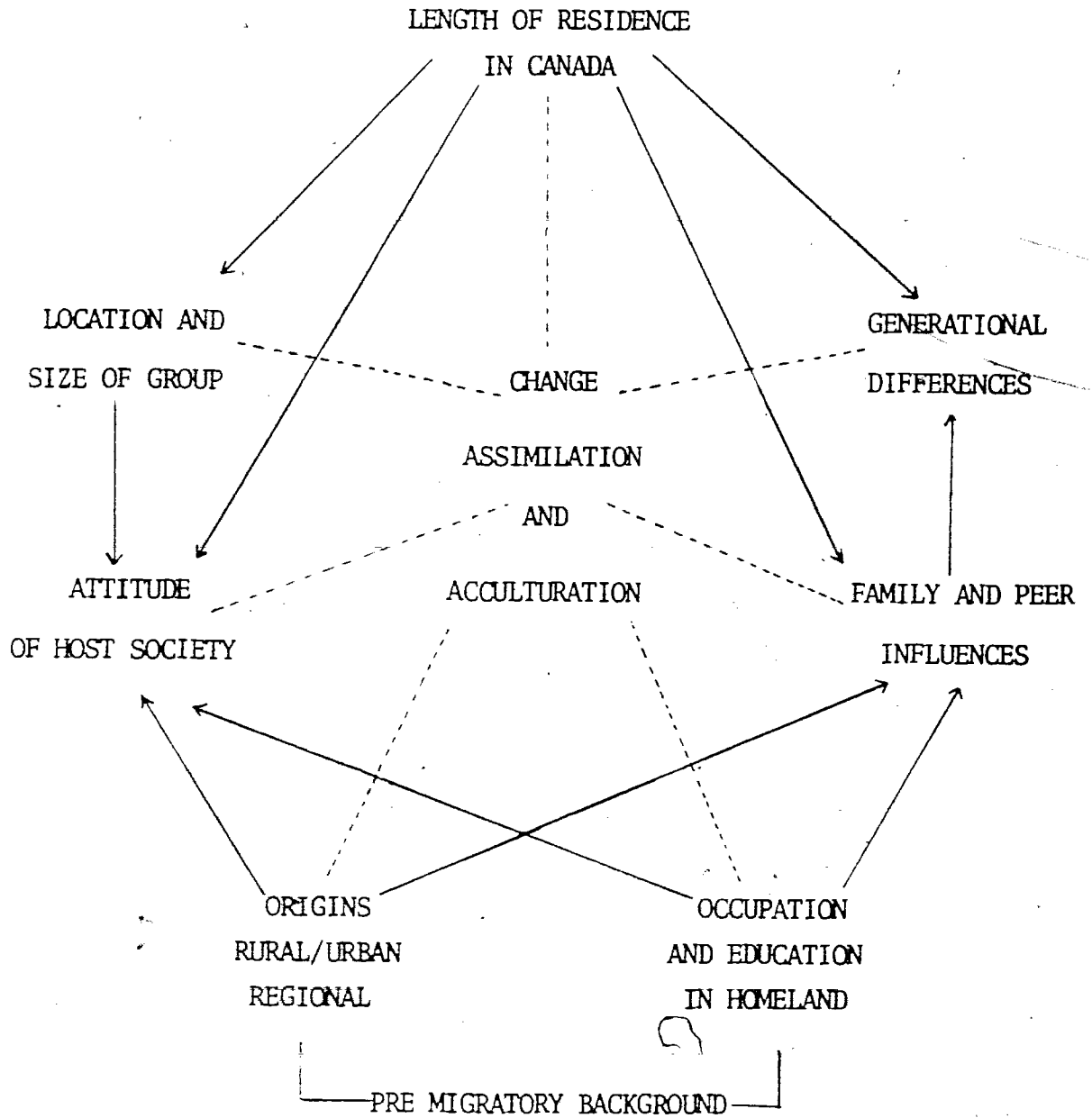
from particular locations (primarily the urban centres of Northern Italy) were more likely to be the first to assimilate and acculturate.

The social and family background is an additional element which may influence the process of adaptation to the new environment. In fact, for this study of Italians, it is particularly important when considering the role of the family. The family is at the heart of Italian social relations. Gans (1962) emphasized the central attitude in Italian life, mainly one of conservatism which acts as a barrier to change. This is by no means confined to Italians, for example, as Walhouse (1961) noted, a similar pattern exists for the Chinese community in Vancouver.

In addition, factors such as the attitude of the host society towards the particular ethnic group and also, the size and location of the ethnic community may exert an influence. Figure One diagrammatically illustrates the complex of factors. From this, it must be noted that although it is possible to simply list and discuss the individual factors, this would not emphasize the connectivity between them. For example, it may be suggested that the role of the family is an important influence on the processes. Looking at this statement in more detail, the explanation becomes more complex when it is noted that the role and attitudes of the family unit are influenced by pre-migratory background, occupation and also length of residence (in terms of generational differences). Similar links may be suggested



FIGURE ONE FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE ASSIMILATION AND ACCULTURATION



between other factors as indicated in Figure One which in total serves to indicate the complexity of possible explanation.

In stressing the links between the factors, the arrows suggest a one way influence. For example, length of residence is noted to influence generational differences, i.e. the longer the length of residence of a group, the more generations of group members. From this, it may be suggested that as latter generations are born, a higher degree of cultural and social change will occur. However, this link is not reversible in that generational differences do not necessarily influence length of residence. Therefore, the linking arrows illustrate the main influences which contribute to the complexity of explanation.

In general, the approach adopted in reports and research to assess the effect of these influences has been to define a series of measures or indicators which are indicative of the change. These assessments have been largely dependent on data produced by social surveys in the form of questionnaires (Lai 1971, Jansen 1971, Ziegler 1971, Richmond 1972, Cho and Leigh 1972) and participant observation (Gans 1962, Jansen 1981b).

The complexity of reasons for the social processes is intriguing. In the context of this study, it is a complexity that can be used to examine the influence that social and cultural changes will have on the residential and institutional patterns that have developed in Vancouver. It also provides a focus on the important internal differences within the group, thus illustrating an alternative to the generalized approach

often taken in ethnic research.

### Implications

After having reviewed various aspects of ethnic research, and clarified definitions, ideas and understandings, it is left to examine further the implications of the literature in relation to this study. This will provide a wider context and will indicate how and where this study can fit into the overall body of research related to ethnic groups.

A large proportion of the research has indicated an empirical approach to ethnic research, especially in relation to the study of residential distributions. Many of these studies are specific to a few cities, in particular in the Great Lakes region and the North Eastern seaboard of the U.S., which were the destinations of many of the early immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In this review, studies from both the U.S. and Canada have been cited and although differences between immigration ideology have been noted, the similarity in empirical approach has facilitated comparison.

Two major themes have been identified and reviewed. An important point to be made is that although they concentrate upon particular aspects of study, they are not mutually exclusive. Linkages between patterns and processes have been explored in the literature and these links are extended, because

it is the intention of the thesis to investigate the development of the Italian community in Vancouver, both in terms of the spatial patterns of residential and institutional developments, and also in terms of the social processes inherent within the community, particularly in how they emphasize internal differences. With this, the emphasis is placed on the concept of 'congregation', rather than on 'segregation', thus providing a different perspective than in past studies.

Much of the work reviewed may be considered sociological in nature, although in saying this the starting points have been in an initial geographical interpretation, an interest in spatial distribution, in this case of ethnic groups around the city. This point is made by Johnston (1971;18) who suggests that in order to understand how and why residential separateness and concentration occur, it is necessary to:

"Know first, what the groups are and how they come about, and second why they choose to live in relative mutual exclusion."

It appears that the starting point for much ethnic research must be in spatial identification, from which point further work can continue. This study will follow the same line, initially noting the changing development of the community. However, this should only be considered the starting point and not the end product. Research should go further than merely spatial identification in order to achieve an understanding. This is where some of the literature is lacking in the understanding of the problems of ethnic groups. This is particularly true in relation to the

study of residential patterns. Much of the research and analysis has been quantitative in nature using statistical methods to study the problem. For this, it has relied on officially produced data, often utilizing census material. Such an approach offers a highly generalized, abstract and impersonal viewpoint, for example noting that one group is more residentially dispersed than another. This perhaps typifies an 'armchair' approach to geography which should and must be supplemented by work in the field.

This fieldwork element is a vital one in that to study any ethnic group in depth, there is a need for the researcher to know more than what can simply be shown from figures. For example, by using census material for Vancouver and following a similar methodology to other studies that have been cited, it could be suggested that the Italians in the city are residentially segregated. However, on further examination and with some knowledge of the community itself, perhaps segregation would no longer be an acceptable term. Much is to be gained in actual fieldwork in this type of social research. Indeed, fieldwork is one of the great pleasures of such study and it provides valuable information. Consequently, as stated in Chapter One, this study is based on information from a variety of sources, ranging from the use of generalized statistical data to specific fieldwork data generated by personal interviews.

Through fieldwork, the researcher also becomes aware of differences within the ethnic group. This indicates another

problem in the literature, that of working on the generalized, group level. As has been noted, in relation to the earlier definitions, within the term 'Italian' or any other ethnic group, much variation from the norm exists and many sub groups could perhaps be defined.

Studies could suggest that, "The Italians are residentially concentrated..." or that "The Italians are less assimilated than....." which may well be the situation when considering the highly generalized level but again, it perhaps offers only a partial explanation. When examining the community in closer detail, at the individual level, it will be suggested that significant internal segmentation has occurred for a complex of reasons (of which one is the differing degrees of assimilation and acculturation of the group).

For an overall view, it is therefore necessary to be aware of different levels of explanation and the variety of data available. It is a combination of research on various levels that will provide a useful approach and explanation in studies of ethnic groups in particular environments.

The review of literature has introduced a variety of concepts and definitions which may now be further examined in the light of a specific example. It has reviewed wide ranging aspects of ethnic research, some findings based upon generalized data sources, others more specific studies directed towards the individual. Some have focused on the residential patterns, others on the social processes. Very few have attempted to

integrate all of these aspects into a detailed, specific examination, which provides a fitting context for this case and indicates a point of departure from which the more in-depth explanation can be presented.

### III. The Italian Community

#### Italians in Canada.

The Italian connection with Canada first began in the early days of European exploration of the new world. It was then that John Cabot or Giovanni Caboto, a Venetian seaman working in the service of the British Crown, first claimed Canada for the British in 1497.<sup>1</sup>

In the centuries to follow, further exploration occurred and Italians were again much in evidence, in service for the colonial powers in Europe. As Norris (1971;141) notes, an Italian was one of the first Europeans to see the west coast. This was

"Captain Alessandro Malaspina, sailing in the service of Spain, who arrived in 1791 and after whom the Malaspina Strait is named."

From the time of the early explorers, Italians have immigrated to Canada in increasing numbers up until the present day. Now the Italian ethnic group constitutes the fourth largest in the country, behind the British, French and German. Table One indicates the quantitative growth of the group from 1871 to

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<sup>1</sup> This contact is enshrined in the Montreal urban landscape in a statue of Cabot, erected by the Italian community, in a park on St. Catherine Street.



1971, which was the last census that recorded people of 'Italian Ethnic Origin'.

From these figures, a continued growth since Confederation is apparent. With this, three broad stages of growth may be suggested.

First, in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, Canada was not a major destination for Italian emigrants. At the time the major focus was the North-Eastern seaboard of the United States, with the large cities of New York, Chicago and Philadelphia as the main centres. As the figures for 1871 and 1881 Censuses indicate, Italians in Canada numbered little over 1000 and constituted a small percentage of the total population.

At this time in Canada, as Harney (1978;5) indicates,

"Census figures show that most of the Italian immigrants who arrived before or during the 1870's were craftsmen, musicians and teachers."

This emphasis changed at the turn of the century. Greater numbers of Italians arrived in Canada and, by 1901, 10,834 Italians were recorded as resident in the country. The new arrivals were working men who found employment in coal mining and in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

This marked the beginnings of a period of steady increase in the numbers of Italians in Canada. Up until the end of the Second World War, their numbers continued to increase. In the first forty years of the century, the number of Italians grew from 10,834 to 112,625, a growth which constitutes a tenfold absolute increase. This occurred in part because of such factors

TABLE ONE

ITALIANS IN CANADA 1871-1971

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ITALIANS*</u>	<u>TOTAL POPULATION OF CANADA</u>	<u>% ITALIANS</u>
1871	1,035	3,485,761	0.03
1881	1,849	4,324,810	0.04
1901	10,834	5,371,315	0.20
1911	45,411	7,206,643	0.63
1921	66,769	8,788,483	0.76
1931	98,173	10,376,786	0.95
1941	112,625	11,506,655	0.98
1951	152,245	14,009,429	1.09
1961	450,351	18,238,247	2.47
1971	730,820	21,568,310	3.39

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\*Defined through ancestry

Source: Census Canada.

as the Great Depression and the rise of Fascism in Italy under Mussolini, despite the Italian government's discouraging emigration from the homeland. In fact, as Harney (1978;25) states:

"Legislation and regulations drastically cut the flow of emigrants from Italy. While 6,000 people entered Canada legally from Italy in 1923, the figure was down to 2,000 in the next year. The annual number of immigrants never again rose to over a few hundred until after World War Two."

However, as Table One indicates, despite these measures, the number of Italians in Canada still increased. This was particularly because the dwindling numbers of people immigrating directly from Italy were supplemented by immigration from the United States of people of Italian origins, many of whom were now Americans.

It has been in the period following the Second World War that the most dramatic increases in the numbers of Italians have occurred. Since 1947, when restrictions in Canadian immigration policies were lifted to end discrimination against former enemies, quantitative growth due to both immigration and natural increase has resulted in close to three-quarters of a million people of Italian ethnic origin present in Canada. This period saw a growth from 152,245 in 1951 to 730,820 in 1971 when Italians constituted 3.39 per cent of the population of Canada.

As a post script to the last official figures published in 1971, it is interesting to note a slowing down of the Italian immigration into the Country. Immigration statistics show that between 1971 and 1979 only 39,918 Italian Immigrants arrived in

Canada. This flow was fairly constant throughout the decade up until 1979, when the yearly figure shows only 1,996 immigrants.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, an increasingly important component for the future growth of the Italian group in Canada will be that of natural increase of the existing population.

The quantitative development is not the only element that must be considered in an introduction to Italian communities in Canada. Another element of particular importance is the nationwide distribution of the group. Since the early arrivals at the turn of the century, Italians have tended to concentrate in particular locations in the country, rather than to be widely distributed.<sup>3</sup>

Table Two examines the provincial distribution in the three major receiving provinces, Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia. Ontario has been the main 'magnet' for Italian immigrants since Confederation. This dominance by Ontario is also shown in Figure Two, where the comparative growth in the three provinces is illustrated. Figure 2(i) illustrates numerical increases through time, it shows a situation where Ontario has become increasingly dominant through time, particularly in the post war period with a 671.7 per cent increase of Italians between 1941 and 1971, compared with 504.8 per cent for Quebec and 304.7 per cent for B.C.. Figure 2(ii) shows the rate of change in the three

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<sup>2</sup> These figures are taken from Manpower and Immigration Statistics. For the full table, refer to Table 5 (page 72).

<sup>3</sup> This statement does not apply only to the Italians, but as Hill (1976) suggests, to many of the other immigrant groups.

TABLE TWO

## ITALIANS IN THREE MAJOR PROVINCES 1901 - 1971

YEAR	BRITISH COLUMBIA		ONTARIO		QUEBEC		CANADA'S TOTAL	% (2)
	TOTAL	% (1)	TOTAL	% (1)	TOTAL	% (1)		
1901	1,976	18.23	5,233	48.30	2,805	25.89	10,834	-
1911	9,721	21.41	21,265	46.83	9,576	21.09	45,411	319.15
1921	8,587	12.86	33,355	49.96	16,141	24.17	66,769	47.03
1931	12,254	12.48	50,536	51.48	24,845	25.31	98,173	47.03
1941	13,292	11.80	60,085	53.35	28,051	24.91	112,625	14.72
1951	17,307	11.30	87,622	57.55	34,165	22.44	152,245	35.18
1961	38,399	8.53	273,864	60.81	108,552	24.10	450,351	195.81
1971	53,795	7.36	463,095	63.38	169,665	23.21	730,820	62.28

(1) of Canada's Italians.

(2) Increase in Italians in Province from last census.

Source: Census Canada.

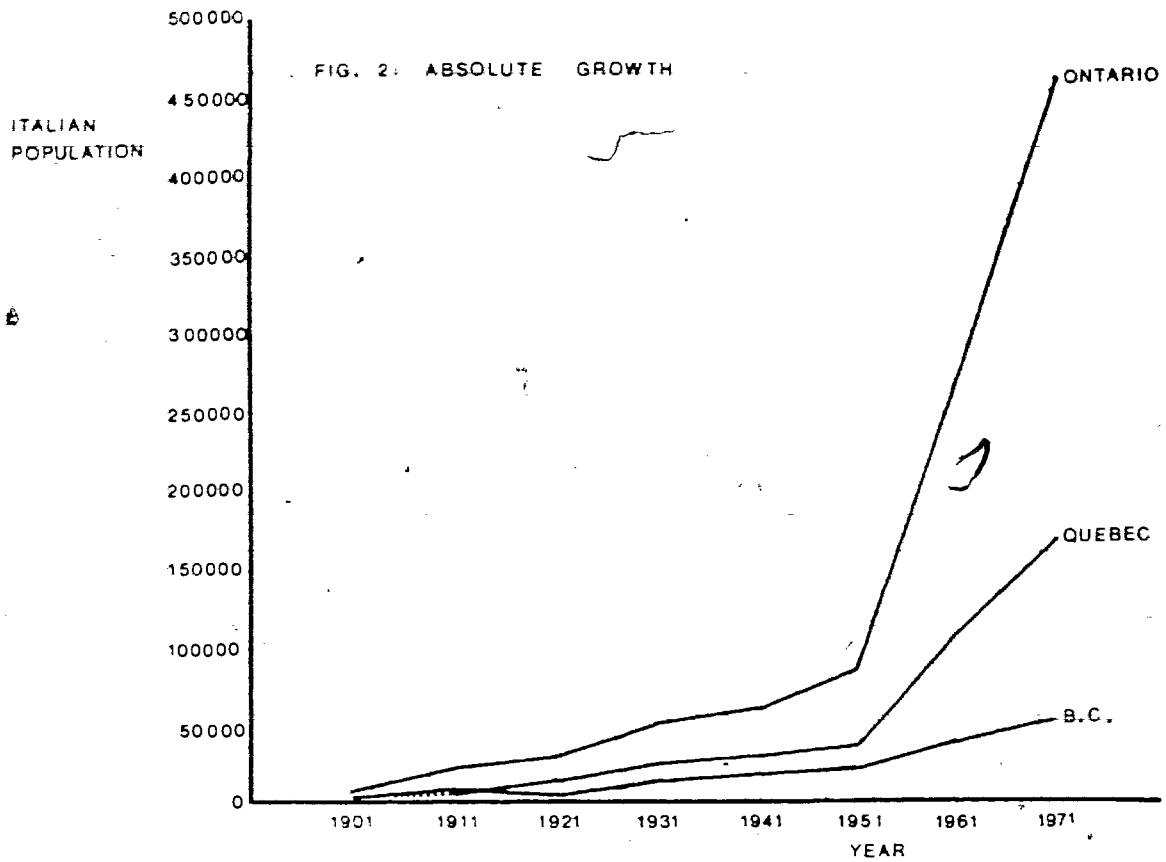
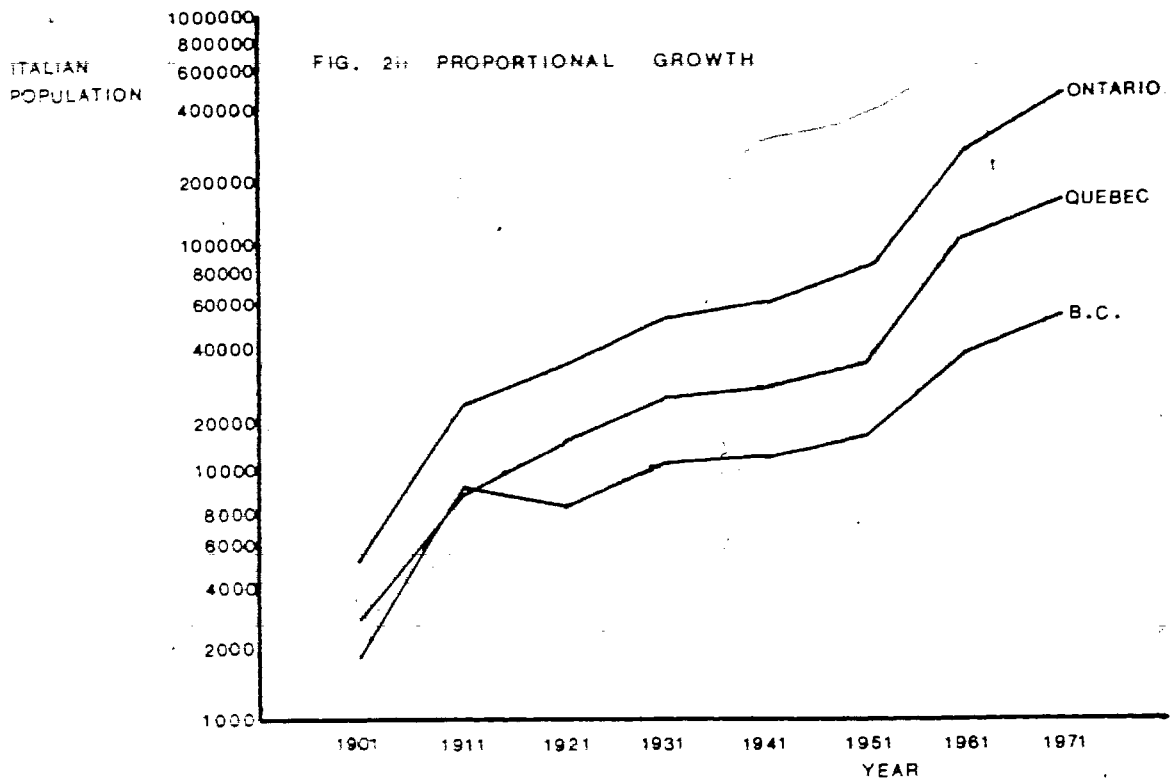


FIGURE TWO ITALIANS IN MAJOR RECEIVING PROVINCES



provinces, using a semi-logarithm graph. With this, the gradient of the line between time periods indicated the rate of growth, thus allowing comparison between different time periods and for the different provinces. From this, it is apparent that despite quantitative dominance by Ontario, the proportional changes of the Italian group have been similar in the three provinces with the noted exception of the decline of population in B.C. between 1911 and 1921. The trends indicate that after relatively high initial growth in the first decade of the Twentieth Century, fairly constant proportional growth occurred until the 1950's when rapid growth took place in all the provinces. This rate of growth remained constant in Quebec in the sixties but declined for Ontario and B.C., although the proportional growth rates were still relatively higher than earlier in the century. Overall, despite similar rates of change in the three provinces, Ontario has been the major reception area for Italians in Canada. In all, 63.4 per cent of Italian Canadians resided in Ontario in 1971.

Quebec has also received large numbers of Italians. The census figures show 169,665 in 1971 which accounted for over 23 per cent of the Italian-Canadians, a figure which has remained fairly constant during the century.

British Columbia has a far smaller Italian community than either of these Eastern provinces. In 1971, there were 53,795 people of Italian ethnic origin in B.C.. Although substantial growth in numbers has occurred in the twentieth century, British

Columbia must be considered as of secondary importance in relation to Italian immigration to Canada. This can be clearly seen from the figures from the post war 'boom' period, where the Italian populations in Quebec and Ontario increased by a much greater proportion than did B.C.. Further, as Table Two indicates, the Italian group in B.C. has declined proportionately in its share of Italians in Canada as a whole.

A final point that must be noted, in relation to the regional distribution of Italians, is the comparative attractiveness of the major urban areas. As Jansen (1981;18) points out,

"In Ontario and Quebec over 90 per cent of the Italian ethnic group lived in large urban areas (over 30,000 population)."

The comparative figure for B.C. suggests a smaller proportion of Italians in urban areas over 30,000, 64 per cent in all. This figure is, in part, a reflection of the smaller population size of B.C. centres, although it does still illustrate the fact that the major metropolitan areas of Canada provide the foci for the various Italian communities. Table Three illustrates this relationship.

The Toronto region is the location for the largest and most highly developed Italian community, which accounted for 10.34 per cent of the total population of the Metropolitan region in 1971. As the figures indicate, there has been a phenomenal growth in the region in the post war era, with Metro Toronto containing 37.18 per cent of all Italian-Canadians in 1971. This



TABLE THREE

ITALIAN POPULATION OF MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS IN  
THE POST WAR PERIOD.

	YEAR	ITALIAN POPULATION	% POPULATION OF CITY	% OF TOTAL ITALIAN POPULATION IN CANADA
CANADA	1951	152,245	-	-
	1961	450,351	-	-
	1971	730,820	-	-
METROPOLITAN MONTREAL	1951	30,722	2.20%	20.18%
	1961	101,466	4.81%	22.53%
	1971	160,605	5.85%	21.20%
METROPOLITAN TORONTO	1951	27,962	2.51%	18.37%
	1961	140,378	7.69%	31.17%
	1971	271,755	10.34%	37.18%
METROPOLITAN VANCOUVER	1951	6,563	1.24%	4.31%
	1961	18,300	2.32%	4.06%
	1971	30,045	2.78%	4.11%

Source: Census Canada.

growth has not been confined to Toronto but is also evident elsewhere in the Southern Ontario urbanized region.

Montreal has also experienced a significant growth in this period with 160,000 Italians in the region in 1971, 5.85 per cent of the total population of the city and constituting 21.2 per cent of all Italian Canadians. An interesting point to note in relation to this is that Italians have not been widely distributed around the province of Quebec at all because in 1971, 94.7 per cent of Quebecois-Italians lived in Metropolitan Montreal, whereas Ontarian-Italians, although it has been noted that they reside in larger cities, are distributed more widely around the province, which is a function of the urban development of Southern Ontario.<sup>4</sup>

Vancouver provides the focus for Italians in B.C. and Western Canada, and it has experienced a steady growth. By 1971, Italians numbered 30,045 and so accounted for 2.78 per cent of the region's population. The region contained 4.11 per cent of all Italian Canadians. In total, the Vancouver C.M.A. was the centre for 54.8 per cent of Italians in B.C., whereas two other cities, Trail and Kamloops, contained communities of over 1500 people, and contained 4.2 and 2.9 per cent of B.C.'s Italian population respectively.

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<sup>4</sup> In all, for 1971, 160,605 out of the provincial total of 169,665 lived in Metro Montreal, whereas only 271,755 out of 463,095 lived in Metro Toronto, although many Italians live in nearby cities which are virtually suburbs of Toronto. For example, in Burlington and Hamilton, where 12,000 and 42,000 Italians lived respectively.

From the trends of growth of the Italians in Canada, which have emphasized the regionally orientated growth particularly in Eastern Canada, there is little surprise that the majority of the detailed research has been focused upon these major centres, especially on the largest community in Toronto. Although this is case, it must be stated that the Italians in Canada have not received great attention in research and only limited numbers of studies have been produced. General historical reviews have been published, for example by Harney (1978), Spada (1968) and Hardwick and Moir (1976), but most research has focused upon the major cities.

For Toronto, various aspect of Italian life have been examined, the work of two researchers being most important for present purposes. The work by Ziegler (1971, 1972) has been particularly interesting in that it has examined the adaptation made by Italian immigrants and therefore provides an element of comparison for this study of the Italians in Vancouver. Jansen (1969, 1971, 1978) has also studied the Italian community with a particular emphasis upon community organization.

In the case of Montreal, although it is a major focus for Italians, limited research has occurred. An exception is the work by Boissevain (1965 & 1970) who examined the development of the community and the adaptations, internal changes and problems of Italians in the city.

In Western Canada, the research has concentrated primarily upon Vancouver and more generally, B.C., although the small

Italian community in Edmonton was studied by Hobart in 1965 in a report for the Royal Commission for Bilingualism and Biculturalism. For Vancouver, the previously mentioned research by Jansen (1981a, 1981b), looking at Education and Social Mobility and the Internal Differentiation of the group respectively, provides the first major research projects on the Italians in the city. Before this, several smaller scale studies had been completed which examined various aspects. For example, Gale (1972) looked at the impact of Italian-Canadians on the retail functions and facades of particular areas of the city. Walhouse (1961) briefly reviewed the historical growth of the community in her general survey of the influence of ethnic groups on the cultural landscape of Vancouver. Finally, Germano (1977) who was at one time the Italian consul in Vancouver, wrote about the development of the Italian cultural centre in the city. Overall, limited research has been carried out in relation to Italians in Canada and it is hoped that this study will introduce new information and therefore usefully add to the research related to ethnic groups in Vancouver.

### Italians in Vancouver

From the preceding section, while it is apparent that the major destinations of Italian immigrants have been in Eastern Canada, British Columbia and, in particular, Vancouver as the major metropolis, has been a secondary magnet in the attraction

of new immigrants. Despite this, it still provides a focal point for over 30,000 people of Italian ethnic origin. They make up a community that has grown steadily in the twentieth century and today forms a small but significant and distinctive part of the total population. This distinctiveness is expressed in concentrated residential locations, networks of ethnic-orientated services, and expressions of ethnicity in landscape, such as in specific architectural styles. The presence of these distinctive elements have lead to a popular identification of an area known as 'Little Italy' in East Vancouver.<sup>5</sup>

The year 1886, which was the year of the city's incorporation, may be cited as the start of the settlement of Italians in Vancouver. By this time in fact, as Giese (1966) indicates, Italian immigrants had already settled elsewhere in British Columbia, for example in Trail, Kamloops and Duncan. The first were businessmen and their families who arrived from elsewhere in Canada, rather than directly from Italy. From this time, Italian workmen arrived in small numbers having worked as part of the construction gangs of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Since these beginnings, the Italian presence has increased to a point where, in 1971, the census recorded 30,045 people of Italian origin in Vancouver C.M.A.. This figure may be actually somewhat conservative, because as Germano (1977;69) noted,

<sup>5</sup> -----  
An example of this label may be found in the Vancouver province newspaper in an article entitled "Vancouver's Little Italy". (June 25th 1966)

"Many Italian families (and also families from other ethnic groups) either because of language difficulties or because they were still Italian citizens (and therefore do not have the right to vote, which is sometimes mixed up with census taking) did not send back the complete form."

He estimated as much as 30 per cent difference between census and actual figures. This point is also made by a later study which estimated 40,000 Italians in 1980. (Loh and Associates 1980;22)

Despite possible inaccuracy of census material, the development of the Italian community is evident from the official figures in Table Four. This information is also shown graphically in Figure Three and thus it is possible to identify several major phases of change, similar to those indicated in the more general discussion of the Italians in Canada. In all, four phases may be suggested which reflect many influences including changing immigration policies, economic conditions in Italy and the attraction of British Columbia for potential immigrants.

#### The Early Years - Pre First World War

During this period, the earliest foundations of the Italian community were established. Immigration took place largely from the already established communities in Eastern Canada, particularly Montreal and Toronto. This was further supplemented by a small direct flow from Italy itself. It was a time of an important increase in numbers, and, as Figure 3(ii) shows, it

TABLE FOUR

THE ITALIAN POPULATION OF VANCOUVER

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ITALIAN ORIGIN IN CITY</u>	<u>TOTAL POPULATION</u>	<u>ITALIAN %</u>	<u>ITALIAN POPULATION IN VANCOUVER C.M.A.</u>
1901	203	26,762	0.75	
1911	2,156	95,266	2.26	
1921	1,590	117,217	1.35	
1931	3,390	246,593	1.35	
1941	3,644	275,353	1.32	
1951	5,095	343,833	1.47	6,563
1961	12,941	384,522	3.36	18,300
1971	19,020	426,270	4.46	30,045

Source: Census Canada.

ITALIAN  
POPULATION

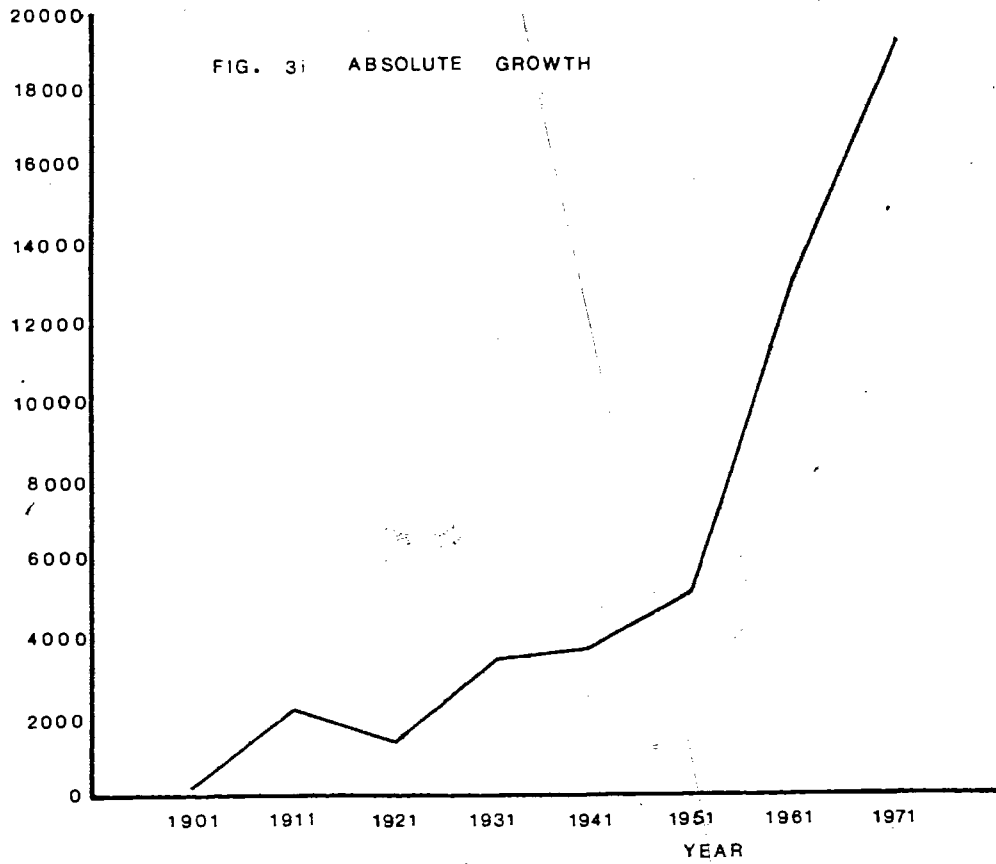
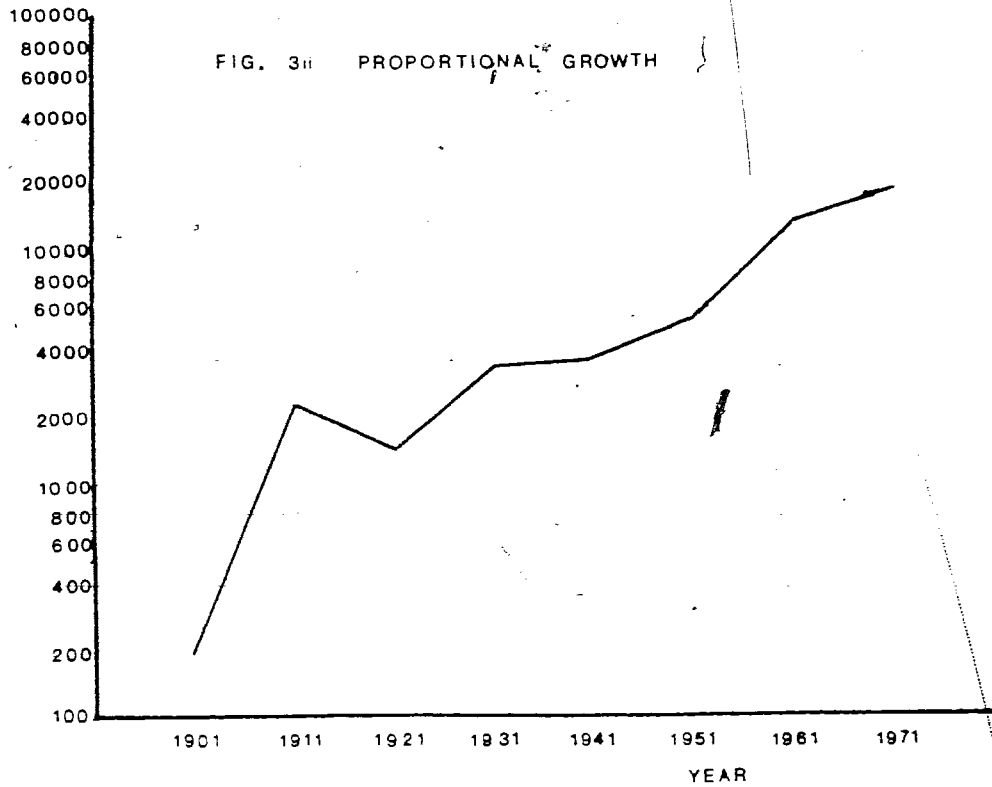


FIGURE THREE ITALIANS IN THE CITY OF VANCOUVER

ITALIAN  
POPULATION





was the time of the largest proportional rate of growth of the group. In 1901, only 203 people of Italian ethnic origins were recorded in the city. By 1911, this figure had increased ten times to 2,156. During the decade, both workingmen from construction gangs and businessmen arrived in the city. Of the latter, the majority were Northern Italians, particularly from the Venice region,<sup>6</sup> and were prominent in the early establishment of Italian owned and orientated businesses. The initial growth also facilitated the establishment of other Italian orientated services and institutions such as meeting places and churches, for example the First Italian Church, The Church of the Sacred Heart, was founded in 1905 at 525 Campbell Street. It remains in the same location today.

#### The Inter War Period

The initial growth period ended around the time of the First World War and was followed by a time of fluctuation of the city's Italian population. As the figures in Table Four indicate, in the early part of the period an absolute decline occurred and, by the early 1920's, the city's total population of Italian background was well under two thousand despite a continued increase in the total population of the city.

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<sup>6</sup> An indication of Northern Italian presence is given by the early foundation of the "Societa Venetia" in Vancouver in 1911.

If this decline is placed in a wider context and compared with Table Two and Figure Two, it is interesting to note that although the numbers of Italians in the Eastern Provinces continued to grow, the overall British Columbian Italian group declined in numbers between 1911 and 1921. The reasons for this decline probably in part relate to the influences of the First World War but, also, in the time prior to the depression, the Canadian government primarily encouraged immigration to, and the development of, agricultural regions of Canada. At the same time, it also discouraged immigration elsewhere (Manpower and Immigration 1974;12, and Kalback 1970; chapter 1).

In the following decades, the number of Italians in Vancouver again grew. This followed a trend throughout Canada where, for example between 1921 and 1941, the Italian population in the nation increased from 66,769 to 112,625. This was mostly concentrated in the East, although Vancouver doubled its Italians from 1,590 to 3,644. At this time, Canadian immigration policies lead to active encouragement of immigrants. However, it is likely that a proportion of the Italian increase came about due to the attractiveness of Canada to Italians residing in the U.S. and also, natural increase, rather than a direct flow from Italy. This is speculated because the Italian homeland of the twenties and thirties saw Facist rule come to power, and emigration was actively discouraged by Government.

## The Post War Boom Period

With the end of the Second World War and, later, in 1947, with changing immigration policies against former 'enemies', the sharp increase in Italian immigration to Canada occurred, and continued until the late sixties. In the period from 1951 to 1971, the Italian community of Vancouver grew from 5,095 to 19,020, an increase of 273.3 per cent. At the same time, the Metropolitan area figures increased from 6,563 to 30,045, which constituted a 357.7 per cent growth. Not surprisingly, this was the time of emergence of Vancouver's Little Italy, which provides a focus of Italian life in the city.

Overall, the post war period has seen a large scale Italian immigration to Canada, which has primarily focuOed on the Eastern provinces although still increasing the Italian contingent in B.C.. Again, it is only possible to speculate as to the reasons for these increases because little detailed research has been published. It has been a time, up until the mid sixties, of 'open', less discriminatory, immigration policies. This, in combination with such factors as the changing social and economic conditions in the Italian homeland, and also a positive perception by the immigrants that Canada was a land of opportunity,<sup>7</sup> may give an indication to the reasons for the increases.

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<sup>7</sup> This perception has been enhanced by the family ties that already exist between Canada and Italy.

## The Slowing Down of the Seventies

In the last decade, Italian immigration has slowed, especially in the late seventies. It has already been noted in the national context that only 39,918 Italian immigrants arrived between 1971 and 1979. Table Five shows the yearly figures for Italian immigration into Canada. In addition, it indicates what proportion relocated in B.C.. Given the present provincial distribution of Italians, it is likely that a large percentage of those new to B.C. would locate in Metropolitan Vancouver. However, this would only constitute a small increase because the province as a whole received 2,338 during the period, which accounted for 5.8 per cent of the national total.

In the context of lessened immigration, two factors are of importance. First, immigration policies have changed. Following an immigration white paper, published in 1966, new elements were added to immigration law which stipulated a set of requirements necessary for potential relocation in Canada. These new regulations did not have the effect of halting the Italian immigration but did limit the flow to close relatives of already established immigrants.

Second, it would seem that the Italian desire to migrate has declined, which may be due to the global economic recession with the perceived opportunities of emigration lessening. In fact, in a recent article by Guccione (1981), it is suggested

TABLE FIVE

ITALIAN IMMIGRATION IN THE SEVENTIES

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ITALIANS</u>	<u>ITALIANS in B.C.</u>	<u>% to B.C.</u>
1971	5,790	297	5.1
1972	4,608	228	4.9
1973	5,468	266	4.9
1974	5,226	306	5.9
1975	5,078	329	6.5
1976	4,530	277	6.1
1977	4,254	251	5.9
1978	2,976	226	7.6
1979	1996	158	7.9
TOTAL	39,918	2,338	5.8

Source: Manpower and Immigration Statistics.

that at present, greater numbers of immigrants are returning to Italy than are arriving in Canada. If this is true, the reversal of trends is an interesting point, but it is not unique to Canada. It is also apparent in other nations which have received substantial Italian immigration (although the article neglects this point).<sup>8</sup>

This final phase may be thought of as a time of consolidation because although it is unlikely that the forthcoming census will reveal any dramatic increases in the size of the community, as will be shown it has been an active period in terms of a diversification of the institutional framework of the community.

In a review of the quantitative growth of the group in Vancouver since incorporation, it must be acknowledged that the Italians form a small but significant group in the region. Another important element is that they are not equally distributed around the city but are locationally concentrated in particular areas. This is a point, as noted in Chapter Two, that is by no means peculiar to Vancouver but has occurred in urban areas throughout North America.

The following sections examine, in more detail, this concentrated location of Italians in the region, their patterns of residential change and also the development of the

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<sup>8</sup> This point was made to the present author in conversation with Dr. Clifford Jansen, York University, who was quoted by Guccione.

institutions that have formed to serve the community, with both elements important in the overall consideration of 'congregation'.

### Residential Development

The first Italian arrivals were predominantly men who often found employment in the construction industry. In reaching Vancouver, they tended to gravitate towards the east side of the city which at the time was at the fringe of urban development in the city and housed working people of different origins. Here they founded residences and established an initial core of Italian settlement. Although there is no specific census tract data for that time,<sup>9</sup> various sources, such as older people in the community, an aural history of the Strathcona District (Reimer 1979) and city directories help to give an historical perspective about the original core. This core was in an area bounded by Main St., Atlantic St., Clark Drive and the Burrard Inlet (See Map One). It was in this region that the earliest Italian shops, businesses, churches and meeting places were founded beginning in the first decade of the century. This was not a solidly Italian area; it was also the staging ground for many other groups. For example, it was also, and continues to be, the main focus for the Chinese community in the city.

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<sup>9</sup> Census tract data first became available in Vancouver after the 1951 survey.

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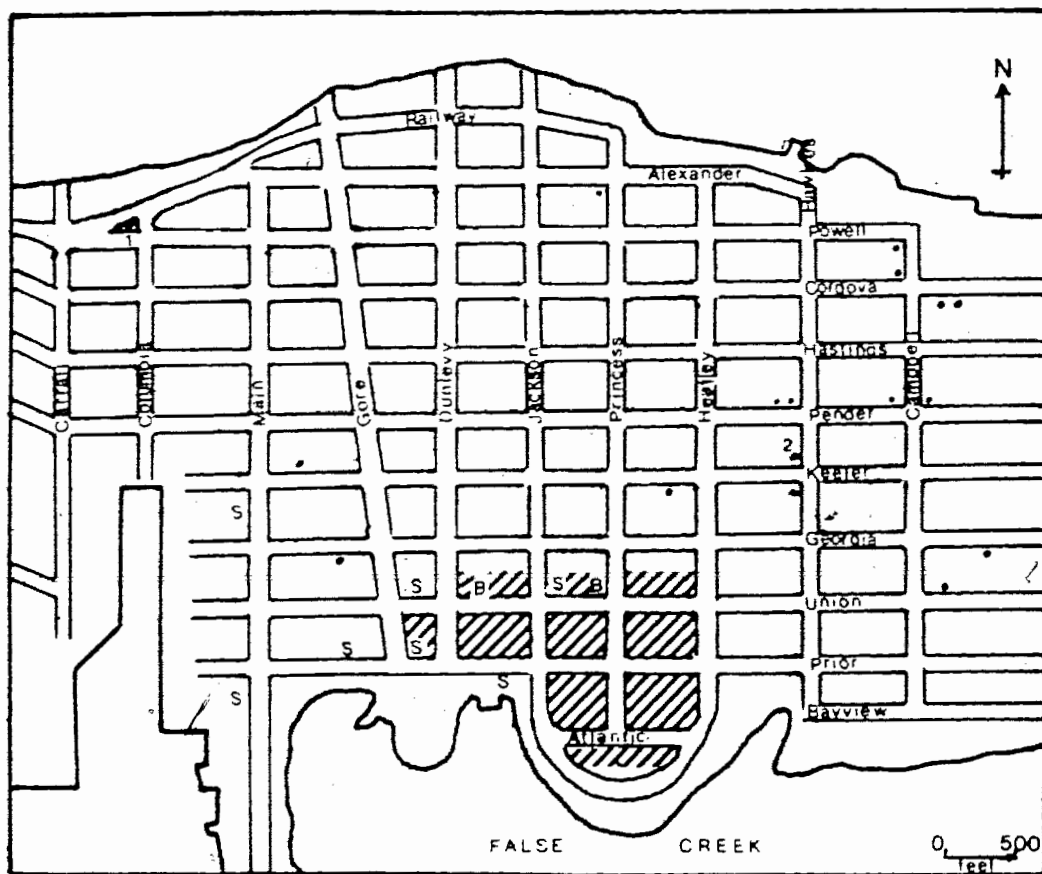
It was in this area that the first Italian residential concentration occurred on a small scale. As Map One suggests, although Italians resided throughout the neighbourhood, a grouping of homes grew on Union, Prior and Atlantic Streets.<sup>10</sup>

This original concentration remained the focus of Italian life until after the Second World War, when the sharp increases in the numbers of Italians occurred. In fact, in 1951, the original core (if slightly extended eastwards) was still the major residential focus, containing 27 per cent of Vancouver's Italians. This area is indicated on Map Two. It was the only area that contained over 5 per cent Italians in relation to population, although the larger area in East Vancouver bounded by Main Street, Broadway, Boundary Road and the Burrard Inlet was emerging as an area where large numbers of Italians resided, containing 47 per cent of the city's Italian population. However, although this residential concentration was evident in the City of Vancouver, as Table Six and Figures Four indicate, Italians were throughout the Lower Mainland in varying numbers.

By 1961, when the total Italian population of the Metropolitan region had increased to 18,300, the core of Italian residential location had clearly emerged. Each census tract in Vancouver East of Main and North of Broadway had more than average totals of Italians, a fact illustrated by Map Three. This area was the home for 62 per cent of the city of

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<sup>10</sup> In the first decade of the century, Union and Atlantic were named Barnard and Grove Streets respectively.

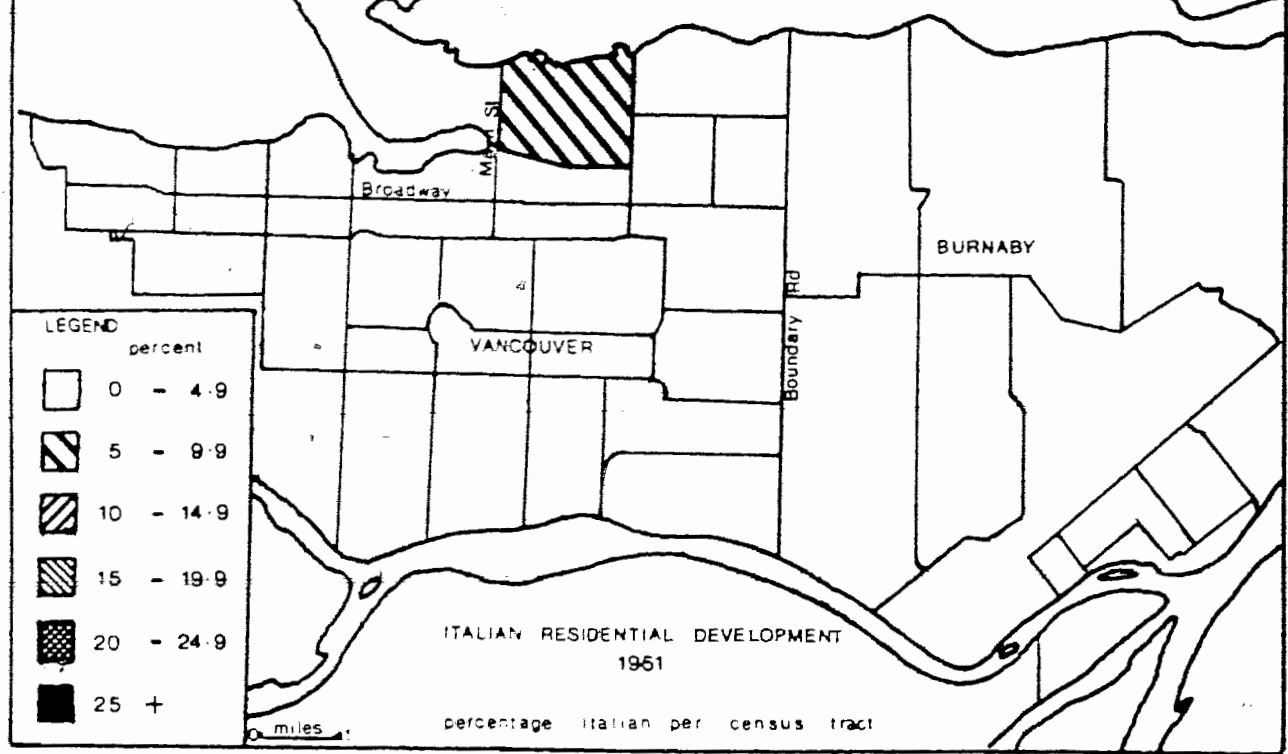




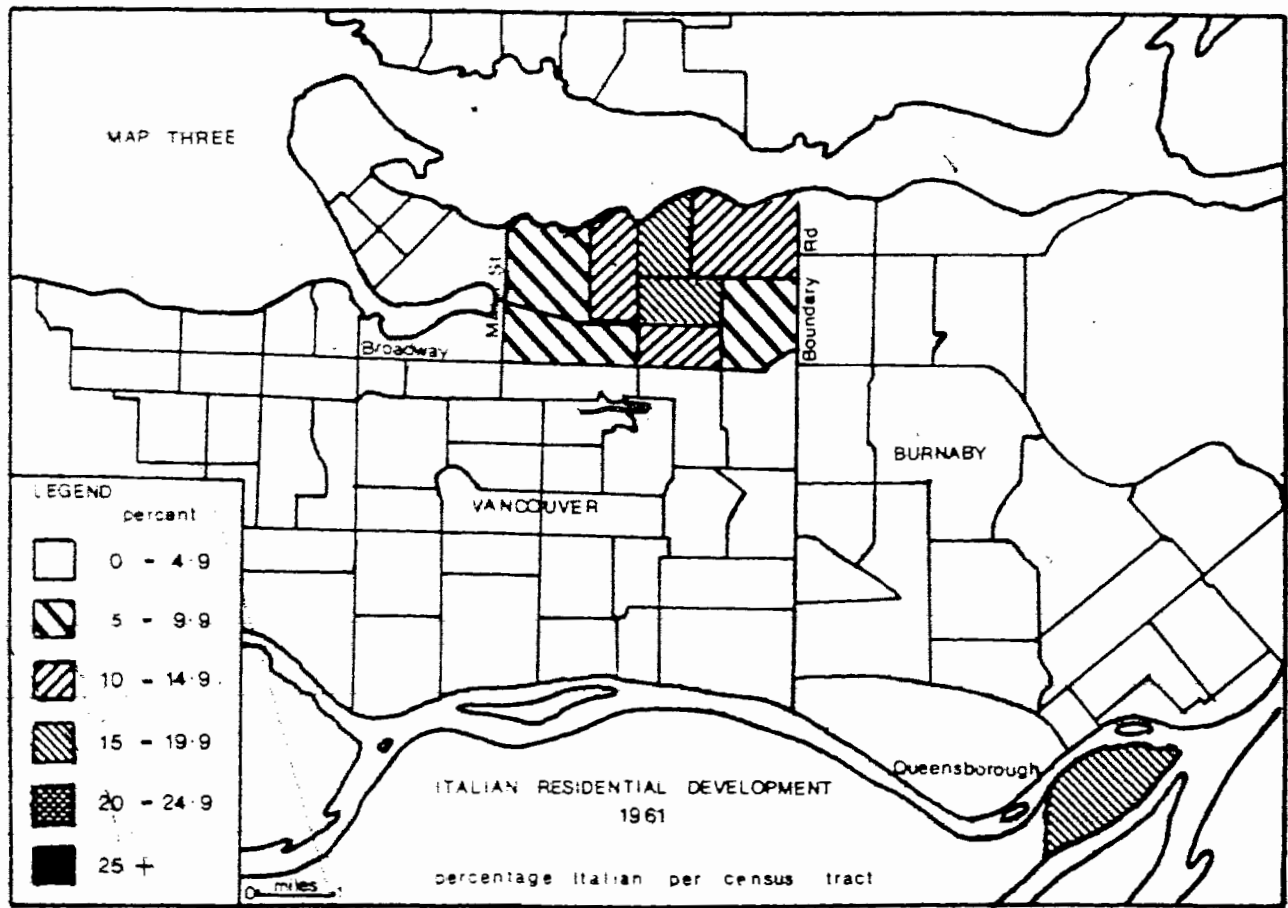
MAP ONE ITALIAN DEVELOPMENTS IN VANCOUVER circa 1914

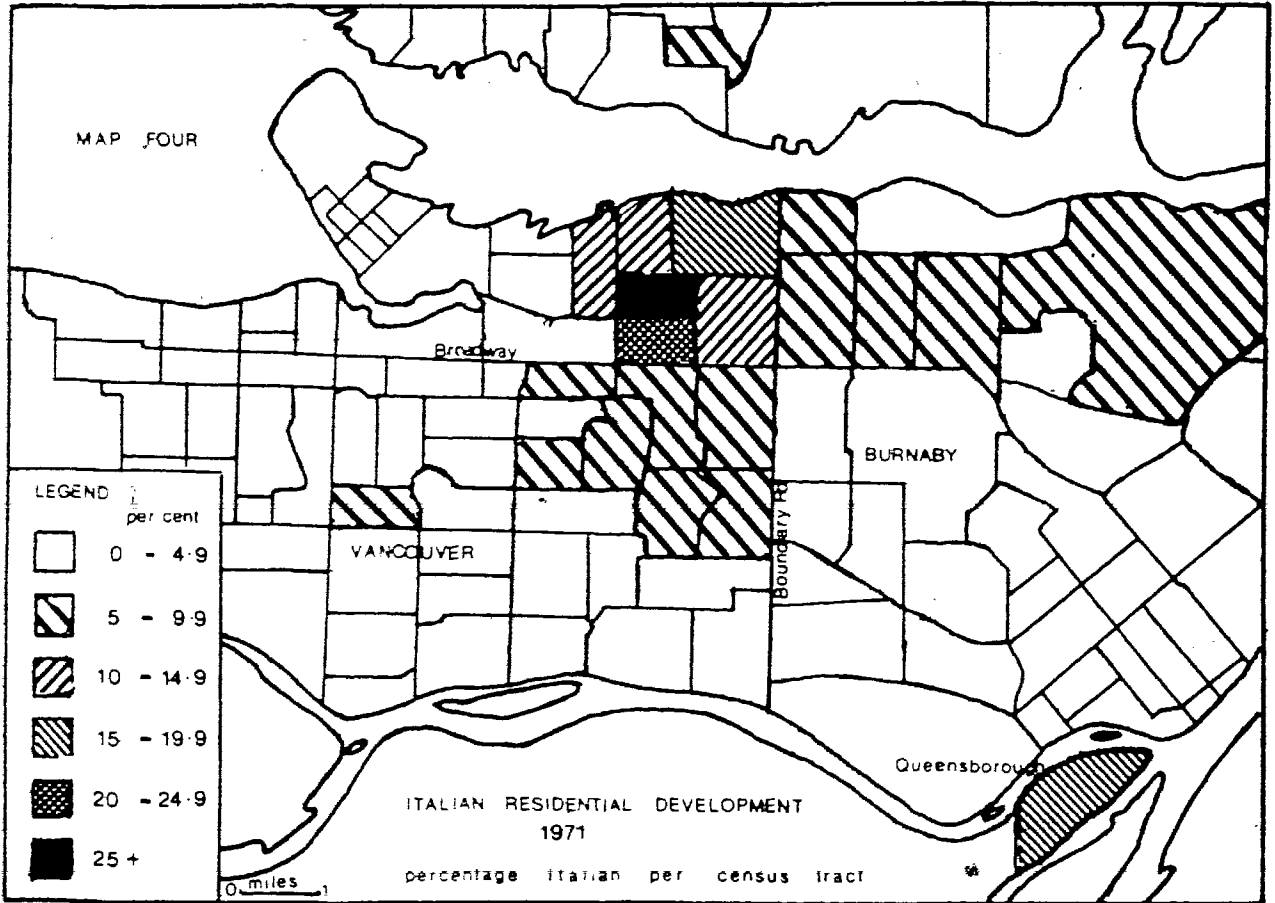
1	Europe Hotel
2	Church of Sacred Heart
B	Bakery
S	Shop / Service
•	Italian Residence
	Main Residential Focus

MAP TWO



MAP THREE





Vancouver's Italian population. Within this area, the largest concentration occurred east of Victoria Drive where census tracts indicated over 15 per cent Italian as a percentage of total population. This situation emphasizes the fact that although there was an Italian ethnic residential concentration in the region, it was not an Italian dominated region, because other groups were, and still are, present. By this time, although 70.7 per cent of the Italian population still lived in the City of Vancouver, numbers greatly increased in the other municipalities. For example, in the Queensborough region of New Westminster, over 16 per cent of the population was Italian which had occurred in response to the employment opportunities offered by the mills on the Fraser River. Every other municipality, at least, doubled their population of Italians with perhaps the most significant in Burnaby which was beginning to receive Italians moving eastwards from the core region.

These trends continued throughout the 1960's and by 1971 as Map Four shows, a diffusion of greater numbers of Italians from the original East Vancouver core region had occurred. With this, the major residential focus had continued and had intensified with Census Tracts indicating 20 per cent and 25 per cent Italian. In areas surrounding this core, the Italian influence increased, with a spreading to the area to the South and particularly to the East, across Boundary Road into North Burnaby. Gale (1972) suggested that this has been a secondary movement from the core area, rather than newly arrived

TABLE SIX

THE ITALIAN POPULATIONS OF THE MUNICIPALITIES OF METROPOLITAN VANCOUVER.

1951 -1971

MUNICIPALITY	1951	%(a)	%(b)	1961	%(a)	%(b)	1971	%(a)	%(b)
VANCOUVER	5,095	77.6	1.5	12,941	70.7	3.4	19,020	63.3	4.5
BURNABY	503	7.7	0.9	1,816	9.9	1.8	3,970	13.2	3.2
NEW WESTMINSTER	322	4.9	1.1	697	3.8	2.1	860	2.9	2.0
COQUITLAM	96	1.4	0.6	350	1.9	1.2	760	2.5	1.4
N. VANCOUVER (CITY)	262	4.0	1.7	692	3.8	2.9	1,175	3.9	3.7
N. VANCOUVER (DISTRICT)	65	0.8	0.4	400	2.3	1.0	965	3.2	1.7
W. VANCOUVER	32	0.5	0.2	165	0.9	0.6	395	1.3	1.1
PORT COQUITLAM	34	0.5	1.0	105	0.6	1.3	240	0.8	1.2
PORT MOODY	10	0.1	0.4	71	0.4	1.5	170	0.6	1.3
RICHMOND	85	1.3	0.4	340	1.8	0.8	530	1.8	0.9
SURREY	45	0.6	0.5	557	3.0	0.8	900	3.0	0.9
DELTA	-	-	-	108	0.6	0.7	420	1.4	0.9
OTHER	48	0.6	1.0	58	0.3	0.4	640	2.1	0.9
TOTAL ITALIANS	6,563	100	1.2	18,300	100	2.3	30,045	100	2.8
TOTAL POPULATION	530,728			790,165			1,082,350		

(a) PERCENTAGE OF METROPOLITAN VANCOUVER'S ITALIAN  
 (b) PERCENTAGE ITALIAN OF MUNICIPAL TOTAL.

Source: Census Canada.

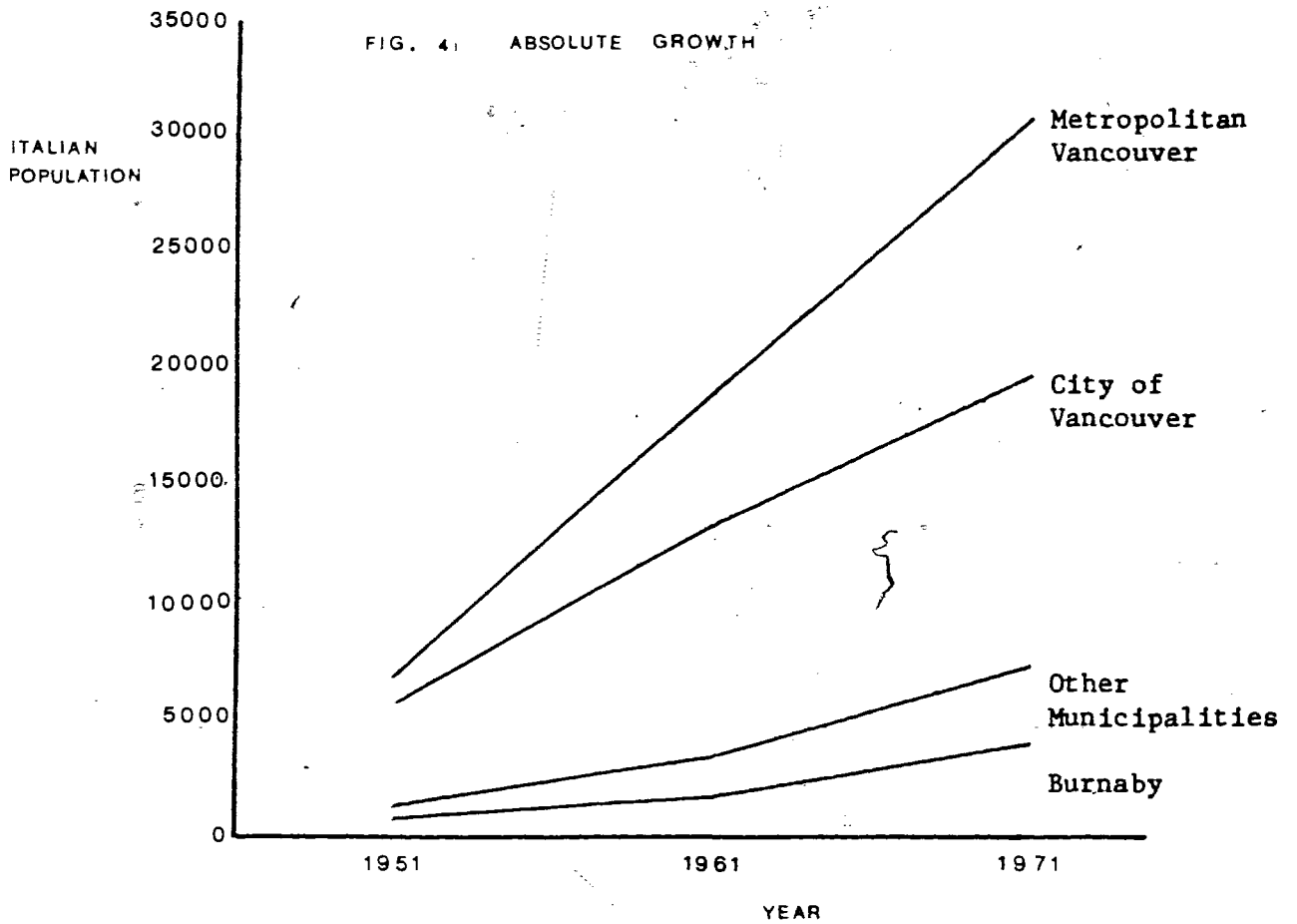
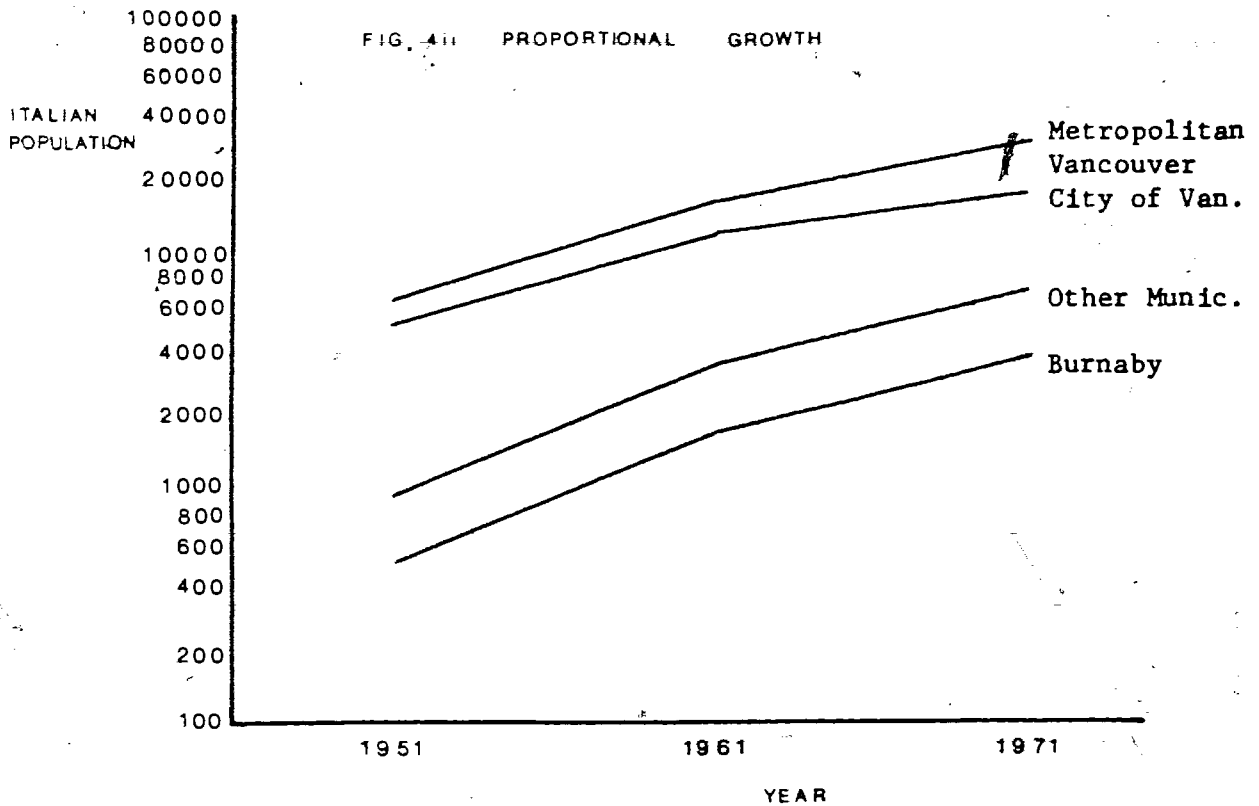


FIGURE FOUR ITALIANS IN METROPOLITAN VANCOUVER



immigrants immediately choosing the new locations, an idea that concurs with the experiences of some of the respondents for this study. In the period between 1961 and 1971, the number of Italians doubled and, at the time 13.2 per cent of Metropolitan Vancouver's Italians lived in that municipality. Numbers also increased in the other municipalities, and the City of Vancouver, while still remaining the focus, declined in it's share of Italians in the Metropolitan area from 70.7 per cent in 1961 to 63.3 per cent in 1971.

Overall, the post war period has seen an increased Italian population which, as Figure 4(ii) indicates, has largely been received in the city of Vancouver and, on a smaller scale, Burnaby. In residential terms, the result of this has been the emergence of an Italian concentration in East Vancouver. The patterns of development have been of an initial concentration in particular neighbourhoods, followed by an intensification of a core which took place in the fifties and sixties. Alongside this, an eastwards migration of Italian residences has occurred, thus extending the residential focus.

Even though a residential core may be identified, it is also true that each municipality in the Metropolitan region has experienced an absolute growth in Italian population since 1951. Figure 4(ii) shows the relative rates of growth for the region. It is interesting to note the similarities in the trends. In each case, a more rapid growth is indicated between 1951-61 than in the latter decade. It also indicates a more rapid growth rate

for Burnaby and the other municipalities, relative to the City of Vancouver, which tends to suggest an increasingly widespread distribution of Italians around the Lower Mainland.

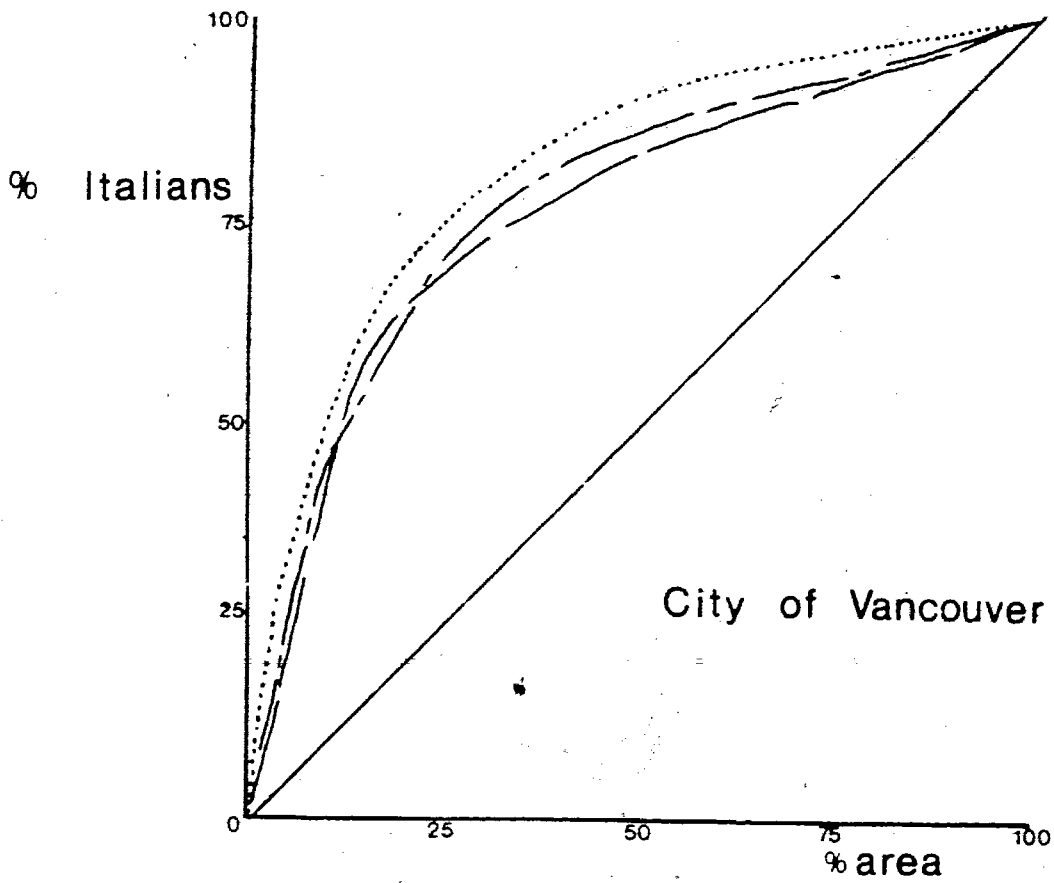
A method that illustrates the increasing distribution around the Lower Mainland, as well as the continued residential concentrations, is Lorenz curve analysis. Two curves are presented in Figure Five which indicate the two cases.<sup>11</sup> Figure 5(i) shows that despite large absolute increases of Italians in the City of Vancouver, the degree of residential concentration has remained fairly constant. It indicates that approximately 75 per cent of the Italians living in less than 25 per cent of the area, which provides another illustration of the previous map analysis. Little distinctiveness is indicated in the trends of change, in that the 1951 data shows a slightly lesser concentration than 1971, which, in turn, shows a marginally lower degree of concentration than 1961. In contrast, Figure 5(ii) which examines the Metropolitan Area as a whole, does indicate a trend of decreasing concentration since 1951. From this, for example, approximately 90 per cent of Italians lived in 25 per cent of the area in 1951, as compared with 78 per cent

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<sup>11</sup> The method of calculation of the curve used in 5(i) was to initially standardize the census data for the years under consideration by grouping the census tracts of 1961 and 71 so that they would conform to the 1951 boundaries. Thus, the area scale is indicated by census tracts. From this point, Italian population figures for each tract were computed and ranked from highest to lowest and a cumulative percentage curve was constructed. A similar technique was employed for 5(ii), but in this case, the Italian population totals for each municipality were computed and ranked and the curve constructed.



FIGURE FIVE LORENZ CURVES



— 1951  
..... 1961  
- - - 1971

