

Leonardo da Montreal: The rhetoric of *Italianità* and the Canadian Post-nation

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Abstract

Leonardo da Montreal: The rhetoric of *Italianità* and the Canadian Post-nation

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This thesis offers an analysis of the rhetoric of *Italianità* or “Italianicity” “spoken” via an architectural object: the Leonardo da Vinci cultural center located in Montreal. Situated in the predominantly Italian neighborhood of St. Leonard, the cultural center reveals the multiple attachments that Italian-Canadians feel for the Italian community, for the city of Montreal, for the province of Quebec and for Canada. The rhetoric of the Leonardo da Vinci center is different from the narratives of *Italianità* from the past. While in the past the narratives of Italian immigration figured a reflective type of nostalgia, the Leonardo da Vinci cultural center projects this community in the future, revealing a restorative type of nostalgia. In addition, the center represents a venue for the performance of Italian-Canadian citizenship which is multi-faceted and challenges the classical definitions of this concept. The multiplicity of Italian-Canadians’ attachments reveals the rise of a new motive in the rhetoric of identification of communities of people who belong away from homeland, namely the post-national motive. Italian immigration to Montreal spanned throughout a century. Today, we speak about 1st to 5th generation Italian-Canadians from Montreal. While before, they were a diasporic community, identifying with the place of origins, today they have become a post-national community which identifies with their present location, now their “home”. This calls us to argue that while Canada is still defining its national identity, various former immigrant communities constitute a post-nation in the process.

Résumé

Leonardo da Montréal: la rhétorique de l'*italianità* et la post-nation canadienne

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Cette thèse présente une analyse de la rhétorique de l'*italianità* ou "italianité", "racontée" par un objet architectural: le centre culturel Leonardo da Vinci de Montréal. Situé à Saint-Léonard, une des banlieues importantes de la communauté italienne de cette ville, ce centre culturel montre comment les Italo-Canadiens de Montréal se sentent attachés, et ce, de façons multiples, à leur communauté, à la ville de Montréal, à la province du Québec et au Canada. La rhétorique du centre Leonardo da Vinci est différente par rapport aux récits de l'italianité du passé. Si dans le passé les récits des immigrants italiens présentaient une certaine nostalgie qui réfléchissait l'endroit d'origine, le centre Leonardo da Vinci projette la communauté italienne dans l'avenir, en montrant une nostalgie de type restauratif. En plus, le centre offre un moyen de manifester sa citoyenneté italo-canadienne qui est variée et qui défie la notion classique du concept de la citoyenneté. La multiplicité des affinités des Italo-Canadiens justifie l'apparition d'un nouveau motif dans la rhétorique d'identification des communautés qui arrivent à se sentir chez elles à l'étranger, c'est le motif post-national. L'immigration italienne à Montréal s'est formée à travers un siècle. Aujourd'hui, on parle d'une à cinq générations des Italo-Canadiens à Montréal. Si avant ils constituaient une communauté diasporique, qui s'identifiait avec l'endroit d'origine, aujourd'hui ils forment une communauté post-nationale qui s'identifie avec l'endroit où elle habite dans le présent. Cette situation nous offre l'occasion de soutenir que même si le Canada est en train de construire son identité

nationale, certaines communautés constituées d'anciens immigrants forment en même temps une post-nation.

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To Florica Otel, who helped me run for a personal best

To my grandparents' memory

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Introduction:

“Spaghetti with meatballs”

John A. Hall (2002) argues:

We need to be careful before saying that transatlantic belongings are generally strong and on the increase. First, what is at issue at times is longing rather than belonging: for instance the Québécois often feel rejected and jilted by the French, who rarely go to live in Québec – often preferring to make jokes about the Québécois accent. Second the images of belonging are imaginary, and the process of imagining distinctively reflects American culture rather than any primordial identity. The spaghetti with meatballs that marks Italian-American culture is unknown in Italy... (p. 61)

Hall (2002) rightly distinguishes “longing” from “belonging”, the role of the imaginary as far as both, as well as the frustrations those who long experience when they do not belong. As we will argue, the Italian-Canadians longed before they belonged in Montreal. They felt jilted before they felt attached to Canada, as geographically speaking, to them Canada was just a land across the Atlantic Ocean, at the beginning of their immigration experience. To a certain extent, they resolved their identity issues as they gradually assimilated to the North-American culture. Images such as the “spaghetti with meatballs” stand for what Italian-American studies call the *assimilation thesis*.

“Spaghetti with meatballs” may be a trope for the adaptation/assimilation of Italians on the North-American continent. It might just as well be a shortcut to Italian culture that is distilled in one, easily retainable image. As stereotypical as it may be,

people love it because usually stereotypes are generally easy to understand. Our concern here is not the kind of stereotype it offers as this thesis does not proceed with a dismantling of stereotypes in a direct kind of way. The contribution of this project is not that it will offer a “more accurate” rendition of the identity of a community, but that it will theorize a way to think about how identity processes occur at distance from the homeland. More specifically, we want to explain how the Italians from Montreal, Canada, a former immigrant community, *arrived to belong away from homeland* and be constituted as subjects/citizens. Before we start our argument, let us analyze the image of “spaghetti with meatballs” more closely.

➤ “Spaghetti with meatballs”: The power of imagery

“Spaghetti with meatballs” introduces a particular image of Italianicity¹ that can be found only on the North-American continent. What makes it inherently North-American, as well as Italian? Is it Italian because it has the word “spaghetti” contained in it? Probably, yes. Is it North-American because of the “meatballs”? We do not think so, as meatballs are popular in many countries. Is the fact that “spaghetti with meatballs” was invented in North America that makes Italians from here North American, or did “spaghetti with meatballs” happen because these people are Italian? This is a circular way to think about the problem of cultural adaptations and transgressions. In order to step out of such circles, we suggest there are more nuanced ways to think about the constitution of identity in other places than those of origin and about the transformation of these identities abroad.

Without turning “spaghetti with meatballs” into a joke, we propose a different argument about cultural adaptations, transgressions and attachments at a distance. For that we need to go deeper into the essence of “spaghetti with meatballs”, which does not mean going deeper into the tomato sauce, but into the concept of Italianità.

As our argument will unfold, we bring forward a different thesis on how identities are constituted abroad and specifically in Montreal, Canada. We do not disagree with the thesis that assimilation is a good answer to communities’ identity issues abroad.

However, in rhetorical studies, we would benefit more if we analyzed the process of constituting identities abroad more deeply. The concept of assimilation assumes that communities of people who come from somewhere else “buy” into the necessary set of values and norms that constitute the host culture. This is indeed true. Yet, it also assumes that to a large extent they also do not maintain a sense of where they came from.

Perhaps, one needs to forget who one is in order to adapt to a new culture. However, we claim that in the Canadian context this is not necessary. Canada provides immigrants with a variety of coping mechanisms to adapt to a new environment, while at the same time allowing them to remember who they are. In turn, due to these circumstances these immigrants arrive to be constituted within the culture of at least two places – the place of origin and that of destination. Specifically, this is the case of the Italian-Canadian community living in Montreal, Canada.

The Italian-Canadian community from Montreal will be the case study for this thesis, and, potentially, a case study for building further arguments as to how identities are constituted away from homeland. As we will also analyze, this process was not evident at early stages of Italian immigration to Montreal. Moreover, the theory this study

will provide in order to explain identity processes occurring away from homeland does not apply to communities that still find themselves at early stages of immigration. As a result, the diasporic motive of belonging applies to these communities in the same way it applied to the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal for a long time after its immigration began. At the same time, once the immigration process is completed, several communities evolve from the diasporic condition to a different stage. Therefore, the underlining motive of their belonging is not the diasporic motive any longer. We argue that these communities enter a post-national stage and consequently, the rise of a post-national motive of belonging for communities of people that live away from homeland needs to be marked within the rhetoric of identification.

“Imagery”, including the image of “spaghetti with meatballs” has a crucial role in determining immigrant attachments. Yet, imagery alone does not explain the constitution of their identity. The Italian-Canadian imagery in Montreal changed from early stages of immigration to the present moment. The evolution of this imagery will be analyzed at various stages. However, the central point of this study is that a fundamental change as to how Italian-Canadians constitute their identity nowadays can be observed, in comparison with any past moment during their immigration to Montreal.

In addition, this change leads to a different understanding of how the Canadian national identity has to be formulated. In brief, the Italian-Canadian identity was transformed throughout time both in terms of imagery and in terms of how it arrived to be constituted. In order to understand what Kenneth Burke (1950) would call a “transformation” within the identification process we need to outline Burke’s theory of motives.

➤ A theory of rhetorical motives

Burke (1950) would argue that a change as far as how people belong or identify is marked by the appearance of a new rhetorical motive. As we stated, imagery is just one of the possible ways to represent the process of change and “spaghetti with meatballs” is an image of “settling” Italian identity into the American context. However, it is not a rhetorical motive and it does not mark a fundamental change to the rhetorical form in which this identity manifests. Two concepts need to be considered in framing this change: first, the concept of “imagery” and second, the concept of “motives”.

Burke (1950) ponders over the meaning of imagery as he asks what does imagery mean at “face value”? He contends that “taken simply at its face value, imagery invites us to respond in accordance with its nature” (p. 17). For example:

... an adolescent eager to “grow up”, is trained by our motion pictures to meditate much on the imagery of brutality and murder, as the most noteworthy signs of action in an ideal or imaginary adult world. By the time he is fifteen, he has “witnessed” more violence than most soldiers or gunmen experience in a lifetime.

(pp. 17-18)

His fundamental question about the importance of imagery alone is derived from the example above. His question is “why must *any* imagery of killing, even when explicit, be taken as ultimate, rather than an ‘opportunistic’ terminology for specifying or localizing a principle of motivation ‘prior’ to *any* imagery, either scenic or personal?” (p. 19) Thus, imagery alone, or taken “at face value” does not explain neither how identities are created, nor how they evolve.

With regards to rhetorical motives, Burke (1950) argues that “a rhetorical motive is often present where it is usually not recognized, or thought to belong” (p. xiii). He considers rhetorical motives fundamental to the identification process. Comparing motives to images, he argues: “an imagery of killing is but one of the many terminologies by which writers can represent the process of change” (p. xiii). Yet, according to Burke (1969) defining motives starts with answering the question “what is involved when we say what people are doing and why they are doing it?” (p. xv). Therefore, Burke (1969) is concerned with identifying “the basic forms of thought, which in accordance with the nature of the world all men necessarily experience” and these basic forms of thought “are exemplified in the attributing of motives” (p. xv).

Elaborating on rhetorical motives, he argues:

These forms of thought can be embodied profoundly or trivially, truthfully or falsely. They are equally present in systematically elaborated metaphysical structures, in legal judgments, in poetry and fiction, in political and scientific works, in news and in bits of gossip offered at random. (p. xv)

Burke (1969) traces a grammar of *motives* - an enigmatic term that, he argues, “clearly reveals the strategic spots at which ambiguities necessarily arrive” (p. xviii, author’s emphasis). Burke (1969) contends: “strictly speaking we mean by a Grammar of motives a concern with the terms alone, without reference to the ways in which their potentialities have been or can be utilized in actual statements about motives” (p. xvi). By means of rhetorical analysis, the identification of rhetorical motives, “throws light on literary texts and human relations generally” (p. xiv). We will identify them in the stories

on Italian immigrants from Montreal, departing from Burke's (1969) terminology which explains identification processes.

As this thesis is concerned with how communities identify abroad at various stages and how these identities evolve, it also follows that the main task of this project is to mark the appearance of a new rhetorical motive that accounts for the constitution of identities away from homeland as we believe it is the case of the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal. The identification of rhetorical motives of belonging away from homeland is also an important task, more generally speaking. Nowadays many live in a different place than the one where they were born. Many are global, cosmopolitan, international citizens, as this project will present some of the terms that underline the present conditions of worldwide circulation of people. Therefore, how people arrive to belong when they live abroad becomes increasingly relevant during our times, marked by quick changes and fast pace globalization. Burke (1950) does not speak to "belonging" per se, yet he speaks to the concept of "identification", as he argues that "in identification lies the source of all dedications and enslavements, in fact of cooperation" (p. xiv). We believe cooperation cannot be achieved abroad unless people feel they belong. This is in a nutshell why we write a study in this area and mark the appearance of a new motive of belonging away from homeland.

➤ Rhetoric and other disciplines

Burke (1950) discusses that rhetorical motives became obscured when new disciplines including aesthetics, anthropology, psychoanalysis or sociology came to the fore and "outlawed" it (p. xiii). He proposes a philosophy of rhetoric that explains the

identification process or the process through which “the members of a group promote social cohesion by acting rhetorically upon themselves and one another” (p. xiv). He argues that “an identification ranges from the politician who, addressing an audience of farmers, says, ‘I was a farm boy myself’, through the mysteries of social status, to the mystic’s devout identification with the source of all being” (p. xiv).

When they first arrived in Montreal, Italian immigrants would say about themselves they were first Italian. Only later, they would begin to say they were Italian-Canadians. Today, they fully embraced their identification as Italian-Canadians and in addition, they invite everyone else to participate in their culture as Italian-Canadians from Montreal. They do that via the Leonardo da Vinci center from St. Leonard, Montreal which is an architectural expression that marks a change in the rhetorical form through which they communicate their identity. The Leonardo da Vinci center embodies the making of the Italian community from Montreal. It was built under the governance of important members of the community and enjoyed wide support among the community members. It is the outcome of over ten years of fund raising and discussions within the community and is accepted to represent the main “lieu de rassemblement” and nucleus of the Italian community from Montreal. The Leonardo da Vinci center calls our attention to an important story that the Italian community from Montreal tells about itself. It also speaks to a new stage in terms of how it identifies in Montreal. Thus, we will reflect on this idea by means of an analysis of the former rhetoric of Italianicity or “Italianità” in Montreal contrasted with the rhetoric articulated via this cultural center from St. Leonard, a major neighborhood where most Italian population from this city is concentrated now.

We claim that the Italian community from Montreal, as it is much older than many other immigrant communities, is in a process of re-shaping its identity and therefore “longs” and “belongs” differently than in the past and than other diasporic groups that are more recent to Montreal. The topic of early immigrant cultures or diasporic identities is covered in a variety of literatures, communication included. Yet, in all fields, what happens in terms of identity when one speaks of layers of immigrants from a community, stretched throughout decades or centuries, is little theorized.

We will create a theory that connects the rhetoric of Italianicity in Montreal to architecture in order to further reflect on the identity of a formerly immigrant group that now has reached a different stage and whose evolution points to a change in terms of the rhetorical form through which it expresses its identity. Consequently, as the central concern of this study is to explain the rise of a new rhetorical motive of belonging of communities living abroad, this thesis touches mainly on the discipline of rhetoric. In addition, drawing on studies which connect rhetoric and architecture, it will advance the claim that architecture is constitutive of subjects. Next, as we cover the analysis of a public architectural object, we will build on the previous claim and will advance the argument that public architecture provides the venue for the manifestation of citizenry. Therefore, even if this study contributes to the discipline of rhetoric, it will use insights from a wide variety of other disciplines, including Italian studies, architectural theory, discourse theory, urbanism, political science, sociology, cultural studies and diasporic studies.

This study needs to be inter-disciplinary as the transformation within the identification process of Italian-Canadians from Montreal has a wide range of effects

which need to be explained, including on how the Canadian nation is perceived as well as on how national identities are currently defined. Though Canada is defined as a multi-nation state, this framework still does not provide sufficient insights into how immigrant communities identify within Canada. Also, nation-state frameworks in general have very little room for communities of “foreigners” living within their confines. Thus, we will discuss these aspects and suggest that a reformulation of these frameworks is necessary. While our concern is to suggest this based on the rhetorical identification process of the Italian community from Montreal, we strongly believe that a complete reformulation of these frameworks needs to occur in other disciplines that treat political concepts. Our concern is to explain how communities identify and point to the effects of this process on the nation.

➤ “Identification” and rhetorical effects:

Maurice Charland (1987) builds on the concept of “identification” and advances the claim that “subjects” are constituted by the discourse they choose to participate in. He argues:

In the *Rhetoric of Motives*, Kenneth Burke proposes “identification” as an alternative to “persuasion” as the key term of the rhetorical process. Burke’s project is a rewriting of rhetorical theory that considers rhetoric and motives in formal terms, as consequences of the nature of language and its enactment.

Burke’s stress on identification permits a rethinking of judgment and the working of the rhetorical effect, for he does not posit a transcendent subject as audience member, who would exist prior to and apart from the speech to be judged, but

considers audience members to participate in the very discourse by which they would be “persuaded”. In particular [this rhetorical move] permits us to examine how rhetoric effects what Louis Althusser identifies as the key process in the production of ideology: the constitution of the subject... (p. 133)

This study begins with the two concepts of “identification” and “constitution of subjects”.

We will discuss these concepts as they apply to the analysis of the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal. First, we will provide a context for the Italian immigration to this city and the constituting elements of a local Italian-Canadian ethos. This will be necessary in order to further advance the claim that the Leonardo da Vinci center, as a public architectural object is constitutive of subjects. In addition, the center represents a site where subjects become citizens who carry on a specific performance by means of the center. Public architecture, and specifically cultural centers, “invite” subjects into community matters. Therefore, a range of practices that the Leonardo da Vinci center allows for, stand for the performance of Italian-Canadian citizens in Montreal. We will argue that the Italian-Canadian practice of citizenship defies the classical definitions of citizenship. This will be the first trajectory outlined in the first three chapters.

Secondly, we will analyze the Italian-Canadian ethos in Montreal in terms of the rhetorical motives it leads to in regards to a community arriving to belong away from homeland. While the central rhetorical motive ruling the Italian-Canadian belonging to Montreal was the diasporic motive, a certain change can be observed nowadays, if we analyze the rhetoric of Italianità contained in the Leonardo da Vinci center. The diasporic motive does not explain how Italian-Canadians identify in Montreal any longer while the post-national motive does. The change in terms of the rhetorical form of identification

has effects on how national identities need to be conceived and explained. Therefore, following to the explanation of the two motives, we will provide a critique of the formulation of a national identity problematic, complete with the Canadian version of this concept. Moreover, we will advance the claim as to the need to re-think the concept of Canadian identity. This second trajectory will be covered in chapters four and five.

➤ A theory of rhetorical effects: Research questions

Rhetoric is also the discipline interested in the interpretation of effects in discourse as Wayne Booth (2004) defines it as:

... the entire range of resources that human being share for producing effects on one another: effects [being] ethical (including everything about character), practical (including political), emotional (including aesthetic), and intellectual (including every academic field). It is the entire range of our use of “signs” for communicating effectively or sloppily, ethically or immorally. At its worst, it is our most harmful miseducator – except for violence. (p. xi)

Italian-Canadian imagery in Montreal raises a wide range of effects on the specific audience of Italian-Canadians. If, for instance, the image of “spaghetti with meatballs” has strong identification effects with the audience of Italian-Americans in general, the “Leonardo da Vinci” center also brings about ethical, political, emotional and intellectual effects. Various rhetorical resources were employed to arrive at such effects. The center communicates by means of these resources the identity problematic and the specific subject-positions of Italian-Canadians from Montreal, who have been Canadian citizens for generations.

Method-wise, all these effects will be covered in the analysis of the Italian-Canadian ethos in Montreal at various steps without a specific focus as to the sequence in which they occur as sometimes the Leonardo da Vinci center alone raises them all by means of a single image. The addition of Booth's (2004) theory of rhetorical effects to this theoretical framework is in terms of how the rhetoric of Italianità raises overall effects on the Canadian national identity in general. This thread will be more evident starting with the third chapter where we discuss how the LdV center provides the site for Italian-Canadians to manifest their citizenry. Consequently, this project addresses the following three research questions:

- 1) How are identities constituted away from a homeland and what are the rhetorical motives available to account for Italian-Canadian identification?;
- 2) What does the Leonardo da Vinci center do in terms of the Italian-Canadian community belonging in Montreal?;
- 3) What are the effects raised by the "Leonardo da Vinci" situation for Canadian national identity?

In the process of answering these questions, we will discuss the context of Italian immigration to Montreal within the larger Italian immigration phenomenon to North-America. Below, we outline several aspects of the context for our case study.

➤ Italianità in North-America: Rationale for a Montreal-based case study

The conundrum of rhetorical identification and effects is far more complex than the usual imagery of Italicity in North-America associated with mafia movies, the

“Little Italy” of many North-American cities, Ferraris during Formula 1 events, Italians’ fast speech pace, and other representations introduced in popular culture.

As already discussed, “spaghetti with meatballs” signals a metaphor that unpacks the identity *problematique* of a community. An actual dish and an image, “spaghetti with meatballs” is the epitome of the blending of two cultures. This dish is unknown to the Italians from Italy while Italian-Canadians do not cook it in their homes either.

Occasionally, they get “special requests” to add the meatballs in the spaghetti sauce from friends who associate their culture with this image. However, “spaghetti with meatballs” will certainly be on the menu of an Italian restaurant in North America. In contrast with such images and the wide range of studies that cover the Italian identity in North-America, the Leonardo da Vinci center from Montreal presents us with a different situation. Specifically, it sets a rhetorical situation.

Lloyd Bitzer (1968) identifies the exigencies of the rhetorical situation and argues that its most important element is the audience. It is clear to Bitzer (1968) that “situations are not always accompanied by discourse” or that not always “a rhetorical address gives existence to the situation” (p. 2). Particularly, “it is the situation which calls the discourse into existence” (p. 2). As Bitzer (1968) outlines a “theory of situation”, rhetoric is situational, not necessarily with regard to the context of meaning of the situation, which is a “general condition of human communication”, or its persuasive character, but to the possibility it entails to change the audience “in belief or action” (p. 3). In order to clarify “rhetoric-as-essentially-related-to-situation”, Bitzer (1968) argues:

... A work of rhetoric is pragmatic; it comes into existence for the sake of something beyond itself, it functions ultimately to produce action or change in the

world; it performs some task. In short, rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by the direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse which changes reality through the mediation of thought and action. (pp. 3-4)

The definition of a rhetorical situation follows:

Rhetorical situation may be defined as a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigency which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence. (p. 6)

In conclusion, Bitzer (1968) states: “in the best of all possible worlds, there would be communication perhaps, but no rhetoric – since exigencies would not arise, but in our real world, rhetorical exigencies abound” (p. 13).

Rhetorical exigencies abounded for the Italians who immigrated to North-America. They needed to integrate and to incorporate the North-American lifestyle into their identity. Rhetorical exigencies also abounded for the Italian community from Montreal before the construction of the “Leonardo da Vinci” center. As we begin to account for the evolution of the Italian-Canadian community in Montreal in chapter one, we shall outline the exigencies that marked specific moments during this process. There were specific rhetorical exigencies that led to the construction of the LdV center as well. For a variety of practical reasons, Italian-Canadians needed a new building in Montreal. The community was getting older and elders needed a place to gather and seek assistance. Also, the youngsters of the Italian community needed a place that would speak about the origins of their elders. The “Leonardo” materialized for these reasons but also because

the community wanted to have a cultural center that would speak about the position of the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal now.

The fact that public architecture is also a response to urgencies (or “needs” of some sort) set forth by communities also creates a way to think about the rhetorical exigency that we will address in this project. Public architecture is produced with at least the agreement, if not by order of the state or nation-state in many cases. Thus, public architecture speaks to how inhabitants identify in general and points to changes in the perceptions of national rhetoric. Public architecture is seldom arbitrary as it draws on complex factors to be achieved. We believe that this building is paradigmatic for the identification of Italian-Canadians in Montreal today.

Waves of Italians decided to immigrate, settle, raise children in Canada, bring families here, work and adapt to the specific context of Montreal and often, they talked about it like any other community. This “talk” is rendered within the discipline of Italian-Canadian studies. While this literature speaks about their past, no literature to this day speaks about their present. We argue that in the process, they became somehow global or cosmopolitan. These people, after having unpacked, settled and raised their children in this new place, who in turn raised their own children in this new place too, started producing things and “objects of attachment” that reflect and constitute their new identity. If they decorate their houses in specific, recognizable ways that feature statues in front of their houses, or if they add a few dishes on their menu list to attract a variety of customers, including “spaghetti with meatballs”, they do so, on purpose. Yet, it means far more when they create a building that stands for them as a community. This is what the

“Leonardo da Vinci” center from Montreal does. What kind of Canadian Italianicity is spoken by its walls?

While buildings are not classical “texts”, they still speak. We argue that buildings are rhetorical objects. This argument will also prompt us to consider the context of the Italians of Montreal to explain how they are unique among the Italians from North America. Finally, we will take their uniqueness and discuss it in terms of a variety of literatures about diaspora, cosmopolitanism and belonging in today’s global world.

In chapter one, we start telling the story of the Italian community from Montreal and its context. Outlining a context and a past allows us to better understand the present moment. This context will not be a historical rendition of various waves of immigrants. Instead this study will draw on historical, social and cultural aspects of immigration, in order to capture the essence of the Italian ethos of Montreal Italians at various stages of immigrant discourse. As Italians have a history in Montreal, they have had the time to create images of Italianicity in this city. Yet these images change with time. Thus, in this opening chapter, we will analyze what constituted Italianicity in the past. This will be useful as we will compare it with the ethos of the present made evident in the rhetoric of the “Leonardo da Vinci” center. It will also be instrumental in that it will provide the key to understanding Italianicity in Montreal in the past that will open a better understanding of the present and its future expressions. The first chapter will also introduce the concept of “diasporic belonging”.

Instrumental to the analysis we conduct in chapter one is the metaphor of the “ghost” as outlined by Slavoj Žižek (2001). This metaphor will be carried on in the analysis of the ethos of this community. This chapter will particularly reflect on the

concept of nostalgia, which is linked with “longing” rather than “belonging” and will crystallize a framework of different nostalgias present in the ethos of Montreal Italians. The concepts covered in this chapter will later help us explain the Italian-Canadian identity in our global, postmodern, postnational, and cosmopolitan times, complete with the multiple attachments that people who left one place and “adapted” to another experience when they finally unpack their suitcases.

Chapter I:

Exigencies and Narratives of Italian Immigration to Montreal

Home and Abroad: A Larger Picture

I. Points of departure:

Italian immigration to Montreal goes back to the 1900s. To understand the identification motive underlining the rhetoric of the “Leonardo da Vinci” center demands a clear rendition of Italian ethos in Montreal in the past. Accounting for the rhetoric of Italianità means accounting for several contexts and historical stages. Thus, this chapter is about the rhetoric-s that preceded this architectural response.

My argument is that the Italian community from Montreal is in a different stage of evolution nowadays than most other immigrant communities in the metropolis. As there have been layers of immigrants, and first to fifth generation Italians from Montreal, it is difficult to account for the present rhetoric of belonging of this community using the terminology that is available in a variety of literatures on diaspora, immigrants, cosmopolis, etc. The Italian community from Montreal has clearly overcome a “diasporic condition”. This thesis will work itself towards finding a new language to describe the present condition. Yet, in order to situate the present moment, one needs to understand how this community evolved and the rhetoric that accompanied each turning point in its evolution. Early immigrant experiences, in general can be properly situated only if one understands what the “diasporic condition” entails. This calls first for a brief rendition of the term “diaspora”.

Diaspora, which is the Greek term for “dispersion”, is not a new concept (Encarta Deluxe, 2004). In its classical usage, it finds its normative model in the Jewish history and experience, lived, as Yasemin Soysal (2002) argues, in a state of “wordlessness”. As Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin (2002) put it, diaspora has a paradoxical power. On one hand, what defines diaspora, particularly in the Jewish case, is ancestryⁱⁱ. On the other hand, as the authors argue, everything is at risk. According to Boyarin and Boyarin (2002), in its capacity as a perpetual situation of risk, the diaspora challenges the nation-state model and ideal as the “global polity is perpetually organized, disorganized and reorganized according to the logics of diaspora” (p. 9). However, “diaspora is not equivalent to pluralism or internationalism”; on the contrary, “it is egocentric” (p. 9). “Diaspora offers an alternative ‘ground’ to that of the territorial state for the intricate and always contentious linkage between cultural identity and political organization” (p. 10). While this might be true, as diaspora binds roots with soil and kinship, it is also “destined to be a trope for nostalgia” (Soysal, 2002, p. 137). Svetlana Boym (2001) who speaks about “exiles and imagined homelands” argues that in the case of diaspora “the illusion of complete belonging has been shattered” (p. 255).

A complete articulation of the concept of “diaspora” as it applies to the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal will be provided in the fourth chapter. At this point we underline that the above considerations also apply to the Italian community in Montreal at the beginning of their immigrant experiences. As the illusion of complete belonging was shattered for them, the ethos of their early immigrant/diasporic experiences became imbued with nostalgia for the homeland. The present rhetoric of Italianicity in Montreal sets a different ethos than in the past. The past is still contained

rhetorically but this particular ethos speaks about present and future projects in a different way than before. Tropes such as nostalgia for instance are contained differently in the rhetoric of the Leonardo da Vinci center. Therefore, the present rhetoric of the center cannot be understood without understanding the previous tropes present in the rhetoric of Italianicity in Montreal.

Prior attachments before immigration, specific goals behind the immigrant project and the problems faced in immigration gave rise to certain exigencies and thus led to specific rhetorical responses of the Montreal-based Italian community. In order to identify the ethos of each stage of Italian immigration to Montreal, a general framework that will help us better frame these exigencies and also a historical/cultural/social context will be provided. Towards the end of this chapter, we will look at how nostalgia was figured in the past by this community, drawing on Boym's (2001) framework. This process will be instrumental in the analysis of the rhetoric of the Leonardo da Vinci center that will be conducted in the second chapter. Feeling "home" abroad is a long process. This process starts at the "home" that one leaves behind.

II. Leaving Italy: Ghosts and Exigencies

In laying out a brief, but also explicit context for Italian immigration to Montreal we faced a difficult question. What would be the particular framework that could explain the social patterns of this immigrant phenomenon that will also lead us towards a better understanding of the immigrant ethos of the Italian community? Cultural, political, social and economic factors are all important. Yet, none of these factors, in particular justify the rhetoric of each particular immigrant stage of this community.

Faced with a similar question of what will best account for a particular moment in history, Žižek (2000) argues:

Perhaps the best way of encapsulating the gist of an epoch is to focus not on the explicit features that define its social and ideological edifices but on the disavowed ghosts that haunt it, dwelling in a mysterious region of nonexistent entities which none the less *persist*, continue to exert their efficacy. (p. 3, emphasis in original text)

Coming from Slovenia, part of ex-Yugoslavia, Žižek (2000) is compelled to account for the specific ghosts of the Balkans. The Balkans are that region of Europe which is “haunted by notorious ‘ghosts of the past’, forgetting nothing and learning nothing, still fighting centuries-old battles” (p. 3). The rest of Europe is arguably engaged in a rapid process of globalization. The specific ghosts of the Balkans are not of interest to this project. However, the paradox of the Balkans that Žižek (2000) explains through the metaphor of the “ghosts” can be applied to the understanding of the Italian community’s evolution in Montreal. In order to understand how the metaphor of the “ghosts” works for this project, it is important to explain this paradox.

In the eyes of Europe, the Balkans had, the “peculiar status of the ghost” that has been haunting it. The post-Yugoslav Balkans are a vortex of self-destructive, ethnic passions, a “photographic negative”, as Žižek (2000) describes it of “the tolerant coexistence of ethnic communities” that happens everywhere else. While these are the Balkans in the “eyes of Europe”, in the eyes of Žižek (2000), there is no definitive answer to the question of where the Balkans begin as “the Balkans are always somewhere else” (p. 3).

For the Serbs, the Balkans begin “down there” in Kosovo or in Bosnia, where they defend the Christian legacy, against Europe’s Other. For the Croats, the Balkans begin in the “despotic, orthodox Serbia”, against which Croatia safeguards Western values (p. 4). For the Slovenes, the Balkans begin in Croatia and this makes Slovenia the last spot of a peaceful Mitteleuropa. For Italians and Austrians, the Balkans begin in Slovenia, as “the last outpost of the Slavic hordes” (p. 4). For some Germans, the Balkans begin in Austria as Austria is tainted by political inefficiency and corruption of Balkan origin. For northern Germans, Bavaria is not free of Balkan contamination as it has a “provincial, catholic flair” (p. 4). The French associate Germany with an “Eastern Balkan brutality foreign to the French finesse” (p. 4). The last element in Zizek’s (2000) chain of places where ghosts dwell is Brussels where the Balkan ghosts begin for some conservative British, as the European Union is the “despotic center” of the European Union which reminds of a “Balkan Turkish Empire” (p. 4). Thus, the Balkans stretch much farther than “real geography” does. The Balkan region is the epitome of corrupted values, and the place of “disavowed ghosts”. Thus, it is not surprising that the Balkans get to be translated always somewhere else and become the place where ghosts dwell.

For the North of Italy, the Balkans are in the South of Italy. This chapter will explain how the south of Italy, the region where most Montreal-Italians come from, has historically become the place of North’s “disavowed ghosts”. The diasporic story of Italians in North America starts with dissociations from layers of ghosts from the past. On one hand, there are the ghosts of the south of Italy that were left behind that one needs to unveil in order to begin to understand the project Italians imagined for themselves

abroad. On the other hand, there are the ghosts of early immigration that Italian immigrants had to leave behind to become who they are now.

There are two ways of responding to these ghosts of the past: either with a discourse that attempts to overcome them or with nostalgia for the past. One does not exclude the other, as the figure of nostalgia can accompany the very discourse of evolution and change within a community.

Nostalgia, as we will outline, is in fact a longing for a past from which these ghosts have been removed. The longing immigrants have for “home” is in fact a longing for a home that never existed as such. Immigrants long for home after they have forgotten the very ghosts that haunted them at the point of departure. In the analysis of the specific ethos of Montreal Italians, we will see this dialectic.

However, as these ghosts had to be overcome, immigration to North America was one of the responses. In rhetorical terms, these ghosts gave rise to exigencies from which specific immigrant discourses emerged. Exigencies, as outlined in the introduction, call for a response, for something to happen. Exigencies motivate a discourse and they set and determine a subsequent course of action.

For instance, De Haan (2001) explores the rhetorical exigencies that led to the articulation of a Dutch immigrant identity in immigrant letters dated at the end of the nineteenth century. She identifies and elaborates on Calvinism and immigration, prosperity and capitalism, poverty and tragedy, movement, land and “calling” as the main elements that pushed early Dutch immigrants to embark on immigration to the United States. In their letters one can notice an articulation of the epic, the comic and the tragic, as the three main frames of these letters. The exchange in the letters ultimately led Dutch

immigrants to a process of identity building. If this discourse had not worked, Dutch immigrants would have lost their sense of who they were. The letters provided them with the means to reconfigure who they were under complex, life changing circumstances. In addition, it is worth noting that De Haan (2001) also makes a point about historical writing that should take into account personal experiences and situates immigrant letters to be an insufficiently explored genre despite its capacity to reveal the rhetoric of identity construction within a community. This point on method, though not central to the present project, is worth mentioning as we will also use some particular immigrant monologues published in the literature on the Italian community. They could be read exactly like the letters of the Dutch immigrants, De Haan (2001) mentioned, as they are relevant in outlining the Italian immigrant ethos. Therefore, similarly to De Haan's (2001) research, we also establish in this chapter the exigencies encountered at various moments by the Italian community from Montreal, before arriving at an expression of their identity manifested into an architectural object in the LDV center. The exigencies for a certain immigrant discourse of Italians from Montreal are called forth by a specific ghost for each particular historical stage. This will be evident, after a brief rendition of the context of Italian immigration to Montreal.

III. "Scene" and Context for the Italian immigration to North America

One cannot write the past of the Italian community from Montreal without referring to a particular history of this community, complete with the understanding of the culture of the south of Italy, and the cultural issues faced during immigration. Together these elements set a "scene" for their immigrant ethos. Burke (1969) insists that

an analysis of motives or recurrent elements requires an appreciation of scene, i.e. the background on which an event or an action occurs. Throughout the subsequent sections, we attempt to set the scene for this immigration phenomenon.

The immigration discourse proposes that people believe they can come to a foreign country *tabula rasa* and open themselves completely to the new culture. In order to understand the new environment and dominate the new circumstances, they would like to think they will adapt to it entirely. Ultimately some would argue they become assimilated. It is not our concern here to explain why some would think that is that desirable. We have our doubts this big picture applies to the immigrant mind. The main point we want to make is that the Italians packed with them when they left and then, had to unpack the problems of the South and not to explain this mechanism in-depth or to account for what is commonly known the “assimilation thesis”.

➤ North and South in the Italian culture

Most of the Italians in Montreal came from the South of Italy, mainly from: Puglia, Calabria, Basilicata and Sicily. Thus it is essential to refer to this region of Italy briefly and discuss some of its problems as these problems contributed to the exigencies of immigration.

Fabio Gambaro (2002) deals several times with the question of the South in a series of interviews with some of the most important contemporary Italian writers. We highlight the most important aspects of these conversations acknowledging that the North-South divide in Italy is not the central concern of this project, but rather a way towards it. Gambaro’s (2002) project departs from the assumption that one needs a fresh

look at old and on-going issues that have been under scrutiny in Italian society during the last decades. With respect to this, he mentions that the central concern of this anthology is to go “au-dela des stéréotypes et des clichés habituels” (p. 9).

The North-South divide in Italy calls for a brief rendition of the status of Italian identity nowadays. In attempting a response to this *problématique*, Umberto Eco (2002) plays with several ideas in his answer. He speaks to the possibility of a certain federal Italian identity expressed in a very particular way that is different from other types of federalisms in Europe, such as the German federalism for instance, which is the most recognizable one. Italian federalism opposes French cultural centralism and results mostly from the historical dialectical co-habitation of various cultures. For Eco (2002), Italy historically speaking has avoided cultural clashes of the Balkan type, mainly because Italian culture is based on dialogue. Eco (2002) argues that certain cultural expressions have become integral parts of Italian culture itself but were borrowed from elsewhere and only later incorporated within the mainstream. The North is well known for an Austrian/German cultural import, while the South is influenced by the Arab and Spanish cultures throughout historyⁱⁱⁱ.

What is essential in Eco's (2002) point is that a certain undeniable cultural cosmopolitanism co-exists in Italy, with regionalisms and provincialisms. Many Italian writers, including Carlo Levi, Italo Calvino, Leonardo Sciascia or Alberto Moravia have capitalized on both these tendencies and have been read abroad. To continue with Eco's (2002) argument, even the structure of the Italian language proves this point, as one speaks about a standard Italian language and at the same time about a multitude of dialects that stand for both the idea of cosmopolitanism and regionalism. It is important in

terms of this project to be aware of the existence of an overall Italian cosmopolitan culture and at the same time of multiple regionalisms. Economic differences add to this cluster and bring new nuances.

Vincenzo Consolo^{iv} (2002) answers the question of economic differences between the North, represented by Milan, which stands for modernity and Sicily, representing the South, which stands for the delayed evolutions towards the modern, imposed by the north. He explains how the North has become an “imaginary country” - “un pays imaginaire” for the southerners after WWII (p. 43). He argues that though the South of Italy looks like Milan to a certain extent, it is also the prisoner of a certain economic underdevelopment.

Other writers account for the same idea from other standpoints. Claudio Magris (2002) argues that in Italy, Europe encounters the very notion of “Southern culture” and wonders whether there will be ways to aggregate these differences in the future.

Alessandro Baricco (2002) regards Italy as a southern European country, an integral part of a “southern / Mediterranean culture”, distinct from the cultures associated with northern Europe or North America. From all these accounts, it stems that the North was at some point and maybe still is the Southerners’ Mecca. It is also clear that emigration also created other Mecca/s in the process.

➤ An Italian-American Mecca

In the previous section we explained some of the differences between North and South in Italy. Immigrants came mainly from the South of Italy. Thus, it can be safely argued that an important input for emigration were the multiple problems within Italy.

Italian emigration spread in many directions. The Americas represented an important part of it. Italian immigration has been researched in different parts of the globe where Italians decided to settle. As we are interested in the rhetoric of Italianicity in Montreal, we focus on the sources that look at Italian immigration to this city in particular.

Bruno Ramirez (1989) contends that emigration has marked the Italian social and economic life since the creation of the Italian state in 1861. Between 1861 and the end of 19th century, seven million Italians emigrated. He argues that behind “the act of emigrating” there was a “strong desire to escape poverty and material privations and to seek some better future in a foreign land” (p. 3).

Italian emigration had three destinations: Western Europe, South America and North America. If the first direction was due to proximity, the second two were choices motivated by the rapid economic development in the Americas. Argentina and Brazil were the two major countries that received Italian immigrants before the United States. Yet, the United States soon became the centre of Italian immigration. Canada can be inscribed in this larger process that concerned Italian immigration to North America.

As far as Québec in particular, D’Andrea (1990) argues that the Italian community was not regarded as significant before World War II. In 1881, the Federal Census accounted for 131 Italian born citizens in the city of Montreal. The beginning of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway marks the moment when thousands of Italians poured into Canada. Yet, according to D’Andrea (1990) no official statistics are available. Though the demographics are not clear, an important study in this area, by Guglielmo Vangelisti mentions at that time there were only under two thousand Italian residents and transients in Montreal who usually arrived with the help of local recruiters.

Some local padrone-s (middle-men) of the time, like Antonio Cordasco and Alberto Dini were already famous among Montreal-Italians.

Between 1900 and 1930 there is a growth in the Italian population of Montreal that paralleled the economic growth of the city. The 1901 census indicated 2109 Italians in Montreal. By 1911, this number tripled (7460 Italians), while by 1921, this later figure had doubled to 14,679. In 1931 there were 22,196 Italians in Montreal. Giuliano D'Andrea (1990) underlines that "eventually two loyalties were to dominate many of these immigrants' lives, that of their hometown, which was natural, and that of their 'Italianità', which perhaps ironically, was forged by [the] new environment" (p. 61). Many men married French-Canadians wives, which is a detail worth mentioning as it says something about the next generations (p. 63).

World War II was another cornerstone in the history of this community. While it might have seemed that the fascist movements from Montreal were to deliver "a debilitating blow" from which the community was not going to fully recover", the after-war period actually marks the moment when another Italian explosion happened (D'Andrea, 1990, p. 86).

The 1951 Census indicated that 152,245 Italians were living in Canada. By 1961 there were 450,351 Italians. In Montreal in particular in 1951 there were 31,000 Italians while in 1961, 101,000. Montreal was still overshadowed by Toronto in terms of the number of Italians (D'Andrea, 1990). Just by means of comparison, while the United States accepted 187,249 Italians, in the 1950s Canada accepted 217,456 or a full sixteen per cent more (D'Andrea, 1990). A change of policies in Canada occurred that favored Italian immigration for both unskilled and semi-skilled labor. Pressure from Canadians

with relatives abroad added up. Chain migration produced a “snowballing effect” (p. 94). “Italian Canadians would themselves sponsor relatives from Italy so long as they could guarantee that the immigrant would not become a public charge” (p. 95). Landed immigrants who arrived in the ‘50s could sponsor relatives as well. In conclusion, “whole new family chains were established” (p. 95). This process stopped only in 1959, when by a ministerial decree, restrictions on sponsorship started to apply.

Though “fine demographic and sociological studies exist in the city’s post-war community”, these works are “too few and far between to give an adequate picture of what was taking place within Montreal’s Italian community” (p. 88). Italians after the post-war did not immigrate “to escape misery [but] to advance economically” (p. 90). The baby boom in Canada was in their favor as there was an increasing need for jobs in services. Italian bakeries, grocery stores, barber shops, shoe stores, furniture stores, tailor shops, vegetable markets, cinemas, wedding halls, bars, restaurants, club houses, and funeral parlors began to develop. The Italians also had their own needs, so new professions emerged within the community: accountants, notaries, lawyers, doctors, dentists, insurance salesmen, real estate brokers, travel agents, photographers, musicians, and tradesmen (D’Andrea, 1990). The Italian press was also emerging. In addition, the second and third generation chose to become more educated (p. 98). Jeremy Boissevain (1969) appreciates that “most Italian immigrants appeared to be very successful in the post-war years even if this success came at great toil and sacrifice” (p. 100).

A simple rendition of various flows of Italians will not tell too much about their experience in this city. The ethos of this community at its various stages cannot be understood unless one understands where the ghosts and the exigencies to evolve

emerged. In order to be able to understand these ghosts it is important to pay some attention to the mentalities of the South and in particular to the “Southern question”.

➤ The Southern Question and North America

The problematic of the Italian South translated into North America is a central point in Italian American and Italian Canadian studies. The “Southern Question” as formulated by Antonio Gramsci is not fully answered yet even in Italy despite being discussed extensively.

By 1907, the inquiries into the agricultural conditions of the Italian South inseparably linked the “Southern question” to emigration. Ramirez (1989) comments: “As village upon village in the South emptied themselves of their youngest labor force, amid endless political debates about the crisis, it soon became evident that the emigrants had found their own solution to the ‘Southern Question’” (p. 5). This is an important point to retain and account for as it is central to the project Italian immigrants accomplished in North America.

Bruno Arpaia (2002) writes about the contradictions of the South. He argues that to a certain extent, the Southern Italians became short-sighted - “myopes” (p. 131). They lacked a sense of collective well being, focused solely on immediate problems, and therefore lacked a sense of project. His rendition of the South is similar to the rendition Gramsci outlined in “La Questione Meridionale”.

We have already mentioned that one of the central problems of the South of Italy were oppression and economic poverty. Gramsci’s (1974) argument from the famous “La Questione Meridionale” attempted to formulate a solution to these problems from within.

Gramsci's (1974) argument starts by observing the similarities among Russia, Italy, France and Spain, which are still in his view "capitalisticamente arretrati" (behind from the point of view of capitalism). In these countries, one can notice a net separation between 'operai' (workers) and 'contadini' (peasants)". He argues that "l'idea dello Stato moderno liberale-capitalistico è ancora ignorata"^v and that "la mentalità del contadino è rimasto perciò quella del servo della gleba, che si rivolta violentemente contro i 'signori' in determinate occasioni, ma è incapace di pensare se stesso come membro di una collettività" (pp. 63-64). The solution Gramsci offers for this problem is the evolution of Italy along Russian lines, since he argues, "le condizioni storiche dell'Italia non sono molto differenti da quelle russe" (p. 66). He continues: "Il problema della unificazione di classe degli operai e dei contadini si presenta negli stessi termini: essa avverrà sulla nuova psicologia creata dalla vita comune in trincea" (p. 66). Therefore, Gramsci's (1974) argument is clearly Marxist in its philosophical grounding. While this is not a problem, the fact this argument is also utopian is.

Utopian arguments do not provide "real" solutions for problems – and here we take the word "real" with a grain of salt. Yet the fact that this argument was un-realistic, implied that the resolution to the problems of the South did not come from this line of thinking. This is how in part it created room for resolutions to emerge elsewhere, i.e. in the diasporic identity of Southern Italians in North America.

Gramsci's utopianism might not have been evident at the time he wrote the "Southern Question". Yet no one can deny that the utopian character of his writings can be noticed retrospectively since history proved later on that any resolution to a problem, based on Russian categories was deemed to be an ideological and political failure.

Gramsci's insights from "La Questione Meridionale" are undeniably valuable. However, it is essential to retain the utopian component at the core of this thinking and challenge it. Immigrants challenged it indirectly.

There is a different take on the problems of the South from the North-American vantage point of immigration. Certain authors who account for this subject-matter also incorporate an interesting take on Gramsci's work. In laying out grounds for the area called Italian Studies, Gabriela Gribaudi (1996) argues:

The South is more than a geographical area. It is a metaphor which refers to an imaginary and mythical entity, associated with both hell and paradise: it is a place of the soul and an emblem of the evil, which occurs everywhere, but which in Italy has been embodied in one just part of the nation's territory, becoming one of the myth on which the nation has been built. (p. 73)

The central reason why Gribaudi (1996) thinks that this image of *meridionalismo* that proliferated in the nineteenth century still survives today is because the social reconstruction of the region is not completed. Many Italian intellectuals, such as Ernesto De Martino, Carlo Levi and Rocco Scotellaro tried to understand the culture of the South from within starting with the '40-'50. Yet, though they challenged a certain image of *meridionalismo*, this understanding still persists.

While it is clear that a reworking from within of the culture of the South would provide an answer to these problems, it is also clear that immigrants responded to the same problems abroad as well. It is our belief that the immigrants from a country are the mirror image of the problems of their homeland. Their solutions and trajectories respond to the issues left behind.

Along the above lines, Gardaphé (1996) argues that “what was referred to as ‘the Southern problem’ in Italy, a problem that even today is raised by Italians in northern Italy, became ‘the Italian problem’ in America” (p. 5). When debating the value of assimilation versus developing an Italian-American identity, he explains how the problems of the early Italian immigrants were similar to those of the South they left behind. They were excluded from the mainstream because of similar economic problems. Despite this, the first generation and the subsequent waves of immigrants resolved these issues in the process of integrating themselves into the North American culture. “Italianità” was at first “an obstacle into the mainstream American culture”, as “many first- and second- generation Italian Americans sought economic and popular cultural paths on the road to becoming American” (p. 10). However, “Italianità” played the reverse role as well. As we will see, in the specific case of Montreal, “Italianità” was not an obstacle to integration. In fact, it contributed to the emergence of a distinctive diasporic identity. In conclusion, Gardaphé (2004) argues that “the myth of Italian America was founded [...] by immigrants from Southern Italy who did not wait for others to answer the southern question for them” (p.12). They did it in various ways, depending on the particular culture of the United States and, we would also add, Canada.

➤ Accolade to Canadian Italian studies

All the studies on Italian-Canadians we have consulted mention several gaps in historiography, a certain lack of interest on the part of historians, sociologists and anthropologists as far as accounting for the development of this community in Canada. For instance, as D’Andrea (1990) pointed out, while Italian immigration to Montreal was

not significant before the war, the post-war immigrants regard those who immigrated before WWII as “important symbols for a post-war Italian community that found itself snubbed and disdained by a local populace” (p. 32). As the Italians in Canada were starting to learn about their ancestors, there were divergent treatments and approaches in the historiography of the period. D’Andrea (1990) outlines at least two tendencies. On one hand, a certain “retrospective falsification”, that in a way responded to a North-American discourse and which belittled the Italian-Canadian experience, emerged. On the other hand, another school that denied “any real Italian experience in America” was starting to develop (p. 33).

Most of the above-mentioned studies, though not comprehensive, attempted to fill in some gaps from particular perspectives and disciplinary traditions. None of them is in communication, but they are all crucial for setting a scene and accounting for the exigencies to evolve the Italian-Canadian community developed after their arrival and stay in Montreal. It is also important to point to the ethos immigrants created at the beginning of their sojourning, settlement or colony life in order to see how this rhetoric changes later and materializes into a discourse via a cultural center. We will build such a picture departing from certain points found in the literature on Montreal Italians. We will not re-narrate their stories. Instead we will look at the ethos these images attempt to formulate in order to later contrast and compare it with the ethos of the Leonardo da Vinci center. This is not a classic literature review, as in the process of resorting elements from this body of literature, we are creating another argument: that there is an Italian diasporic ethos in Montreal that at various points and stages manifests itself differently and speaks for a particular point in the evolution of this community.

IV. Immigrant ethos of Montreal-Italians:

Montreal is well known for several great things: jazz, tango, Formula1, Nadia Comaneci at the '76s Olympics, "Schwartz's" and so many others. It was also a main point for the arrival of immigrants, who only later might choose other destinations. This was observed by many Italianists such as Bruno Ramirez, Fillippo Salvatore, A. V. Spada, Giosafat Mingarelli and Vangelisti, on whose work we will draw on to start building a portrait of the Montreal Italians. As Ramirez (1984) argues:

Montréal occupe une place de première importance dans l'histoire de l'immigration au Canada. L'un des premiers centres commerciaux de l'Amérique du Nord, situé aux confluent des réseaux de transport ferroviaires, océanique et fluvial, la ville était une escale obligatoire pour nombre d'immigrants arrivant au Canada à la recherche d'emploi. Pour plusieurs d'entre eux, elle était même le point d'arrivée qui promettait la fortune. (p. 11)

The Montreal-Italians went through several stages throughout their journey in Montreal. Ramirez (1984) identifies 'les précurseurs' (by the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century), "la période de transition" (interwar and WWII period) and "l'implantation" (after WWII, also followed by the new wave of immigrants, who later on also brought their families). The moment when the "implantation" was completed also coincides with the change in terms of immigration policies in Canada up to the '70s that restricted the immigration based on familial integration and favored skill-based immigration. Also since conditions improved greatly in Italy since the '70s, all these coupled factors may account for less Italians entering

Montreal afterwards. Within these historical stages, there are various ways to chart what creates the ethos of each period. Our way of identifying this ethos stems from the stories that are reflective of their immigrant experience in a particular stage. Departing from a variety of Canadian-Italian studies texts, we have selected four such stages:

- **Sojourning,**
- **Settling,**
- **Creating a colony and**
- **Creating a community.**

Based on the context on Italian immigration to North-America, Canada and specifically Montreal, we will establish the ghost that haunted the immigrant mind in each of the four respective stages. These ghosts had to be overcome. Thus our argument is that with each new stage of immigration one ghost was left behind and another one appeared. The ghost was a hidden fear that haunted the immigrants and which gave rise to an exigency. Particular immigrant discourses appeared as a consequence.

For the **sojourning stage** the ghost was that immigrants would not be able to bring food on the table to the family. That would create the profile of someone not equipped for life and able to provide for the family decently. For the Italian immigrant, of Southern mentality this was not acceptable. Thus, the usual narrative in immigration concentrated on all possible means to overcome the hardships that would be entailed by such a possibility. Therefore, the usual discourse of sojourners revolved around the values attached to work and the hardships they encountered in the process.

For the **settling stage** the ghost was that immigrants were not able to create good conditions for one's family abroad. They feared that they came such a long way and that

nothing relatively better would come out of it. Should they remain poor, the goal of immigrating would not be accomplished. These immigrants brought their families to Montreal. Thus, they were not concerned only with themselves any more. They involved other people in their actions too. From these, there are new tropes, such as longing for home, as they had some degree of permanence in the new place, while at the same time values attached to resistance, hard labor, strength, and hope. New images that reflect their adaptation process to the new environment appear more often, together with their ways of coping with the new cultures and new conditions.

In the **colony stage**, Italians from Montreal already knew there were others in their situation as well. A sense of emotional comfort in Montreal came as they knew they could do their shopping in Italian and could go places where they would meet their friends and socialize with other Italians. Yet, they needed to know where they were standing with respect to each other and with the rest of the society. They needed to feel proud of who they were. They needed to know that they were as accomplished as anyone else. Respect and good reputation were at the core of their system of values, thus, as we will see their discourse slightly changes from the sojourning and settling stages.

The **community stage** instantiates a different moment as the ghost of this stage was already how to feel even as an immigrant that you belong, that you are not a foreigner any more though you are different. Feeling that they have already come a long way since the sojourning, the settling or the colony moment, Italian immigrants started to create not only associations and common projects, but also ask identity questions. This is evident in a documentary such as "Café Italia". One is already speaking of second or

third generation Italian-Canadians with a different set of questions and identity issues than their immigrant parents.

The ghost of **the present**, we argue, which is behind the exigencies that led to the articulation of a Italian Canadian discourse via the Leonardo da Vinci center is, on one hand, how to show how far Italian-Canadians have come on the way to adapting and integrating and on the other hand, how to invite others to see who they are. Nowadays, the Italians from Montreal have become an integral part of the Canadian culture. The ghost they have to overcome is how to be integrated and how to be themselves at the same time. Their stories at each particular stage are therefore different.

➤ “We ‘are’ ultimately the stories we are telling about ourselves”...

(Zizek, 2000, p. 107)

The stories constituting the ethos of each particular stage are more or less similar, sharing common elements and a common ghost that gives rise to a certain exigencies. Why is it important to retain some of the elements these stories tell us? First, according to Burke’s (1969) theory of rhetorical motives, these stories have common elements that need to be identified in order to underline the Italian-Canadian identification motive for these particular stages. We will interpret them by means of looking at their “generating principle” (p. xv). According to Burke (1969) this principle is the pentad.

The **pentad** contains: (1) the **act**-what took place in thought or deed, (2) the **scene** – the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred, (3) the **agent** – person or kind of person, (4) the **agency** – means or instruments used, and (5) the **purpose**. Burke (1969) argues:

Although, over the centuries, men have shown great enterprise and inventiveness in pondering matters of human motivation, one can simplify the subject by this pentad of key terms, which are understandable only at a glance. They need never to be abandoned, since all statements that assign motives can be shown to arise out of them and to terminate in them. (pp. xv-xvi)

As the term “scene” can generally be used as a “blanket” for concept of background (Burke, 1969, p. xv). The scene of an act also represents the ground of a human action. Burke (1969) argues “God”, “nature”, “history” or “means of production” may often represent the “ultimate” ground for a situation. In our particular case, the five ghosts and the context of Italian immigration to Montreal are already creating a scene for certain narratives of Montreal-Italians’ experiences. These narratives however, Burke (1969) would say, can take different forms. For instance, the agent might have his or her act “modified (hence partly motivated) by friends (co-agents) or enemies (counter-agents)” (p. xix). In addition, “under ‘Agent’ one could place any personal properties that are assigned a motivational value, such as ‘ideas’, ‘the will’, ‘fear’, ‘malice’, ‘intuition’, ‘the creative imagination’” (p. xx). In our particular case, the ghosts of immigration gave rise to exigencies, which we will identify for each of the four sets of stories.

Regarding our selection, we have picked several accounts from Ramirez’s (1984) historical and ethnographic studies of Montreal-based Italian immigration phenomena. In addition, we will look at some of the *topoi* by means of which the pentad operates in some stories as well as we will attempt to infer the recurring elements that derive from each narrative set.

➤ Sojourning narratives:

Nicola Manzo immigrated to Montreal. He says:

“Avant de venir ici, mon père et moi travaillions dans une mine de charbon en Virginie-Occidentale. Le 6 décembre 1906, à 10 heures du matin, la mine no. 6 explosa. Il y avait 700 personnes là-dedans, 36 d’eux était du même paese que moi. Moi aussi je travaillais dans cette mine-là, mais j’avais été malade, et je n’avais pas encore repris le travail. Tous ceux qui se trouvaient sont morts. Parmi eux il y avait beaucoup d’Italiens. Mon père est mort là-dedans; il avait 45 ans – il a perdu sa vie à 45 ans. Trente-six de mes paesani sont morts eux aussi. En Italie, tout le paese était en deuil. J’avait 15 ans à cette époque” [...] (Ramirez, 1984, p. 91).

Nicola decided after the incident to go to Canada accompanied by nine “paesani” (i.e. peasants or country-fellows). After a brief stay in Windsor and Toronto, he came to Montreal. His story continues: *“Alors j’ai décidé de venir à Montréal. À cette époque-là, beaucoup d’Italiens travaillaient ici cinq, six mois et même un an ou deux et puis ils retournaient en Italie. Leurs familles vivaient là-bas. Il passaient l’hiver là-bas et puis il revenaient en Amérique” (Ramirez, 1984, p. 93).*

Nicola’s story starts as that of a sojourner’s but later, becomes that of a settler. He married and stayed in Montreal, yet through his story one finds out about the sojourners in Montreal around that time. The sojourning stories are the most difficult to find for obvious reasons. Most studies in oral history address the stories of those who remained in Montreal and became old people who could have their experience recorded in a book or passed on through generations. However, the exigencies of sojourning clearly stem from the ghost that haunted Italian immigrants at that time: the need to make money and to

provide for the family left in Italy or otherwise there would not be food on the table. The main *topoi* of this story: endurance to stand up to the difficult work conditions and the Canadian winter. The comparison is telling: “*Nous travaillions comme des chevaux*”, says Nicola (in Ramirez, 1984. p. 94).

How would the Burkian pentad apply to this story? The act would be deciding to immigrate and change one’s life, the scene – Montreal and the circumstances one finds in immigration at a certain historical, social and cultural point in the life of the city, the agent – the immigrant, the agency – his suitcase and his own hands and the purpose – the immigrant wanted to have it better. Here one encounters what later in oral histories and accounts of Italian immigration to Montreal epitomizes the heroic figure of the immigrant: the beginner, part of the early generation of settlers, the daring Italian guy, who decided to change his life for the better and who suffered but somehow managed without surrendering. This character is of course, charismatic and though he had to first find his justifications to go through this experience on his own, his experience justifies others later to chose this path and stay on it. This is how successful immigrant narratives occur. There is always a success story at the beginning that transforms into a myth. In a larger sense these stories, if you wish, founded America.

➤ Settling narratives:

As argued earlier, once a ghost is overcome a new one appears. The settling stage brings new *topoi* and several changes to the narratives of Italian immigration to Montreal. Costanzo D’Amico says:

“Je viens d’un petit village près de Campobaso (Molise) qui s’appelle Ielsi. Je suis né en 1895 et en 1912 à l’âge de 17 ans, je suis parti avec mon frère aîné pour le Canada. [...] Quand nous sommes arrivés à Montréal, nous avons décidé de rester ici parce que plusieurs de nos paesani qui demeuraient ici nous ont expliqué qu’à Montréal on était mieux. [...] Uns des premiers emplois que j’ai trouvé était au cimetière protestant sur Côte des Neiges; on creusait les fosses. [...] Puis je travaillais à la construction d’un canal à Outremont. Le caporale (contremaître) était un pæan, et c’est lui qui m’a amené de travailler là. [...] Puis je suis allé à travailler dans la construction parce que à Outremont on commençait à bâtir des maisons et on avait besoin de manœuvres. J’étais jeun et vous savez la jeunesse... parfois on n’a pas assez de tête pour comprendre: je m’étais mis dans la tête que je devais travailler le jour et la nuit. Le jour j’étais manœuvre dans la construction et la nuit je travaillé à Montréal Tramways. [...] Quand mon frère et moi sommes arrivés ici, nous sommes allés loger chez une paesana. Nous sommes restés là plusieurs années. C’était sur la rue Clark dans le Mile-End. Ici presque toutes les familles avaient des bordanti. [...] Si je me trouvais bien? Je n’ai jamais eu de problèmes; la seule chose c’était que cette femme-là nous grondait – nous devions arriver à l’heure le soir. À part cela, elle nous traitait comme une mère. [...] Ici, au coin des rues Saint-Zotique et Clark, il y avait une ‘grosseria’ italienne; à coté il y avait aussi une boulangerie italienne. Si cela ne suffisait pas, tu marchais jusqu’à rue Saint Laurent, toujours dans ce même quartier, et là il y avait une grande ‘grosseria’ italienne; le propriétaire s’appelait Bisanti; là tu trouvais de tout. [...] Quand je suis arrivé ici, dans ce quartier, il n’y avait pas d’endroit pour se divertir; alors nous passions notre temps dans ces ‘grosseries’; nous nous réunissions avec les amis et

souvent nous jouions aux cartes. Le propriétaire d'une de ces 'grosseries' était du même paese que moi et tous ceux qui se réunissaient là étaient des paesani; c'était comme être dans une famille.[...] Beaucoup d'Italiens ont commencé de venir ici.. Il y avait qui s'achetaient des lots, mais beaucoup venaient dans le quartier parce qu'ils pouvaient se faire un jardin... [...] C'était comme le quartier s'est rempli de jardins". (Ramirez, 1984, pp. 117-118)

Costanzo D'Amico married in 1922. His wife came from Italy. First, they lived in a room and later they bought their own house. She profoundly missed Italy at the beginning, but she decided to stay in Montreal. In their story, reprinted by Ramirez (1984) she tells how many *paesani* returned to Italy around that time or moved to the United States illegally and remained to work there. It is important to retain the *topos* of nostalgia which already starts to appear once immigrants started to settle in Montreal. Also, it is interesting to notice that already a success-failure paradigm starts taking shape, as some immigrants make it, while others return to Italy. What did "not making it" represent? Not making it was in fact not being able to overcome the ghost which haunted them: not reaching a certain level of material and emotional security in immigration, not resisting, not being able to endure and not improving one's life and that of the family.

There are at least three important aspects that are revealed in this story. D'Amico's story clearly unveils the life of an immigrant who from the very beginning decided to settle and make a life in Montreal around that time. When D'Amico says he decided to stay here because several other Italian immigrants said "on était mieux" the ghost which says to improve one's life circumstances plays out. Similar *topoi* as in the story that was exemplified for the sojourning stage seem to be recurring, such as the

value attached to work. It is evident that many Italians came to Montreal to find work that was not available in their own country, however what is characteristic to these stories is the idea that work was going to help them evolve, attain a different standard of living and also give them meaning in this new place. Therefore it is clear that an Italian immigrant ethos around this notion was shaping out. Work was a dominant value within this community. The ghost of not being able to have a better life was haunting them and therefore they needed to find solutions to it and thus these stories emerge.

A second interesting aspect of this story stems from the description D'Amico makes of the community values the *bordanti* had to subscribe to which revolved around the *topoi* of tradition, respect and family values (the fact they were “like a family” seems to be a recurring element). The time outside work was spent within the community; the shopping was done at Italian stores in the area.

Third, this story also indicates that the inter-war period was the time when an Italian colony started to take shape in the Mile-End area. Grocery stores appeared, that were also meeting places where people could hook up with one another and find other *paesani* in their situation. “On pouvait faire n’importe quoi en italien”, remarks Anna Pozza, another immigrant, in her account (in Ramirez, 1984, p. 131). Soon they would start feeling *chez eux* in Montreal, once they could have their own garden where they were planting seasonal vegetables they would conserve in cans through the winter. The *paesano* background defeated even the Canadian winter or tried to resist to it and find solutions even under the circumstances the new place was presenting them with. (The idea of having a garden seems to be a recurring narrative as we will see also in Michele Marcogliese’s story.)

Both the sojourners and the settlers' stories clearly reveal that the early Italian immigrants to Montreal really wanted to overcome the ghosts explained above as leading a life in poverty and the incapacity to provide for the family was haunting them. Yet, slowly but surely they moved on from individual or small group community experiences into another moment – the moment when they created first a colony and second, a community.

➤ Italian colony narratives:

Michele Marcogliese:

Je suis né en 1903 à Casacalenda, dans le Molise. En 1910, mon frère, ma mère et moi sommes partis pour rejoindre mon père à Montréal. Il y avait aussi quelques familles du même paese qui on fait le voyage avec nous. [...] Mon père était déjà ici depuis 1903. Il était venu et retourné plusieurs fois – je ne me souviens pas combien. [...] Moi je n'ai pas pus aller longtemps à l'école. Je suis allé pendant deux ou trois mois à l'école du paroisse Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel qui était prés de chez nous. Au-dessus de l'église il y avait deux ou trois classes et on enseignait en italien et en anglais. [...] Je devais me lever à 5 heures du matin. [...] Le matin je vendais les journaux anglais à la gare Windsor et l'après-midi, au coin des rues Papineau et Ontario. Là il y avait plus de Français (Canadiens français) et je vendais La Presse, La Patrie et Le Devoir. [...] À cette époque, presque tous les garçons de mon age travaillaient. [...] Entre-temps, ma famille a déménagé plusieurs fois et finalement on est allé habiter à Mile-End, tout près de l'église Notre-Dame de la Défense. À Mile-End l'air était meilleur; on pouvait se faire un petit jardin potager parce qu'il y avait beaucoup des terrains vagues. [...]

Ici à Montréal, les Larinesi (inhabitants of Larino, village in Molise) avaient mis sur pied une association. Un jour j'étais avec un des mes paesani et je lui dis: 'Pasquale, est-ce que nous sommes plus cons que les Larinesi? Pourquoi ne faisons-nous pas nous aussi une association?'

In 1924 the Casacalendesi had their association. To be part of their association one had to be born in Casacalenda, be the son of someone from the village or be married to someone from the village. The sanctuary of the church Notre-Dame de la Defense was built from a charity raised by this association. Later on the women from Casacalenda had an association in Montreal as well. The *soirées* de bingo or the celebrations organized by the Notre-Dame de la Defense parish were sponsored by this association too.

Marcogliese's story instantiates another important moment of the Italian immigrant ethos – that when the son of an immigrant realizes he is part of a larger community and organizes its members. This is a moment of civic action. Other *topoi* appear – that involve also spare time, associative and/or lucrative ends, or just being with those from one's community but in a socially organized way. Marcogliese's story indicates that immigrants at that point needed to feel there were others like them too. They needed to bond in order to become stronger. They needed to attain a certain emotional comfort with their peers and to associate in order to forge a stronger discourse about themselves. And also, more importantly they needed to feel respected and validated by their peers. They could not be "*plus cons*" than others in a similar situation with them. A good reputation pushed them forward as the ghost of failing socially was haunting them.

➤ Italian community narratives:

If the moment of the Italian colony around the Mile End area is decisive, it is evident that at the same time it indicates a certain fragmentation of this immigrant population into a multitude of associations of Italians coming from almost each village of the South. This moment of fragmentation is typical for the beginning of each community into a new place. It represents the beginning of an attempt to start getting organized. However these organizations are not catalyzed and therefore not strong enough to be seriously taken into account as a major voice by the general public.

Towards the '60s-'70s the Italian community from Montreal was in a different stage. The '60s-'70s moment of the Italian community of Montreal presents us with a unique case for the analysis of diasporic identity problematic, as, it stands out in relationship to other Italian communities from Canada, because of the particular conditions created by the French-English divide in Montreal. The Italians from Montreal, particularly those from St. Leonard^{vi}, which by this time became the main area in which many Italians had moved went through a complex process of self definition as around the '60s-'70s were caught between two cultures and therefore assimilation to any of them became more difficult. Yet, standing in the middle of identity quarrels the Italians from Montreal realized they do not need to be defined by anyone else; that their own identity was sufficiently strong to stand out on its own and not be reconfigured by host cultures. As a consequence they adapted to the culture of the country which they chose as a destination, Canada, while maintaining strong bonds with their own roots: with *Italianità*.

The above opinion is strongly supported by D'Andrea (1990). In his thesis on the

St. Leonard crisis from 1967-69, D'Andrea (1990) points to several aspects that interest us here as a background for this project. He argues:

Immigrants had staked a place of their own in the city [Montreal] and had recreated an ambiance in which they could live comfortably. There was a community with a long local history whose institutions and distinctive neighborhoods dated back to the turn of the century, and whose post-war immigration was but a continuum of what had occurred before. (p. 84)

Yet, D'Andrea (1990) outlines:

To view Little Italy as a direct importation of Italian culture from the mother country is a serious error. [...] the Italian community was in a constant period of change and adaptation, where Italians were constantly re-negotiating their ethnicity. (p. 62)

This is a nodal point that needs to be made explicit by means of a more systematic rendition of the history and evolution of this community. For the present purposes, it is just important to retain that by the 1960's, "the Italians in Montreal had developed a considerable level of institutional completeness", (D'Andrea, 1990, p. 109). Therefore, it is safe to say they were a community sufficiently strong and developed to be considered integrated into the Canadian society. The ghost that haunted them was far more abstract than in the past. This ghost was telling them they still did not know who they were and whether they belonged to Québec and to Montreal even if they were born and had a good life here. Italy was by now a different place than the Italy on their mind, which their parents had told them about. As they started to create a community, did they start then to

feel at home in Montreal? The documentary “Café Italia” provides interesting insights on this subject-matter.

IV. Coffee-break on “Home” and “Abroad” Sts.

➤ What is “home”?

“When we are home, we don’t need to talk about it”, argues Boym (2001, p. 251). To be home is something that everyone can say in their native language. Moreover, to be at home means “to know that things are in place, and so are you”, but also is a “feeling” that does not depend on a certain actual location (p. 251). Thus, according to Boym (2001), the object of longing is not a place that “can be called home”, but “this sense of intimacy with the world” (p. 251). This is the prerequisite for Boym’s (2001) concept of “diasporic intimacy”.

How do the Italians from Montreal come to feel intimate within their diasporic experience? This is one question this thesis now begins to explore. To be intimate means several things like “innermost”, “pertaining to a deep nature”, “personal”, “sexual” (p. 251). Yet, intimate is also “to communicate”, which leads to a complicity with the other, means “to imply subtly” (p. 251). Italians’ stories from North America account for intimacy with the Italian culture, either from the Italians’ point of view, or from the perspective of those who feel close to this culture. Being home does not only mean to feel comfortable, as this becomes more complicated than that. The feeling of being home, as Boym (2001) further argues has something of the “uncanny”, as “we desire most what we

fear most, and the familiar often comes to us in disguise” (p. 251). One has mirror images of home, and cohabits with “doubles and ghosts” (p. 251).

The ghosts we have discussed earlier relinquish the difficulties of “feeling home” for the Montreal Italians, at least in the early stages of immigration towards Canada. Now, that one knows the ghosts of Italian immigration to Montreal, it is easier to understand Boym’s (2001) general argument about “diasporic intimacy”. If one leaves home under pressing circumstances, be they, exiles, political, economical, or personal, she argues, “the intimate experience, occurs on a foreign background” (p. 252). What is “home” for the Italian community of Montreal? There are several answers to this question that stem from the different stages of immigration of this community. To answer this question calls for another one: how does one feel intimate within the diasporic experience?

Boym (2001) argues:

Diasporic intimacy can be approached only through indirection and intimation, through stories and secrets. It is spoken in a foreign language that reveals the inadequacies of translation. Diasporic intimacy does not promise an unmediated emotional fusion, but only a precarious affection – no less deep, yet aware of transience. In contrast to the utopian images of intimacy as transparency, authenticity and ultimate belonging, diasporic intimacy is dystopic by definition, it is rooted in the suspicion of a single home, in shared longing without belonging. [...] Diasporic intimacy is haunted by the images of home and homeland, yet it discloses some of the furtive pleasure of exile. (Boym, 2001, pp. 252-253)

As Italians came to North America they soon discovered a more individualistic culture than the culture in the South of Italy which is premised upon the idea of family as central nucleus. In this context, Boym's (2001) argument about intimacy becoming no longer a retreat but rather a fulfillment of the dominant cultural ideology makes total sense. Thus, home gets to be translated into an account about longing. Belonging to the new culture, does not exclude nostalgia for the past, even if the feeling of nostalgia can be made to disappear in order to create the appearance of assimilation to mainstream culture. "Home" has the gist of the unattainable, as "home and abroad" is constantly a pair. The roots are central for a "who we are" kind of feeling but they always distill into something that is difficult to render in words from the very beginning and even more so as time passes.

In addition, "while the longing is universal, nostalgia can be divisive" (Boym, 2001, p. xiii). The one who longs is perfectly understood and finds peers and shelter in the experiences of others who feel the same. The nostalgic attempts to do something about the longing and thus he does not have it easy. Nostalgia is a trope for impossibility. One can identify the rhetoric of nostalgia and a rhetoric of impossibility attached to the experiences of the Italian community from Montreal. This leads to an overall diasporic identification motive that will be unpacked in chapter four. All the above mentioned stages of immigration can be analyzed from within this identification motive. Certain aspects will change as we will discuss these issues in the next two chapters. Contrasting the ethos of the Italian-Canadians from Montreal presented so far with that which we will further outline in the next two chapters will clearly reveal the two different identification motives this thesis presents in regards to the Italian-Canadians from this city. To

understand this change requires explaining the framework of nostalgia. It is to this that we will now turn.

➤ A framework for nostalgia

In telling nostalgia, Boym (2001) starts off with a story of a man who came back to the former Soviet Union to visit his city formerly called Königsberg, which under the Soviets was renamed Kaliningrad, and transformed into an exemplary Soviet site. He was nostalgic and he did not find what he was looking for. Yet, this is an extreme example. It is easy to understand why he did not recognize his place any longer. He was looking for his memories in the ashes left by a regime that premised itself on destroying any possible links with past history, unless past history built communist projects. Boym (2001) comments “he dreamed of repairing his longing with final belonging. Possessed by nostalgia, he forgot his actual past. The illusion left burns on his face” (p. xiii).

The usual accounts of Italian immigrants who return to Italy or who long for it are very similar in a way. When they return to Italy, Italian immigrants fail to recognize the place as their own. The longed for village has evidently changed in the last fifty years. Besides, what happens if what one thought would be “home” was never “home” in first place? The problems of the South justify the idea of self-exile at “home” for those who emigrated later. Should one follow the translation of the “Southern question” into the North American realm, the question Boym (2001) asks, “how can one be homesick for a home that one never had?” becomes even more relevant (p. xiii).

Nostalgia that elicits the need to go back is divisive and manifests itself in the sense that: 1) places actually change them from one generation to another as much as the

people that inhabit them; and 2) these places never existed as such, as they are distilled through a variety of memories caused by longing. Nostalgia (from *nostos*, i.e. return home and *algia*, i.e. longing) is as Boym (2001) argues “a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed” (p. xiii). As *algia* – longing is what we share, continues Boym (2001), *nostos* – the return home is “what divides us” (p. xvi). So, yes, nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, still this is also a “romance with one’s own fantasy” (p. xiii).

As Boym (2001) continues her argument on nostalgia she identifies two types: reflective and restorative. Her classification is also useful to establish what kind of nostalgia the “Leonardo da Vinci” center presents us with.

The nostalgia that Boym (2001) is interested in is not “merely an individual sickness but a symptom of our age, a historical emotion” (p. xvi). This kind of nostalgia is not opposed to modernity and individual responsibility but is coeval with modernity. “Nostalgia and progress are like Jekyll and Hyde: alter egos”, argues Boym (2001, p. xvi). She comments: “in France it is not only the ancien regime that produced revolution, but in some respect the revolution that produced the ancien regime, giving it shape, a sense of closure and a gilded aura” (p. xvi). Thus, nostalgia is not only retrospective, but also prospective. “Fantasies of the past determined by needs of the present have a direct impact on the realities of the future”, argues Boym (2001, p. xvi). In Boym’s (2001) view two kinds of nostalgia characterize one’s relationship “to the past, to the imagined community, to home, to one’s self perception: restorative and reflective” (p. 41).

Restorative nostalgia stresses the *nostos* and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. Reflective nostalgia thrives in *algia*, the longing

itself and delays the homecoming – wistfully, ironically, desperately. Restorative nostalgia does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition.

Reflective nostalgia dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity. Restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt. (p. 41)

These two kinds of nostalgia, argues Boym (2001) are not absolute types, but rather tendencies. However, those who experience restorative nostalgia do not think of themselves as nostalgic. They believe their project is about an absolute truth, argues Boym (2001, p. 41). National and nationalist revivals all over the world are marked by restorative nostalgia as they are concerned with national symbols and myths. As Boym (2001) contends: “Restorative nostalgia manifests itself in total reconstructions of monuments of the past while reflective nostalgia lingers on ruins, the patina of time and history, in the dreams of another place and another time”(p. 41).

As “restorative nostalgia” will be analyzed at length in the context of the “Leonardo da Vinci” center, let us dwell a little longer on the concept of “reflective nostalgia” that may have already made itself evident in some of the stories about the Italian immigrants iterated earlier.

➤ Coffee-break at Café Italia:

Boym (2001) argues that reflective nostalgia privileges as “an individual narrative that savors details and memorial signs, perpetually deferring homecoming itself” (p. 49). If “restorative nostalgia takes itself dead seriously”, reflective nostalgia can be “ironic and humorous” (p. 49). Boym (2001) comments:

Reflective nostalgia does not pretend to rebuild the mythical place called home; it is enamored of distance, not of the referent itself. This type of nostalgic narrative is ironic, inconclusive and fragmentary. Nostalgics of the second type are aware of the gap between identity and resemblance, the home is in ruins, or on the contrary has been just renovated and gentrified beyond recognition. (p. 50)

“Bar Nostalgija” from Ljubljana is the object of Boym’s (2001) analysis of reflective nostalgia. The bar decorated in the style of the ‘60s, but also with Chinese alarm clocks, boxes of Vegeta seasoning (a delicacy in communism), posters of Sputnik and a large poster of Tito represents an object that could never exist in communist ex-Yugoslavia. Yet, it brings about memories of communism and nostalgia for the objects of affection of that time. Boym (2001) comments:

The Nostalgija Snack Bar was a friendly place. Its very definition was international – snack bar – something that the current owners might have dreamed about in their youth while watching old American movies on Yugoslav TV. The American version of Nostalgija Snack Bar would not arouse much scandal. One could imagine a cozy place decorated with 1950s lamps, jukeboxes and pictures of James Dean. This is an American way of dealing with the past – to turn history into a bunch of amusing and readily available souvenirs, devoid of politics. (p. 51)

“Café Italia” on Blvd. St. Laurent in Montreal is a similar place. This is a place that provides the ambiance where feelings of ambivalence and divisiveness contained in *nostos* and *algia* appear. Italians from Montreal can “return” home to Italy in the very heart of Montreal. Also, they go to Café Italia because they long for homeland. Even as a non-Italian, one learns fast that this is a place where nostalgia for Italian-ness is

exacerbated and, according to each taste, discovers its joys, its products and, why not, enjoys the consumption. The wooden tables of Café Italia and the simple retro decorum on the walls, a mix of soccer gods and Italian Canadiana/Americana characters contrasts there with the vivacity of the people. Should one go to Café Italia during a soccer game, there will be a constant noise, of voices coming together sometimes reaching climax in a laugh.

On the other hand, nostalgic feelings are possible there because Café Italia is this place that offers a venue for being allowed to feel that way. “Audiences embody a discourse”, argues Charland (1987, p. 134). As audience members participate in the very discourse by which they are “persuaded”, “persuasive discourse requires a subject-as-audience who is already constituted with an identity and within an ideology” (p. 134). Montreal-Italians who enter Café Italia are interpellated about their emotions. Café Italia is thus in a way constitutive of such a nostalgic rhetoric.

Boym (2001) says “one remembers best what is colored by emotion” (p. 52). Café Italia is a place where emotion with regards to Italianicity in Montreal is made evident. This is to be expected as Boym (2001) warns us:

...in the emotional topography of memory, personal and historical events tend to be conflated. It seems that the only way to discuss collective memory is through imaginary dialogues with dispersed fellow citizens, expatriates and exiles. (p. 52)

In addition, “one becomes aware of collective frameworks of memories when one distances oneself from one’s community or when that community itself enters in a moment of twilight” (p. 54). A certain sense of loss is felt only from a safe distance. Places like Nostalgija Bar Café in Ljubljana or Café Italia in Montreal respond to this

identity loss, but they restore nothing. Nostalgija Bar Café is as Boym (2001) observes a new kind of space that “plays with the past and the present” (p. 55). It has nothing to restore as there was never such a café in former Yugoslavia. Café Italia has nothing to restore, as there has never been such a café in Italy. Café Italia is only a diasporic invention.

Elaborating on the concept of nostalgic rhetoric, Greg Dickinson (1997) argues that there is a bigger picture – usually termed “post-modernity” in which such nostalgic gestures can be inscribed. In her analysis of “memory places”, such as Old Pasadena, she departs from the observation that “times of rapid change or insecurity encourage a tremendous desire for the past” (p. 1).

In everyday life we confront these difficulties in urban landscapes of memory and consumption. Landscapes of memory draw on memories in order to authenticate the identities of those who visit them. The memories place both the landscapes and individuals within a stabilizing and authenticating past. Often memories are utilized in these sites to create intriguing spaces for consumption. Refurbished, gentrified urban landscapes are devoted to selling: selling food, clothes, jewelry, coffee, books, art, antique, movies, plays. In short, they are devoted to the entertainment of consumption. (Dickinson, 1997, p.1)

As “memory works to cover the problems of identity raised in a culture of consumption and memory loss”, urban memory sites attempt to bring a sense of coherence within space and individuals, that is complicated nowadays (p. 1). Little Italy on the site of the former Mile-End colony in Montreal, where Café Italia is located, represents such a site. Dickinson (1997) comments: “memory offers to consumers the

possibility of coherent identities firmly situated within a warmly remembered past” (p. 2).

Café Italia is one such place that has the warmth and familiarity that allows Italians from Montreal to remember home.

➤ “Café Italia” - The Documentary:

Paul Tana’s film “Café Italia” (1985) takes the actual café as a symbol of Italianicity in Montreal and discusses the problematic of the Italian diasporic identity in this city. “Café Italia” – the documentary - opens with a statement about soccer. For soccer fans, it is very simple to understand why people need a café to get together and share a moment of diasporic intimacy. For the diasporic fans it is comfortable to let go of emotions when the national team is playing. Several characters in the documentary declare that one is Italian by birth and only afterwards, that one is Québécois or Canadian. Complications, however occur when first-generation Italians speak in the movie. They mention words such as “limbo”, “ni l’un... ni l’autre...” when they attempt to find the crux of their identity. In this documentary, Café Italia itself is a pretext to speak about these generations of Italians from Montreal: the generation of Constanzo D’Amico, who came here in 1912 or that of Olinda Iuticone, born in Montreal in 1904, or that of Pasquale Tarasco, who came to Montreal in 1951. The café itself serves as an opening and ending for their stories. It turns into a place where the ritual of being Italian in Montreal gets completed. The café is a container of their emotions, a *porte-parole* of this community. Pictures, imported food packs and other objects that carry memories hang on the walls. Thus, the documentary also speaks to the concept of reflective nostalgia.

VI. Key trajectories:

So far we argued that a ghost was pushing Italian immigrants to evolve from one stage to another in Montreal. These ghosts gave rise to rhetorical exigencies which led to a particular ethos for each stage. During the colony stage the Montreal Italians start to have places where they can safely remember “home”. They were nostalgic.

To conclude our remarks on reflective nostalgia, rhetoric, and urban space, as far as the Italian community from Montreal is concerned, we need to return now to Café Italia, the actual place. To view it as a simple import of Italian culture would be wrong, as it would reduce the Italian culture to a cliché. To view it, as the quintessence of diasporic Italian culture in Montreal would again be wrong, because on the same street, upper St. Laurent there are other Italian diasporic images within reach. To simply view it as a symbolic place where the conundrum of immigration, memory and identity come together for the Montreal Italians and those interested in their fate, would be fair. Café Italia is one place that is symptomatic of a community’s need to re-create the past in a different time and place. Boym’s (2001) Bar Nostalgija functioned in a similar way and certainly other such places could operate on a similar level.

Dickinson (1996) makes a key point on the relations memory has to space and identity. Dickinson’s (1996) history covers at least three important stages where memory, space and identity are intertwined, i.e. ancient Greece, ancient Rome, and the Renaissance period. We note the analytical categories Dickinson (1996) uses in her article to look at Old Pasadena, as a locus where this rhetoric is re-enacted in the present:

There is, then, a complex set of relations between space, memory, identity and rhetoric, wherein stylistic, often architectural, devices elicit memory to argue for

and secure personal identity. These places evoke a whole range of emotion-laden memories while providing the possibility for *bodily* participation in the evocation of memory. (p. 4, author's emphasis)

She continues: "much as the orator utilized memory places to recall particular ideas or arguments or as the Renaissance citizen turned to the garden as a guide to virtuous behavior, the contemporary individual visits a place like Old Pasadena in an attempt to recall or recover a stabilized identity" (p. 4). The analysis of such places must begin by tracing their cultural and historical lines. The history of memory and space in connection to identity, she argues, has a three-fold purpose: "first, it suggests that memory has a long theoretical and pedagogical history linking rhetorical operations to space", "second, tracing these relations provides a particularly rhetorical way of relating memory and space to the problem of identity", and third, "this rhetorical conceptualization emphasizes the importance of memory's material realization", as "memories are 'stored' in places where people enact the past, and these places of storage and enactment serve as the locus of investigation" (pp. 3-4).

"Café Italia" then can be inscribed within a larger picture of "hot spots" of memory and reflective nostalgia. Some of these venues are there just to invite reflective nostalgia to manifest itself. As Boym (2001) states, such places call absolute truth into doubt, as "reflective nostalgia does not follow a single plot but explores ways of inhabiting many places at once and imagining different time zones; it loves details, not symbols (p. xviii).

With its love for details, reflective nostalgia invites ghosts to co-habit with those who are haunted by them. Thus, sooner or later, some will think they need to overcome

such ghosts. Boym (2001) argues there is a common understanding that reflective nostalgia is in a way paralyzing. Regardless of whether there is a taboo on nostalgia, or not, even as an object of study, nostalgia “slows us down” (p. xix). Boym (2001) continues, “at best, reflective nostalgia can present an ethical and creative challenge, not merely a pretext for midnight melancholies” (p. xviii). Once we saw how reflective nostalgia manifests itself, it is time to ask what kind of projects restorative nostalgia presents us with? Are they any different? How and why?

In the following chapter we will attempt to explore these questions in connection to an architectural object that the Montreal Italians built for themselves, which is very different from Café Italia. Café Italia is still history in the making. Yet, for the adepts of absolute truth and a certain sense of tradition like those who give a restorative meaning to nostalgia, i.e. those who create other types of urban projects, Café Italia is unfortunately history and they would say it like any good nostalgic, with an aching heart.

Chapter II:

The “Leonardo Mystery” or Public Architecture as Constitutive Rhetoric

I. Ghosts: Old and New

In the previous chapter we argued that a ghost was pushing Italian immigrants to move from one stage of their immigrant experience to another. These ghosts gave rise to rhetorical exigencies, and thus a different ethos for each particular stage was born. The Italians in Montreal were first sojourners – immigrant workers who made money in Canada to send it to their families back home in Italy. Then, they were settlers, who decided to grow roots in Montreal and brought their relatives along with them. As the community became larger, they started to be regarded by others and also by the Canadian-Italian studies authors, as the creators of an “Italian colony”. By the ‘60s -‘70s there were already several generations of Italian immigrants in Montreal. They became a community and their discourse changed in tone and accents. As immigrants were moving from one stage to another, after having dealt with one ghost, they stumbled upon another.

In terms of this evolution, it is important to understand that, though at some point one can speak of a Montreal-based Italian community, this community was not unitary. Different voices within the community were shaping different discourses that sometimes were in dialogue and other times conflicting. The immigrants’ children, first, second and third generation had their identities already shaped by experiences different than their parents’. Italy was more a place on their mind and in their heart than a real one. They were Québécois or Canadian, in addition to being Italian. Italy became the country their parents told them about, frozen in time, as the Italy of the ‘50s their parents knew before

coming to Montreal. When the new generation of Italian-Canadians would travel back to find their origins, they would not be able to match the fictional and real images of Italy and in consequence, fail to be regarded as “true Italians”. This is what the documentary “Café Italia” attempted to communicate: the generation gap raised issues that had to be addressed, accepted or dealt with somehow.

In the new context, Café Italia itself, because of its location and decorum, provided a venue for these identity questions to be at least raised. Moreover, it offered a comfort zone that allowed a large number of Montreal-Italians to identify with the same problems and “use” Café Italia to inquire about themselves and their community. Boym’s (2001) analysis of other similar places, such as “Bar Nostalgija” from Ljubljana indicated that this conundrum of identity and memory associated with such places is rather symptomatic of a reflective type of nostalgia. Reflective nostalgia manifests itself via objects of affection. It is located in the past tense and it features an element of melancholia. Yet, reflective nostalgia should not be confused with melancholia which happens on an individual rather than at the community or group level. *À la limite*, reflective nostalgia is what immigrants experience sometimes closer to midnight when they remember home. Thus, the concept of “home” acquires something uncanny as one desires most what one cannot really have.

“Nostalgia is not always about the past; it can be retrospective but also prospective” (p. xvi). The time when the Italian community from Montreal identified with Café Italia was the time of missing home and of the feeling of being caught between two distinct worlds. That was the time of struggle, effort and denunciations from an identity Montreal-Italians long for, but which they also left behind, a time of coping and

re-creating the past within a new context. In addition, it was the time when heroic stories about the elders were becoming central in the immigrant discourse to justify the immigrant struggle and to legitimize the identity of these people. New mythologies developed to confront and resist the diasporic condition. Studies such as D'Andrea (1990) address this matter by concentrating on the '60s – '70s that were still symptomatic of difficulties the Italian community was adjusting to, within the identity politics games of Montreal.

To conclude on the Italian immigration patterns and ethos up to the present, it is important to remember that the ethos that emerged in these previous stages attempted to re-create the past of the Italian community in a romanticized, almost mythological way. The rhetoric of the present is less romanticized as the voice of the community has matured. Subsequent generations of Montreal Italians are still haunted by some ghosts, but they respond to them in different ways than the previous generations, particularly from the immigrants' generation. These reactions are consolidated within the rhetoric of the Leonardo da Vinci center.

The Leonardo da Vinci center thus instantiates a different moment in the life of the Italian community. It also announces the time of the prospective, essential in restorative nostalgia tales. The subsequent generations of Italians in Montreal, that were involved in funding and building the da Vinci center, departed from the stories their immigrant parents had told them about who they are. However, Italian-Canadians can imagine and set a different tone for their future than their ancestors. As this story of present and future is told via a building, we are placed in the middle of a restorative nostalgia tale.

II. Leonardo da Vinci: A Restorative Nostalgia Tale

The distinctive element of this story in comparison with those rendered in the previous chapter is that this story is mostly about future prospects of the Italian community rather than its past. The future tense brings a different connotation to nostalgia. Along these lines, Boym (2001) argues:

Consideration of future makes us take responsibility for our nostalgic tales. [...]

Unlike melancholia, which confines itself to the planes of individual consciousness, nostalgia is about the relationship between individual biography and the biography of groups or nations, between personal and collective memory.

(p. xvi)

We are thus dealing with a different object – a building – that sets a discourse in which the personal biographies of the beneficiaries of this building create together the biography of the Montreal Italian-Canadian community. On the one hand, one is speaking about Montreal-Italians and their identity. On the other hand, this identity is not shaped only by their particular community. As these generations of Italian-Canadians are in the process of overcoming a diasporic condition, they are not “ghettoized” any more. The trajectories of the Italian community intersect with those of other communities and with the Québécois and Canadian society at large.

Architecture in general, particularly public architecture, speaks to such intersections among group and community based identities with the society at large, as public architecture is executed often on the command or at least on the approval of the state. Thus, public architecture fundamentally calls for responsibility with respects to the idea behind a project, as it is initiated by a community upon the agreement of multiple

administrative bodies, as it is also the case here. The Leonardo da Vinci center would not exist unless the City of Montreal approved its construction. It speaks to larger issues that need to be taken into account – such as how a city decides what is representative in terms of its own identity.

To return to the level of the Italian community, the idea of taking responsibility for its nostalgic tales translated into the construction of a multi-purpose building, which answered the needs of the Italian community and accomplished specific functions. The functions of this center and the needs it addresses for the Italian community had to be accommodated by a specific design. Therefore the actual form and the aesthetics of the center are not accidental. The center is not important only for what it does and what it claims but also for why and how it does it. In order to get to such a level of analysis, it is important to understand the relationship architecture has to identity, which will be the key topic of this particular chapter.

We argue that buildings can be constitutive of identity and specifically that public architecture is fundamental to community building. In addition to its constitutive aspects with regards to the Montreal-Italian community, the Leonardo da Vinci center sheds light on the larger context within which the Italian community builds its ethos. This is an instance where restorative nostalgia manifests itself in a way that connects the biography of the Italian community of Montreal to that of larger groups, Québécois and Canadian. Thus, this nostalgic tale becomes in the process a contribution to what defines belonging in Canada. At the same time, it also speaks to the difficulty and necessity of belonging in the context of global circulation of people in a post-modern context. To fully explain this,

it is essential that the interlocking relationships of architecture to rhetoric- and identity-building be outlined below.

Architecture, rhetoric and identity are interconnected in this specific case, as the rhetorical situation set forth by the Leonardo da Vinci center has its particularities that need to be explained. As the center is located in St. Leonard, Montreal there is a need to take into account this specific choice of site. Yet, as modernity and post-modernity manifest architecturally, there is a need to interpret the message of this building in a larger context.

Chapter II treats the story of the Leonardo da Vinci center as a “representative anecdote”, as Burke (1969) outlines this concept. We will look at the particular context of St. Leonard neighborhood, where the center is located, with its specific history, social and cultural settings and discuss how this choice of site is representative.

Next, the center will be analyzed as an instance where rhetoric and architecture come together. Our main claim is that architecture is a specific kind of response to a rhetorical exigency, which in this case consists in coming to terms with another ghost: how to integrate within a different culture, without being assimilated and how to make it evident to others.

We will elaborate a method of rhetorical analysis, drawing on Smith’s (2000) research on domestic architecture, constitution and identity. Consequently, a method and theory will be devised to analyze public architecture as productive of subjects. This approach will particularly be conducive in the subsequent chapters to an analysis of Montreal-Italians as subjects produced via the da Vinci center. Italian-Canadians belong

in Montreal in a different way than in the past when their articulations of identity were conducive to different rhetoric-s.

In the process, we distinguish between the formal structure of the center and its aesthetics, which accompanies any architectural project and the performative aspects of architecture, which result from the fact that architecture is always experienced by an audience. The central idea of this chapter will be that architecture is performative and therefore has consequences in the public space. Such consequences speak for that architecture has effects upon an audience. Thus, architecture is rhetorical. The specific consequences of the Leonardo da Vinci center or its effects will be later analyzed.

III. Leonardo da Vinci: A Representative Anecdote

In the previous chapter we reviewed a number of accounts from Italian immigrants who had come to Montreal from the beginning of the 20th century until the 1960s and also discussed some of the identity issues faced by immigrants as well as the identity claims raised by the first three generations of Montreal-Italians. Those stories resembled each other somehow or at least they had a common thread. Furthermore, they were contributing to the general narratives of Italian immigration to Montreal. How is the story of the LdV center different? This story is different as it could be regarded as a representative anecdote in the sense Burke (1969) describes it.

Burke (1969) argues that for a story to be a representative anecdote it has to have the necessary scope and simplicity and must be a reduction of the subject-matter. The scope of a representative anecdote stems from the many nuances and contexts in which a particular story can be inscribed. In our case, the Leonardo da Vinci center can be

inscribed in the larger context of Italian-Canadian identity building process in Montreal. There are many facets of this process that point to a large scope in terms of what the center might speak to. Yet, the construction of the center in Montreal is a reduction of this complex subject-matter, as the Leonardo da Vinci center features a singular situation. Therefore, the story of the center itself is simple enough, yet it represents a reduction of the subject-matter of Italianità in Montreal nowadays.

If an anecdote does not have a large scope but is not simple enough as well, though notably informative, it is not representative. Burke (1969) also discusses the importance of the representative anecdote as a type of story that features all the constitutive motives of a situation. In addition, he states:

Dramatism [...] involves the search for a ‘representative anecdote’, to be used as a form in conformity with which the vocabulary is constructed. [...] Some anecdotes, though notably informative, are not representative. If the originating anecdote is not representative, a vocabulary developed in strict conformity with it will not be representative. (p. 59)

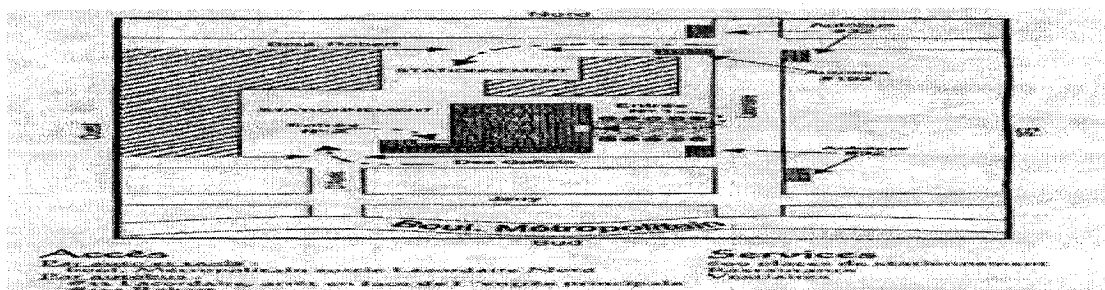
This is why it is important to outline how the story of the Leonardo center is representative as otherwise, an entire vocabulary on the effects raised by this building will not be representative either. Ultimately, as Burke (1969) continues, the reason for searching the representative anecdote stems from the necessity that, in order to “study the nature of the term *act*, one must select a prototype or paradigm of action” (p. 66).

To recapitulate, scope, simplicity, reduction of the subject-matter and capacity to feature of the constitutive motives of a situation is what is necessary to regard a story as a “representative anecdote”. Cynthia Smith (2000) argues that architecture is rhetorical. In

addition, generally speaking, “context, ideology, buildings, houses and press coverage function synergistically” to produce individuals created by architecture (p. 11). We claim that the story of the LdV center is a representative anecdote in terms of the present rhetoric of Italianità in Montreal as it is constitutive of the Italian-Canadian subjects of this city today. In terms of context, the specifics of the St. Leonard district will be discussed to analyze how the location of the center plays out to contribute to its representative-ness. As far as the construction itself, we will argue that the LdV is not just any building – it is a multipurpose center which covers all the present needs of the Italian community from Montreal by means of one single venue, thus offering the necessary scope and also the simplicity required for a representative anecdote. In terms of its ideological effects, we will later analyze how in fact this building is not only productive of subjects, but also of citizens. However, this chapter will cover the first two aspects related to the context and the building as a form in itself. The third chapter will discuss the ideological effects of this particular building as far as the production of citizens.

IV. Contextual analysis:

➤ Locating the Anecdote



Map available at <http://www.centreleonarddavinci.com/default.asp?lng=1>

Montreal is a special city in Canada because of the language divide. The Francophone-Anglophone dynamics creates a specific environment for immigrant experiences that cannot be found anywhere else, or at least not in any other Canadian metropolis. Having already two distinct cultures at work allows immigrants to navigate between them, but also to claim their own particular identity differently than other Canadian immigrants from other cities.

The fact that Italians become assimilated, an idea developed by American-Italian studies in particular, is not a central issue in Montreal. Immigrants need not be told which of the two they are, nor do they have an umbrella concept for the kind of identity they need to perform once they arrive here. They pick and choose, they borrow what suits them, they adapt and become assimilated to a certain extent, yet, they create in the process a mixture that amounts to something altogether different than an assimilation process. Therefore immigrant evolutions in Montreal could be paradigmatic or representative, to use the Burkian term, in terms of identity propositions as they are unique. The uniqueness of such identity claims creates a good vantage point to analyze how identity claims of immigrant/diasporic communities operate elsewhere.

To move from the general to the specifics of this situation, the Italians from St. Leonard have gained a particular status among other communities in Montreal as they have proved over time that they can choose for themselves and adapt to the host culture in their own way. The evolution of St-Leonard is evidence of this.

Saint-Leonard-de-Port-Maurice is a 5 sq mile area located in the North-East section of the island of Montreal, bordered to the north by the area called “Montreal-North”, to the east by Anjou, to the south by what was before the “City of Montreal” and

to the west by St. Michel. In 1990, according to D'Andrea (1990) there were 80,000 people living in St. Leonard, while in 1945, before Italians started to move there, only 555 souls, almost all French Canadians lived in this area. The 5 sq miles, according to the same study, consisted of open fields with a small built up core located on Jarry Street. It was a rural community of farmers and a considerably poor area. Thus, the Italians who moved to St. Leonard had a clear influence in the development of the neighborhood, especially by the late 1960's when what is usually called the "St. Leonard crisis" occurred.

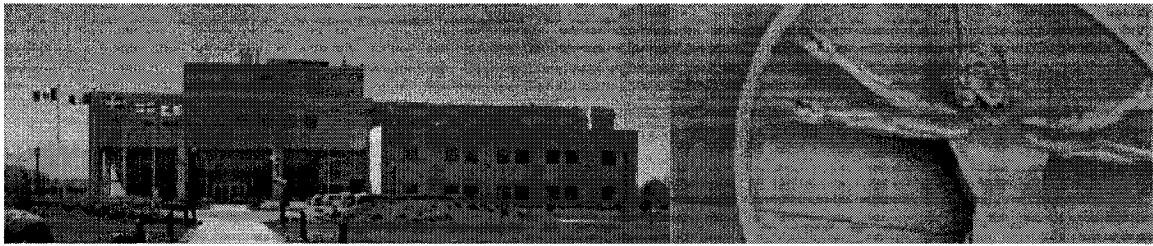
In the 1960s, the St. Leonard Catholic School Board decided to phase out English education. In chapter one, we referred to the details of the "St. Leonard crisis". The Italian parents opposed the requirement that their children be educated in French, which ultimately led to a crisis (D'Andrea, 1990). To understand why there was such a reaction demands that one should remember that the Italian community had radically changed by the 1960s. D'Andrea (1990) observes:

In St. Leonard, we are dealing with a new generation of immigrants. These people who migrated to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s not only found a different urban environment, but were themselves significantly different than their co-nationals who had sojourned and settled in Canada before them. (p. 6)

As mentioned in the first chapter, the Italian community in St. Leonard had attained a certain level of institutional completeness. Italianità as such became to an extent an institution to defend. D'Andrea (1990) examines the status of the immigrants' Italianità in the Italian press of the time and explains how Italianità helped shape the response to the ethnic tensions in St. Leonard in the late '60s. He argues the Italian press gives a

different image than the rest of the press in Montreal and concludes that St. Leonard represented more than a fight over the language issue: it was a dispute over the status of ethnic minorities in Québec. An important series of events tell us about the history of this neighborhood. In consequence, locating the LDV center in St. Leonard was a well-thought choice as there is nothing accidental about it and as the neighborhood is charged with memories of Italians fighting in Montreal for their identity claims.

➤ A Body for an Anecdote



Leonardo da Vinci center – front picture available at

<http://www.centreleonardodavinci.com/default.asp?lng=1>

The location of the Leonardo center has its significations. In addition, its purpose also needs to be explained. This is so, not only because architecture should not be taken for granted as it surrounds people/citizens on an every-day basis, but because its execution is also costly and is a response to an initiative, in this particular case, of the Italian community. That is not to say that all buildings are fundamental objects meaning more than what they are as business centers, malls, or other buildings that look very similar to one another. Community cultural centers however are unusual. They are not necessarily the kind of structure that is common to a city. Usually cultural centers have their own personality as buildings and do not resemble one another. Cultural centers are

less common and more difficult to design than front-gardens or coffee places. They take a lot of effort and initiative and they are indicative of particular stages in the life of a community, or of particular needs and expressions that have not yet been made available to a community until the completion of grand scale projects. Thus, what and how they represent needs to be taken into account.

One could claim that there are older Italian cultural centers in Canada, for instance the “Columbus” center in Toronto or even the “Casa d’Italia”, situated in Montreal’s “Little Italy”, in Jean Talon area. “Casa d’Italia”, built in the ‘30s instantiated a different moment in the life of this community. The “Columbus” centre from Toronto was built for another audience in the particular context of another metropolis. The Leonardo da Vinci center is representative as it instantiates the particularities of the Montreal based Italian community now and offers a rhetoric different from those of Italianità from before.

In addition, the project for the “Leonardo da Vinci” center was the first time that the Italians from Montreal attempted to “write” a restorative nostalgia tale (Boym, 2001). This representative, restorative nostalgia tale can thus tell something about Italians’ belonging in Montreal but also about belonging and restoring nostalgia in general. To fully understand the scope of this story it is important to clearly establish the necessary connections between rhetoric and architecture. These connections will help us clarify the second major task of this chapter, i.e. to devise the key elements related to the particular architectural form of this restorative nostalgia object which constitutes the Italian-Canadians in Montreal today.

V. Rhetoric and architecture:

Rhetorical scholarship has not been very much concerned with architecture. There is a wide assumption in rhetorical studies that buildings do not “speak”. Neither can they be “read” as texts. Buildings do not present arguments like texts do. Consequently, the problem of using rhetorical interpretation for architecture stems from the difficulties of understanding the meanings of buildings and the ways in which they “communicate” them. A way to overcome this problem is to clearly establish the limits of both buildings as “texts” as well as of “rhetoric” as method, conducive to understanding the meanings of buildings. In this section, we outline these limits departing from previous texts on rhetoric and on architecture. Our purpose is to make rhetoric and architecture work together both within a method and in terms of interpretation of one by means of another.

Though architecture is almost missing from rhetorical scholarship, there are some studies that touched upon the rhetoric of architecture. Smith (1990) argues that some studies produced in the ‘70s and ‘80s covered the Victorian gravestones or the Nazi architecture from a rhetorical perspective. These studies vary in method, some relying on descriptions of buildings or on the visual aspects of architecture. Smith’s (1990) study on the American domestic architecture goes beyond the descriptive, unpacking an important argument on architecture as a persuasive rhetorical tool. We retain this argument and will elaborate on it, as it is instrumental for this project.

Blair, Jefferson and Pucci (1991) also produced a very compelling article on the architecture of monuments as rhetorical. Their research on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial begins to explore some important contentions on the rhetoric of post-modern monuments. They draw on the analysis of the monument itself to build an argument that

public sculptures are interpreted in a context. The authors' reflections on the post-modern are fundamental to this project as it will be soon highlighted. As in front of the Leonardo da Vinci center there are three sculptures, we will nuance Blair's et al. (1991) analysis as a basis for interpreting these works, while at the same time underline the differences between them and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

While the above mentioned studies provide several angles of analysis there are not any studies available which clearly claim that public architecture is rhetorical, persuasive and constitutive of identities. We claim that the Leonardo da Vinci center is constitutive of the Italian-Canadian identities in Montreal, is productive of subjects and as it is presented as a public object, it allows for the performance of citizenry of these subjects.

The LdV is both modern and post-modern, both in terms of aesthetics as well as in regards to the intended audiences it was created for. To understand this it is important to outline that the concept of Italianità in Montreal nowadays works only within the context of multiple identities and attachments. The LdV center responds to this factor. It therefore addresses a multiple audience as opposed to a single one. The fragmentation of audiences who embrace a building is characteristic of post-modern architectural objects. However, in terms of its aesthetics, the LdV employs a cultural mix, combining Italian ornamental elements with modern and post-modern structures, which makes it difficult to establish a clear aesthetic framework to describe it.

Bellow, we will outline a theory of modern and post-modern identity, focused on the meanings associated with architecture as we need to clarify the type of form the LdV represents in order to understand the type of subjects it produces. However, first we will

start this by outlining several points of departure as to the rhetoric of architecture, a field not sufficiently explored.

➤ An agenda for the rhetoric of architecture:

Smith (1990) observes that some existing studies are essentially theoretical in nature, as “existing rhetorical studies tend to explore theory for its own sake, rather than as a critical tool” (p. 62). Others focus on the discursive aspects surrounding the architectural objects or only on the talk about them. Very few scholars depart from a claim that takes architectural objects as rhetorical. Smith’s (1990) question “what is the rhetoric of domestic architecture?” clearly sets forth an agenda for rhetoric and architecture to be thought about in conjuncture. The author thus fills an important gap, not only as far as domestic architecture in particular but also in terms of clearly positing that architecture is rhetorical in nature. Specifically, she argues that “rhetoricians have neglected commercial and domestic architecture primarily due to the lack of both a theory and a methodology with which to confront the built environment” (p. 2).

We align our study to Smith’s (1990) claim who contends that “few scholars have ventured away from written and spoken discourse”, and in consequence “the discipline may be missing a complex intervening variable [...] in the persuasive equation” (p. 2). She argues that “people are influenced not only by mass-media messages and political speeches but also by the very buildings they inhabit” (p. 2). Her method of analysis follows from that:

... a rhetorical analysis of domestic architecture must examine the socioeconomic context of which particular home types emerged, the underlying ideologies of

their architects or builders, the structure and design of the homes themselves and the popular press coverage the homes received. (p. 346)

Thus, rhetoric is not only the art of persuasion via written or oral discourses, it is also “an architectonic productive art which deploys symbolic resources strategically within an ideological frame” (p. 348). Hence “rhetoric is the method by which buildings come to have meaning in society” (p. 348).

Along the same lines, we argue that the Leonardo da Vinci center is an instance of public architecture, the means and the venue where new identities are shaped and new rhetoric/s of Italianità are constituted and performed. We also argue that the architectural object itself is rhetorical in nature. The formal structure of the center and its aesthetics are conducive to specific practices held or performed within the center. The structure and the aesthetics are therefore just as important as the words that describe the center in that they can also “speak”.

➤ An agenda for post-modern public architecture:

Blair et al. (1991), in their study of the Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial in Washington, DC argue that “public commemorative monuments are rhetorical products of some significance” in that they “select from history those events, individuals, places, and ideas that will be sacralized by a culture or a polity” (p. 263). Moreover, though their epideictic function may be the main rhetorical feature, these monuments also “display tendencies towards the political or the deliberative” (p. 263). In addition to this, the Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial has a phenomenal appeal as it is “reproduced” and

“replicated” in popular culture products, being the most visited monument in Washington, DC, attracting between 12,000 and 15,000 visitors per day.

Blair et al. (1991) argue that public debates around what or whom to memorialize pointed in this case to the importance of architectural objects in terms of what they say about the polity. Commemorative monuments play a crucial role for the polity. They ‘instruct’ their visitors about what is to be valued in the future as well as in the past”, the Latin *monere*, meaning not just “to remind”, but also, “to admonish”, “warn”, “advise”, “instruct” (p. 263). The Vietnam Veterans Memorial is an “artifact of considerable significance”, with an equally considerable rhetorical power: “People have cried at the wall, prayed there, screamed in anger and in pain, found friends and comforted strangers. And always they touched it” (p. 263). The monument is thus according to Blair et al. (1991) “an instance within an emergent discourse on the cultural rhetoric of public commemorative monuments” (p. 264). Specifically it is a “prototype of postmodern memorializing, [...] certainly one of the most visible” (p. 264).

The situation of the Leonardo da Vinci center is different. In contrast with the Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial, Italians have agreed for almost twenty years that the community needed a new center. As more and more Italians from Montreal grow older, they needed a place where to gather as much as the young needed a place where they could learn about their origins (Cellini, *The Gazette*, 1996). The location of the center was not a cause for debate either, as Montreal-based Italians massively moved to St. Leonard around the late ‘60s. Fundraising campaigns for the center have also started years ago, as articles published in “*The Gazette*”, a major Montreal Anglophone

newspaper covered the campaigns at various times. However, similarly to the Memorial, the da Vinci center “instructs” the Italian community about their culture.

Specific aesthetic features and choices speak to how in its own way this building instructs, admonishes, or warns the Italian community about their past, present and future. This is made evident by the choice of the front statues. These statues are not what Blair et al. (1991) refer to as “emblems of public memorializing” in the same sense the “Vietnam Veterans Memorial” is, but they play a similar function. The most abstract statue and probably the most difficult to interpret is the stainless steel sculpture “Trampolino” (The Trampoline Man) by A. Santini, 2001.



Photograph by Raluca Fratiloiu

The attempt to find *the* meanings associated with this particular sculpture would fail from the onset as sculptures, paintings or buildings are open to a multiplicity of meanings. As Jencks (1984) discusses, postmodern buildings are open for interpretation, and the same can be said about sculptures. He argues:

The relations between brick, pneumatics, concrete and steel set up the semantic field which will differ slightly for each individual and particular usage employed.

[...] As a result no one expects to understand a building and read it as a text.

Everyone is the loser, the architect and the public. (p. 78)

The trampoline man might suggest the idea of jumping into the unknown. After all, immigrants venture into the unknown. Or it might suggest the idea of taking a risk and create something new like the Leonardo da Vinci center is for the Italian community of Montreal. It might also say something about overcoming a fear or, why not a ghost and surmounting an old state to find oneself in a new stage later. Franck Zampino, chair of the St. Leonard borough in 2003, commented on “Trampolino”: “the trowel represents the first generation of Italian immigrants that came here with nothing and built up an entire community, [...] while the diver is meant to signify youth, that is, a bridge to the future” (in Fidelman, *The Gazette*, 2003). It might mean all these or completely something else depending on the visitor’s eye. Nonetheless, this sculpture “instructs”, to use Blair’s et al. (1991) terminology, the visitors of the Leonardo da Vinci center about the past of the Italian community.

Two more similar works erected in front of the Leonardo center could also be analyzed in the light of the Latin “monere”, proposed by Blair et al. (1991). The first sculpture, by A. Masini, dedicated to those who came from Basilicata represents a man with wings, but no head.



Photograph by Raluca Fratiloiu

This sculpture is accompanied by a text in Italian that we reproduce here: “Agli uomini/Alle donne/Che sfidano/Il vento” (“To the men/To the women/Who defy/The Wind”). This work might suggest that the Italians from Basilicata had courage but knew little about making a life abroad. It might also suggest, like the Trampoline Man does, they extended their wings, not knowing what to expect. By all means, its shock value is significant and is probably there to cause reflection for the visitor.

The third sculpture, dedicated to the people who came from Molise and entitled “Il guerriero sannita” (“Sanity Warrior”) is also accompanied by a text: “simbolo di unione di Molisani nei mondo, emblema di fratellanza tra i popoli” (“Symbol of the union among the people from Molise in the world, emblem of brotherhood among peoples”).



Photograph by Raluca Fratiloiu

This sculpture might point to the associative and collective spirit of the Italian community, especially those who came from Molise. These people were instrumental in community building and in creating associations and get-together places for the community. As such, they maintained an Italian spirit alive within the community.

In contrast to the trampoline man that finds its audience and whose meaning remains to a certain extent obscure, these two other sculptures are clearly dedicated to two specific groups of Montreal Italians, those who came from Basilicata and those who came from Molise, two regions in Italy from where many Italians immigrated. These sculptures bring about feelings of pride about one's origins. Thus, they clearly "advise", "instruct", "admonish" as Blair et al. (1991) would argue.

It is important in terms of this research to recall that Blair et al. (1991) launch an important debate on the rhetoric of post-modern architecture. Yet, they do not develop a method of analysis for all post-modern monuments, let alone for all public post-modern architectural objects. Blair et al. (1991) argue:

Our principal aim is not to advance a generic typology of post-modern architecture or even of postmodern commemorative monuments. The potential of such a project would be limited by the fact that we deal centrally with only one case. (p. 264)

Similarly, at our turn, we are also embarking on the analysis of one architectural object alone. However, the Leonardo center, as it is a multipurpose building offers a variety of entry points for analysis, thus allowing for a more comprehensive rendition of Italianicity in Montreal to emerge along interpretive lines.

To conclude the attempt to summarize the work that connects rhetoric and architecture, these two studies point to a similar conclusion as to the necessity to analyze architecture in terms of the space it produces for inhabitants/citizens and its persuasive nature. "Taken collectively", argues Smith (1990), the "current rhetorical analyses of architecture point to the importance of investigating architecture as a persuasive

phenomenon” (p. 63). In order to be able to investigate this phenomenon it is important to clearly establish the terms needed to discuss post-modern architecture. There are different takes on the modern/post-modern debate. Undoubtedly, the choice of statues to garnish the LdV center speaks to post-modern aspects. Below we will outline several trajectories to further discuss modern and post-modern aesthetic features of the LdV as they inform the type of subjects that the building constitutes.

VI. Leonardo da Vinci: A Modern and/or Post-modern building?

We argue that the LdV center is a post-modern architectural object as it addresses an ethnic mix of audiences and as it draws on ornamental Italian elements presenting them in the Canadian context. Though it maintains a functionalism which is characteristic to modern architecture, this aspect is taken on another level and embedded within a piece that ultimately addresses emotional and affective needs of a community and restores its identity rather than practical needs alone. Thus the da Vinci center is not evidently post-modern aesthetically, yet it becomes so by means of its total aesthetic effects. The rhetorical effects raised by the aesthetic are conducive to the production of Italianità, which in this case presents itself not as an essence, but as a mix of influences. This is an important aspect, as this leads to production of subjects who manifest their citizenry accordingly.

➤ Question: “What is Postmodernism?”

Jenks (1984) argues:

Strange as it may sound, we *do* live in a world that is fast becoming Post-Modern.

There is an identifiable, and dully labeled, ‘Post-Modern Painting’ as well as

sculpture, dance, film and even, I am told, Socialism. It could be just a fashion, but if all these labels and even the sales and translations of this book are anything to go by, it has become a self confirming fashion, or in other words a socially accepted fact. (p. 5, author's emphasis)

Blair et al. (1991) highlight a similar multiplicity of “-isms” associated with postmodernism manifested in a variety of areas. To understand how postmodernism manifests itself in architecture, it is important to be able to first define it on its own.

Attempting to answer this question, Jean François Lyotard (1984) argues the postmodern gesture, in art, architecture, writing or other forms else is characterized by a change of tone, a call to end with that which was previous to it and was not sufficient any more. In formulating the “demand” for a change, Lyotard (1984) engages with the opponents of post-modernism, such as Jürgen Habermas and elaborates on the disposition of our times, which he argues is post-modern:

This is a period of slackening – I refer to the color of the times. From every direction we are being urged to put an end to experimentation, in the arts and elsewhere. I have read an art historian who extols realism and is militant for the advent of a new subjectivity. I have read an art critic who packages and sells “Transavantgardism” in the marketplace of painting. I have read that under the name of postmodernism, architects are getting rid of the Bauhaus project, throwing out the baby of experimentation with the bathwater of functionalism. [...] I have read a thinker of repute who defends modernity against those he calls neoconservatives. Under the banner of postmodernism, the latter would like, he believes, to get rid of the uncompleted project of modernism, that of the

Enlightenment. [...] Jürgen Habermas (everyone had recognized him) thinks that if modernity has failed, it is in allowing the totality of life to be splintered into independent specialties which are left to the narrow competence of experts, while the concrete individuals experiences “desublimated meaning” and “destructured form”, not as a liberation but in a mode of that immense *ennui* which Baudelaire described over a century ago. (pp. 71-72)

Thus:

What Habermas requires from the arts and the experiences they provide is, in short, to bridge the gap between cognitive, ethical and political discourses, thus opening the way to the unity of experiences. (p. 72)

Lyotard (1984) also engages with the project of modernity, directed towards what he describes as the “constitution of a cultural unity” yet he asks “what sort of unity [does] Habermas has in mind?” (p. 72). Lyotard (1984) argues that the demands also cited above are not all equivalent. On the contrary they can be quite contradictory as “some are made in the name of postmodernism” and others “in order to combat it” (p. 73). However, despite this all these demands have something in common as in these “diverse invitations to suspend artistic experimentation, there is an identical call for order, a desire for unity, for identity, for security, or popularity” (p. 73). Artists need to “find a public”, to be brought back “into the bosom of the community” or if the community is “ill”, they feel they need to be assigned “the task of healing it” (p. 73). This need to be brought back in is necessary as “capitalism inherently possesses the power to derealize familiar objects, social roles, and institutions to such a degree that the so-called realistic representations

can no longer evoke reality except as nostalgia or mockery, as an occasion for suffering rather than for satisfaction” (p. 74).

Yet, Lyotard’s (1984) fundamental point is that “modernity, in whatever age it appears, cannot exist without a shattering of belief and without a discovery of the ‘lack of reality’ of reality, together with the invention of other realities” (p. 77). Thus, if modernity is not an age but a certain state of mind complicated by nostalgia, what is post-modernity? Lyotard (1984) claims the postmodern is “undoubtedly a part of the modern”: “A work can become modern only if it is first postmodern. Postmodernism thus understood is not modernism at its end but in the nascent state, as this state is constant” (p. 79). The modern takes place in the withdrawal of the real and the emphasis is on the nostalgia for presence. Therefore the modern and the postmodern coexist in the same piece and are according to Lyotard (1984) almost indistinguishable. He concludes:

Here, then lies the difference: modern aesthetics is an aesthetic of the sublime, though a nostalgic one. It allows the unrepresentable to be put forward only as the missing contents; but the form, because of its recognizable consistency, continues to offer the reader or viewer matter for solace and pleasure. [...] The postmodern would be that which, in the modern puts forward the unrepresentable in presentation itself; that which denies itself the solace of good forms, the consensus of taste which would make it possible to share collectively the nostalgia for the unattainable; that which searches for new presentations, not in order to enjoy them but in order to impart a stronger sense of the unrepresentable. (p. 81)

Also in the particular case of the LDV center, certain aspects from Lyotard’s (1984) rendition of modern-postmodern coexistence apply. The Leonardo da Vinci center brings

about “restorative” nostalgia for unity and identity, according to Boym’s (2001) distinction between reflective and restorative nostalgia. Thus, there is already an element of modern contained in this piece, as the modern aesthetics is that of the sublime and the nostalgic, according to Lyotard (1984). Yet, as we will argue, the Leonardo center has multiple publics and cannot be judged according to a single taste since its effects bring about an element of postmodern. On the idea of multiplicity, Lyotard (1984) argues:

A postmodern artist or writer is in the position of a philosopher: the text he writes, the work he produces are not in principle governed by preestablished rules and they cannot be judged according to a determining judgment, by applying familiar categories to the text or to the work. Those rules and categories are what the work of art itself is looking for. [...] Hence the fact that work and text have the characters of an *event*; hence also, they always come too late for their author, or what amounts to the same thing, their being put into work, their realization (*mise en oeuvre*) always begin too soon. *Post modern* would have to be understood according to the paradox of the future (*post*) anterior (*modo*). (p. 81)

The Leonardo da Vinci center presents us with a situation where the modern and postmodern co-exist. The rhetoric this center purports is not that of “a whole and a one”. As Boym (2001) would argue, a feeling of complete belonging associated with the mood this work attempts to create, is postponed, if not completely shattered as people attempt to re-invent their home in a new place. The center follows a certain aesthetic form that tells both the future – future of a community (*post*) and what was anterior – the home (*modo*). Thus, as restorative nostalgia manifests itself via an architectural expression, the interpretation of its form calls to be understood within the paradox of the future anterior.

In addition, the identities constituted via this architectural object are plural, which is an essential element of the postmodern equation.

In contrast, Fredric Jameson (1991) argues that postmodernism does not amount to “much more than theorizing its own conditions of possibility, which consists primarily in the sheer enumeration of changes and modifications” (p. ix). Thus, “postmodernism is more formal in that sense and more ‘distracted’ [...]; it only clocks the variations themselves, and knows only too well that the contents are just more images” (p. ix). Postmodernism is “what you have when the modernization process is complete and nature is gone for good” and also “the consumption of sheer commodification as a process” (pp. ix-x). Simply put, Jameson (1991) states that “we went out one morning and the Thermometer was gone!” (p. xi). He argues:

This seems to me a more interesting and plausible story than Lyotard’s related one about the end of “master narratives” (eschatological schemata that were never really narratives in the first place, I may also have been incautious enough to use the expression from time to time). But it now tells us at least two things about postmodernism theory. (p. xi)

According to Jameson (1991) postmodernism theory is first of all “imperfect” or “impure” and a non-essentialist, self-referential theory, that “eschews all foundations altogether” (p. xii). Yet, only “collective struggle to create a new social system” and “another systemic modification of capitalism itself” can bring about a change of meta-narratives. Secondly, post-modernism is just a reflex of the return of the end narratives – narrative which happens, historically speaking, once in a while. This aspect calls for the present to be considered by means of the present only and “turns into its own theory and

the theory of itself' (p. xii). Instead, a genealogy of the present calls us to consider the phenomenon of late capitalism and its consequences in terms of high or late modernism, manifested in post-industrial societies and reflected in all fields of inquiry, included architecture. In fact, Jameson (2002) argues that what we have is "a singular modernity" that dates back to the 5th century Rome and applies to all "new" historical ages. The present stage is just another variation of the modern. The concept of "late modernism" is also problematic as:

The project is therefore one of the ideological analysis, not so much of a concept, as of a word. What is constitutively frustrating about such analysis is that like the pane of glass at which you try to gaze even as you are looking through it, you must simultaneously affirm the existence of the object while denying the relevance of the term that designates that existence. Or perhaps it might be better to admit that the notions that cluster around the word 'modern' are as unavoidable as they are unacceptable. (p. 13)

Consequently, the present study will draw on the difficulty to coin the terminology of modern/post-modern and acknowledge that the LdV center does not exist in itself and in the present only. The constituting identities it creates are not devoid of contexts. A powerful context is that of Italianicity in Montreal, presented in the previous chapter. However, the present study will also draw on specific post-modern features as they are present in architecture, such as the combination of ornamental elements or the multiple audiences addressed by the center and consequently characterize it as "post-modern".

In other words, we are less interested in the semantics of modernity-post-modernity-late-/high-modernity and more interested in drawing on the necessary

vocabulary to outline that the da Vinci center allows for a multiplicity of performances. The architectural form leads to performances that in turn produce subjects and citizens with different characteristics than the subjects sharing a diasporic condition.

With regards to architecture in particular, Jameson (1991) argues, “The appetite for architecture today, therefore – about which I am on record as agreeing that post-modernity certainly revived, if it did not outright reinvent it – must in reality be an appetite for something else” (p. 98). Jameson (1991) identifies it as appetite for photography. Yet, architecture has always had a photographic component even before photography itself was invented. We argue that the particularities of the architectural post-modern form are important in that they are clear indications as to the type of performances that occur within these forms. Therefore, below we will draw on the specific connections between form and performance that arise as far as post-modern architecture in particular is concerned.

➤ Post-modern architecture:

Blair et al. (1991) offer a critical framework to analyze post-modern architecture. Departing from the previously outlined, Lyotard’s interpretation of the post-modern, they argue the postmodern displaces the very notion of legitimizing discourses (metanarratives) “to which other discourses are submitted for judgment” (p. 264). Thus, the “postmodern constitutes a refutation or dislocation of the legitimizing capacity of these metanarratives” (p. 265). Furthermore, they argue that this disruption from the “normalized” is more evident in architecture than anywhere else:

This stance is exemplified perhaps more clearly in architecture than in other arts, for the modernist movement in architecture was thoroughly committed to a metanarrative of social transformation through progress, in the form of technological innovation, universal rationality and corporate power. (p. 265)

The rejection of an ideal of architecture bringing about progress is natural in the theory of postmodern architecture. As modern architecture was guided by metanarratives, such as social progress or universal rationality, in postmodern theory it is thus believed that modern architecture also came along with certain tenets that had to be overcome. Hence, various attacks on modern architecture from the post-modern stance were formulated.

Charles Jencks was the first to use the term “post-modern” in architecture (Cahoone, 2004). He dates the death of modern architecture July 15, 1972, at 3:32 pm:

Happily, we can date the death of modern architecture to a precise moment in time. Unlike the legal death of a person, which is becoming a complex affair of brainwaves versus heartbeats, modern architecture went out with a bang. That many people didn't notice, and no one was seen to mourn, does not make the sudden extinction any less of a fact, and that many designers are still trying to administer the kiss of life does not mean that it has been miraculously resurrected. [...] Modern architecture died in St. Louis, Missouri on July 15, 1972 at 3:32 pm (or thereabouts) when the infamous Pruitt-Igoe scheme or rather several of its slab blocks were given the final *coupe de grace* by dynamite. [...] Boom, boom, boom. (Cahoone, 2004, p. 457)

According to Jenks (1987) the first attacks on modern architecture came in the late 50's and 60's. A couple of writings 1955 - *The Seven Crutches of Modern*

Architecture and 1965 - *The Processional Element in Architecture* are regarded as emblematic for their claims. They “exposed some of the formulae behind which modern architects hid, or tried to escape responsibility for formal choice: for instance the pretence to utility and structural efficiency were two such ‘crutches’” (p. 82). The first anti-monument of Post-Modernism is according to Jencks (1987), Venturi’s “Headquarters Building”, 1960. Robert Venturi is also the first architect who engaged in a strong polemic against modernism that mostly concentrated on the question of taste, and then later on its symbolism. In his main book, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966), he established the postmodern’s visual preferences in opposition to Modernism from a theoretical standpoint: “complexity and contradiction vs. simplification”, “ambiguity and tension rather than straightforwardness”, “‘both-and’ rather than ‘either-or’”, “doubly functioning elements rather than singly working ones”, “hybrid rather than pure elements” and “messy vitality (or ‘the difficult whole’) rather than obvious unity” (p. 87).

Blair et al. (1991) argue while the modernist program represented by Bauhaus, Mies and Gropius, C.I.A.M. and Corbusier, among others sought “the rationalization of the social world” and a “perfect, universal style of simplicity”, the postmodernists displaced these very tendencies (p. 265). In addition, “rather than attempting to adapt people to buildings as modernists tended to do, postmodernists make efforts to adapt buildings to people” (p. 269). From this, it follows that the “postmodern architectural project must be seen as political, as a deliberate dissolution of the utopian metanarrative of modernism and of metanarrativity in general” (p. 266). As Blair et al. (1991) claim:

Postmodern architecture symbolically undercuts modernism's progressivist faith in the new and its valorization of rationality, technology and corporatism, all of which objectify and dehumanize the social sphere and the individuals who inhabit it. [...] Its refusal of a single, signature style and its reliance on multiple, sometimes conflicting, genres defy reference to singular standards of judgment. In so doing, it removes the legitimizing grounds for the valorization or normalization of any particular architectural rhetoric. (p. 266)

There are as such certain implications for the rhetorical criticism of any postmodern project. As "the 'language' of postmodern architecture is disruptive it displaces the tendencies of its modernist counterpart" (p. 267). Blair et al. (1991) argue that the effect is achieved in at least three ways: 1) by "a refusal of unities or universals", 2) by "attention to and use of context" and 3) by "an interrogative, critical stance" (p. 267).

The refusal of unities or universals occurs at the same time as an embracing of the pluralistic objective. On this note, Blair et al. (1991) contend:

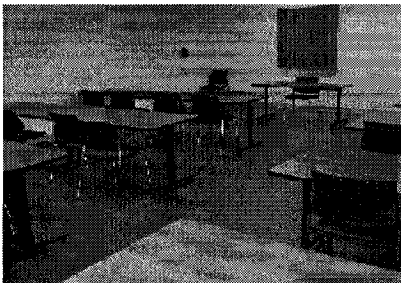
The rejection of universals and espousal of pluralism are formulated in a number of ways in architectural structures, perhaps the most common of which is a melding of incompatible symbols, forms, styles, and textures within a particular structure. This strategy, frequently referred to as the characteristic postmodern "pastiche", "collage", or "eclecticism", results in a symbolic fragmentation of unity. (p. 267)

The fragmentation of unity is evident in the Leonardo da Vinci center which combines functional settings with Italian symbolism that play on the rhetoric of Italianicity. The Leonardo da Vinci center is also a building tailored to the needs of the Italian community.

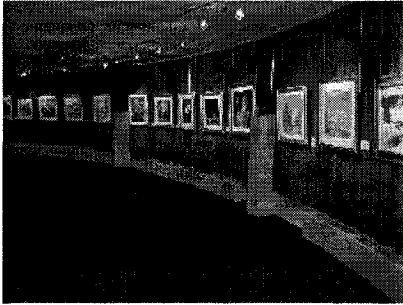
It is functional as it has conference rooms, classrooms, gyms, or office spaces for the various non-governmental organizations that are grouped in one center to serve the needs of the community. It also displays a large variety of options for recreation. From halls that can easily become sites for art exhibits to an Italian style café in an indoor piazza, the center is also a gathering place. The building is postmodern in that it is adapted to its users instead of making its users adapt to it. A brief selection of very common images of a variety of rooms existing in a certain type of unity here, in a single building, highlight an element of functionality associated with post-modern architecture. The following selection of pictures does not aim to highlight specific aesthetic post-modern elements. Instead, it attempts to draw on the variety of functions associated with the intentionality of the architect as pertaining to the multiple needs of the community the building was designed for.



Conference Room in LDV, Photograph available at <http://www.centroleonardodavinci.com>



Classroom in LDV, Photograph available at <http://www.centroleonardodavinci.com>



Art exhibition of local painter in LDV, Photograph available at <http://www.centroleonardodavinci.com>



Italian style café in the indoor LDV piazza (indoor replica to piazza-s from Italy), Photograph available at <http://www.centroleonardodavinci.com>

In addition to these functions, the Leonardo center also has a certain style, which combines a simple design with ornamental elements that remind one of Italian culture. As post-modern architecture espouses pluralism, both in terms of multiple intended audiences as well as in terms of styles present in one single piece, the ornamental aspects of the center are a second mark of post-modernity. With regard to this, Blair et al. (1991) state: “Postmodern architecture ‘cites’ or ‘quotes’ historical motifs as part of its eclectic and pluralistic rhetoric” (p. 267). Thus:

Postmodern architecture frequently incorporates regional characteristics and ornament as well as historical forms to achieve this pluralism. The

vernacularization of architecture involves the use of particular materials, forms and styles found in the locale of a building, as a counter to the culturally sterile modernist concrete box design. Occasionally, “regionalisms” are imported, that is borrowed from one locale for integration in another. Ornament is also sometimes directly incorporated, almost gratuitously, for interest or to reassert the symbolic and aesthetic functions of architecture. (p. 267)

Postmodern architecture juxtaposes historical, vernacular, ornamental modernist themes. In the process, it “eschews the simplicity, symmetry, and unity of modernism, as well as the possibility of a governing or legitimizing universal” (Blair et al., 1991, p. 268). In terms of the center, one example is the Italian style *piazza*.

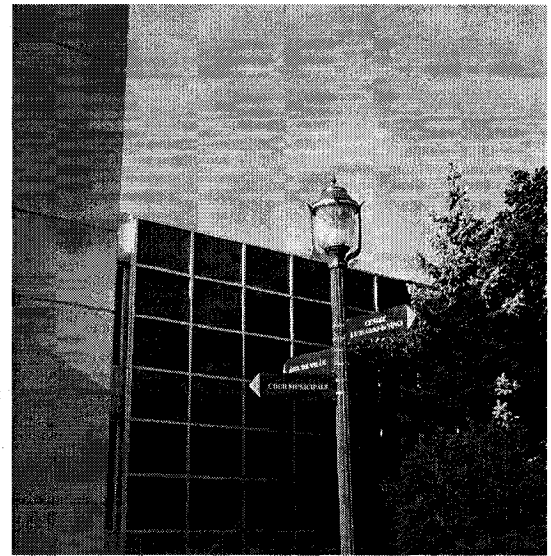
The *piazza* is a cornerstone of Italian architecture both in terms of building design and of cities. Designed to get people together, thus exhibiting an inherent socializing function, the *piazza* is the center of an architectural piece. The indoor *piazza* in the Leonardo da Vinci proves not only the point that the building reflects the needs of the Italian community (i.e. features specific Italian architectural elements in a cultural center in Montreal) but also the fact that the center is adapted to a particular community living in a particular city. Occasionally an outdoor café is open in front of the center during summer. In winter the indoor *piazza* has this role. In addition to a gathering place, the *piazza* plays an educational role within the center as the names of various Italian provinces and regions are inscribed on the walls to remind young descendants of parental origins.

Blair et al (1991) also argue that a post-modern architectural piece “*interacts with its contexts* in a definitive manner” (p. 268, authors’ emphasis). The Leonardo da Vinci

center does so. We only need to remember the City Hall of St-Leonard that was placed right near the da Vinci center. The City Hall was incorporated in the overall structure of the site on purpose and it matches stylistically the aesthetics of the center. This speaks to how administrative, cultural and social aspects come together in the same ambiance to better serve the community. A Court of Law also located nearby speaks of the idea of integrating multiple elements into the same setting. All these elements highlight the central idea that the LDV center exists within a context and that the center interacts with this context significantly. The following pictures attempt to present the surroundings of the center and therefore give an idea about the specific “context” or location of the center.



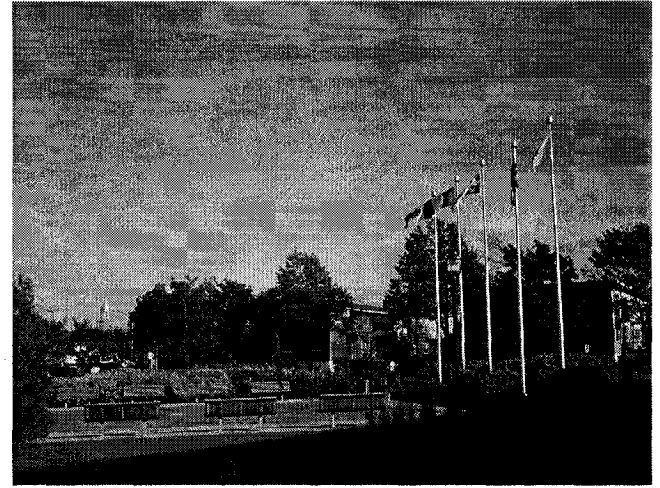
City Hall, left side of the center



Orientation signs - City Hall

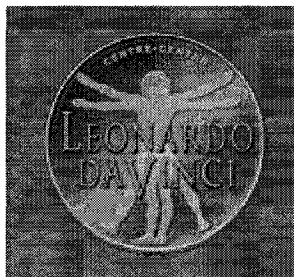
Photographs by Raluca Fratiloiu

In addition, the location of the center at the heart of the Italian community of St. Leonard provides another contextual element, as the center neighbors an Italian housing area.



Housing areas - Right side 1 and 2, Photographs - R. Fratiloiu

The symbolism integrated within the decorum, another integral element in Blair's et al. (1991) analysis of post-modern sites includes vernacular elements that in our case, gain a special symbolism within the particular locale of St. Leonard. Sometimes this symbolism is researched or intended as the authors argue, as it is evident in the logo of the center, while other times it is gratuitous as in the case of the tiles decoration within the center. The pictures bellow draw on the references made to the Italian culture which are often inserted in the decor of the da Vinci center.



Logo



Tiles with Italian motifs that remind of Commedia del'Arte

The da Vinci center is thus built in the context of the St. Leonard neighborhood and draws on specific references to the Italian culture. Blair et al. (1991) comment that “in contrast to Jencks’ description of modernist building as the dropping of an urban bomb, postmodern architecture takes into account its natural and built environment”, as “it is carefully set into a context” (p. 268). Therefore, in addition to the refusal of universals and the contextual elements, “an interrogative, critical stance” is fundamental to the analysis of post-modern architecture. To adopt such a stance, a few more comments on three fundamental “problems” of post-modern architecture are necessary. As Blair et al. (1991) argue “a litany of characteristics to identify” in post-modern architecture is more than unnecessary (p. 269). Thus, our study will elaborate on three key points: (1) the notions of “author” and “public”; (2) the kind of language expressed via a particular project and (3) the idea of “meaning” in post-modern architecture.

(1) Author and public for postmodern projects:

Jencks (1987) argues that post-modern architecture is always addressed to a public. The Leonardo center is *the* artifact a community needed to present itself. It also provided a venue that Italians needed to perform their identity in Montreal nowadays. As the center responds to the multiple needs of the Italian community, of different age groups, socially diverse and mixed with other nationalities or not, the center opens itself to a multiplicity of meanings associated with the interpretation of post-modern buildings. In addition, as it is also open to a wider public than the Italian community from Montreal, the analysis of the meanings can be developed on several levels.

Post-modern architecture is “doubly-coded, half-Modern and half-conventional in its attempt to communicate to both the public and a concerned minority, usually architects” (p. 6). Moreover, architecture must be first understood by the client and also must be communicated “in a language shared by others” (p. 13). Therefore, the central difficulty of post-modernism in architecture is to adopt a “plural coding without degenerating into compromise and unintended pastiche” (p. 88). A parallel with the evolution of media helps understand the difficulty of interpreting post-modern architecture. As McLuhan argued that “each medium has its day”, Jencks (1987) concludes that the interpretation of buildings that are post-modern must be done along the lines of plural voices and shifting paradigms of interpretation, similarly to the way in which we would analyze the different effects produced in turn by radio, television or the Internet for instance.

Speaking to the concept of “voice” Blair et al. (1991) argue postmodernist architects “insist upon restoring architecture’s ‘voice’” and are “quite explicitly interested in their art as rhetoric, as a partisan and meaningful language” (p. 266). They are also “particularly concerned with restoring to architecture what is lost in modernist manifestation” (p. 266):

Modernist architecture’s signs were almost purely self-referential and limited by a closed system of ‘legitimate’ signifiers. Modernism jettisoned the symbolic and rhetorical dimensions of its language [...]. Postmodern architecture restores the symbolic dimension to architecture, and its proponents recognize, as well, the actional and political character of architectural language. (pp. 266-267)

Thus also the concept of “authorship” is problematized in “reading” a post-modern architecture as Blair et al. (1991) argue:

That is not only because some postmodern structures are “authored” or designed by collectives, but also because the “text” implies a displacement of authorship. In the case of a collectively-designed building or development, “authorship” as a unifying principle or as an interpretive precept fails. No unity arises from collective design; in fact, plurality is cultivated. Any authorial intent is of negligible value in interpreting a design that may incorporate as many intentions as there are collaborative designers. (p. 270)

Authorship^{vii} as far as postmodern architecture is thus not the issue here. The issue is how to interpret it. While acknowledging that that post-modern architecture is as Blair et al. (1991) “really a verb, an *action*” and “the presence of a structure is itself a message”, the authors themselves partially provide the “key” to interpreting a site (p. 267). Thus, instead of focusing on their “key” or on the authors, we will rather shift the focus of our analysis towards the idea of “reading” architecture.

(2) On “Reading” Architecture:

If the author and the public of postmodern architecture are plural, a problem that still remains complicated is whether one can “read” a building. There are various takes on the issue of architecture as language that will be summarized in this section, to support the point of view adopted in this study.

Grosz (2001) posits “where architects use buildings, bricks, mortar, stone, glass, etc, philosophers use arguments, propositions, discourses” (p. 5). According to this line

of thinking it would be appropriate to conduct an analysis of the Leonardo da Vinci center and the type of arguments, propositions or discourses this building advances by means of its architectural structure. Yet, this line of argument poses certain problems.

Usually, architects interested in discourse theory posit that one can “read” architecture. They speak about such fields as architectural semantics or architectural syntax. A variety of authors, including Jencks (1984) argue in favor of the rules of language as having an equivalent in architecture. We need only to look at the large variety of works along these lines written recently by Daniel Liebeskind. However, even those who started to argue along these lines, in the early eighties, admit that “in architecture to name a metaphor is to kill it, like analyzing jokes” (Jencks, 1984, p.45). In contrast, some authors argue that architecture is not discursive on its own (Jameson, 1999; Leach, 1999). There is a need for “trans-aesthetics” and memory (Jameson) or for “associations” (Leach) in order for a building to become meaningful. Both authors engage with the concept of post-modern architecture and establish its particular relationships with the concept of discourse.

Discussing the problem of “reconstruction” in Eastern Europe, Jameson (1999) argues that “it would only be thinkable historically, as going back to something more primordial” (p. 70). In other words, reconstruction, “opens up the question of historicity, of what survives from the past and what can be retained from it” (p. 70). He argues that the relevance of “reconstruction” for Eastern Europe is evident:

... ‘reconstruction’ must at this point be recognized not merely as a matter of rebuilding but also as a matter of strategic demolition as well. The renaming of streets, sometimes of whole cities, the removal of statues and monuments, are

conventional marks of triumph over your enemies and cannot be gainsayed by the victors. Indeed, in a way, the memory of an older, now vanished, street name (the rue Michelet, the Stalinallee) ensures a moment of the past, a certain definition and identity it might not have had so striking a vehicle for. (p. 72)

In this context, buildings become “history lessons”, as what replaces them raises the question of replacing something that was orderly, with something new, leading to the emergence of new aesthetic categories. According to Jameson (1999) this aspect raises the question of post-modernism in at least two ways:

First of all, how satisfactory do these categories turn out to be when we have to do with architecture (let alone with urbanism as such)? Second, and even more serious, will they still obtain after the end of the modern and the universally recognized emergence, if not of postmodernism as an aesthetic movement or style of some sort, then at least of the postmodern situation as radically different from that of the older modernism? (p. 73)

In terms of the first question, Jameson (1999) departs from asserting that a building “must always stage a kind of life superior to our own, and thereby keep our Utopian demands and expectations alive” (p. 73). In terms of the second question, he argues that “the situation of postmodernity (as opposed to those modernities evidently so closely related to it) was the operation of a series of unresolvable antinomies, in which space becomes time and time becomes space, and in which the critique of nature turns around into a new kind of appeal to natural groundings” (p. 79). One of the specific antinomies to the idea of “reconstruction” is the attempt to authenticate the past. At this “postmodern moment in history” it would be virtually impossible to reconstruct the past

authentically, yet memory and trans-aesthetics are instrumental in interpreting new post-modern architectural categories. The “transaesthetic” comes out of the political content which is dependent “on a sense of historical memory” (Leach, 1999, p. 5). In other words, the discourse a building puts forth “can serve as a history lesson if its public and its viewers still have a sense of memory” (p. 5).

Leach (1999) also discusses the similar problem of the relation between architecture and the social, against the larger background of reconstruction in Eastern Europe. He argues:

Architecture poses a special question. Architecture is deeply embedded within economic and other structures of power and its capacity to operate as a critical force of change is therefore compromised. The architect, furthermore, is no free agent and can act only vicariously on behalf of the client. If any authorial position is sought, we should perhaps look to the client, rather than to the architect. At the same time, architecture has its own special significance as the most public of all arts, and the one which may most acutely influence the social. (p. 116)

He continues: “A distinction must be made, however, between the act of building itself and subsequent semantic ‘readings’ of that building” (p. 117). While “the political content of the act of building” is evident, it is also the one that is most of the time forgotten. Using the same example as Jameson (1999) - the Stalinallee from Berlin - Leach (1999) argues that it is not the fact that it was constructed after the public demonstrations from Berlin in 1953 that rendered a political character to the building, but what is essential is whether “it can be read semantically as ‘totalitarian’” (p. 117). Leach (1999) concludes: “it is precisely in these semantic readings of architecture that the

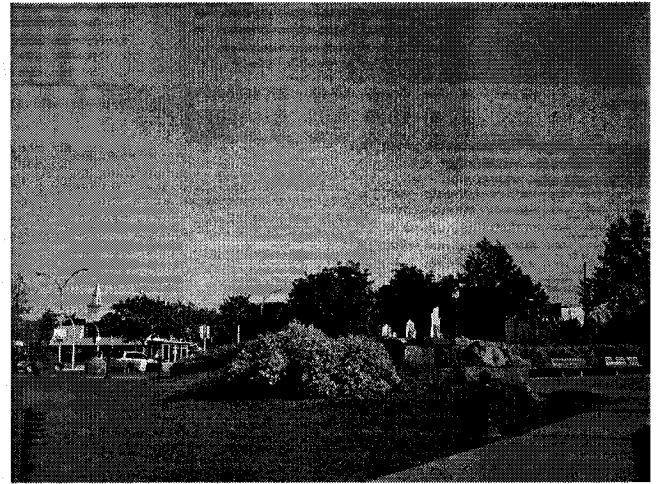
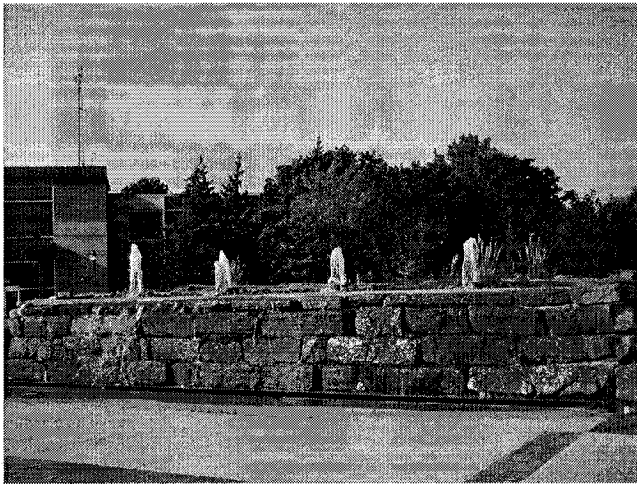
fragility of associations between architecture and the political become most apparent” (p. 117). Thus, the political content in architecture is “associative”. In addition, “architecture achieves its political [...] status through semantic associations, which exist within a temporal framework and are inherently unstable” (p. 118). We are speaking of an “allegorical system” or an “allegory of associations” to interpret the discourse forwarded by a building.

Both Jameson (1999) and Leach (1999) agree, however that buildings are positions within a larger ideological discourse. Jencks (1984) also asserted that “architecture ultimately signifies a way of life” (p. 130). Concepts such as “memory” and or “allegory of associations” are useful in interpreting the message the Leonardo da Vinci center attempts to deliver by means of its aesthetics. The rhetoric of Italianicity would not be visible unless visitors/users of the center did not associate the style of the center with Italian architectural elements. “Memory” is instrumental as the center also reminds of “home” in some way. Thus, its aesthetics brings about an element of recollection (that might be interpreted as going back to a certain order of things, modern if you want, the ordered universe of “home”) while at the same time reproduces such elements in a new context (postmodern and open to the interpretation of multiple audiences).

A particular element of the center that enhances its performance and at the same time is in contrast with the physical structure of the building itself is the garden, situated in front of the center. The garden, a space for recollection is discussed within the context of postmodern architecture. Jencks (1984) argues:

Post-modern, like Chinese garden space, suspends the clear, final ordering of events for a labyrinthine, rambling ‘way’ that never reaches an absolute goal. The Chinese garden crystallizes a ‘liminal’ or in-between space that mediates between pairs of antinomies, the Land of the Immortals and the world of society being the most obvious mediation. (p. 124)

The Leonardo da Vinci center also mediates between society and “the Land of the Immortals” in a similar way. The Italian style garden, located in front of the center offers the “liminal, in between” space Jencks (1984) describes as capable to disrupt the social ordering a building and its surroundings attempt to create. In addition, the “Italian style” garden, as it is described in promotional pamphlets reminds immigrants of “home”.



The garden in front of the center, Photographs by Raluca Fratiloiu

We argue that the green space and the sound of the water contrast with the physical structure of the multi-purpose building which displays, halls, columns, a theatre, conference rooms, a gym, a café, among other elements. Combined, these elements create the impression of unitary spaces, where one is invited to create his or her own associations with regard to “Italianicity” in Montreal.

The “reading” of Italianicity here is open to everybody who wants to visit or spend time in the center or in its surroundings. Thus, a certain democratization of taste is essential here, which is also a trademark of postmodern architecture. According to Jencks (1984) “we live in the world of fast-food architecture” (p. 164). As the *res publica* of post-modern times are established by other disciplines, the only disclaimer for the appreciation of “fast-food architecture” is that taste is not a trained discipline any longer. Taste, which used to be a category associated with a certain socio-economic status and certain “semiotic groups” to use Jencks’ (1984) formulation, is today *bouleversé* by the democratization available to everybody, with or without a trained taste in the appreciation of architecture.

In addition, even if one had the necessary cultural background to reflect on the meanings associated with a postmodern building, this would still be complicated as there are contradictory takes on the idea of architecture as language.

Some believe that architecture lasts longer than other works, texts for instance. The architect Liebeskind (1999) argues: “buildings do not just get built and evaporate the way texts do. You can file a text in a library and not read it any more. Buildings continue to be there on the streets...” (p. 135). Some of them become “angels of history” (p. 133). Architecture has something in common with magic. Liebskind (2000) argues: “The magic of architecture cannot be appropriated by any singular operation because it is always already floating, progressing, rising, flying, breathing. Whatever the problems – political, tectonic, linguistic – that architecture exposes, one thing I know is that engaging in architecture is exciting only because of the intensity and passion of its call” (p. 17). Also, Jencks (1984) argued:

Architecture as a language is much more malleable than the spoken language and subject to the transformation of short-lived codes. While a building may stand 300 years, the way people regard and use it may change every ten years. It would be perverse to write Shakespearean sonnets, change love poetry to hate letters, read comedy as tragedy; but it is perfectly acceptable to hang washing or decorative balustrades, convert a church into a concert hall and use a building every day while never looking at it, (actually the norm). (p. 50)

It is thus clear to Jencks (1984) that “architectural words are more elastic and polymorphous than those of spoken and written language, and are more based on their physical context and the code of the viewer for their specific sense” (p. 52). “The laws of gravity and geometry dictate such things as an up and down, a roof and floor and various storeys in between, just as the laws of sound and speech formation dictate certain vowels, consonants and ways of speaking them” (p. 63). In addition, “these compelling forces create what could be called a syntax of architecture – that is the rules of combining the various words of door, window, wall and so forth” (p. 63). However, this is the degree to which architecture can be literally “read”. One can “read” architecture”, in the sense of an innate structure that can be compared to that of language, even though buildings might be compared to texts, they are not texts per se. Blair et al. (1991) attempt to circumscribe this problematic relationship:

Postmodern architecture is composed of its building in relationship to what the building is not, its “outside” and its “other”. The “text”, because it problematizes the boundaries of “inside” and “outside”, or “work” and “context”, is a more appropriate model for understanding postmodern architecture. The “other”, what

might be understood as the physical or cultural context of a building in the “work” model, becomes an inseparable part of the architectural “text”. (p. 270)

The “inside-outside”, “work-context” dichotomies are also evident in the case of the Leonardo da Vinci center. The center “makes sense”, should one consider its surroundings when it comes to interpreting its meaning, such as: specific neighborhood and location; the use of space around it (see the vicinity with City Hall, for instance); and/or the front-garden. Thus, if the analogy with a “text” works, it is at this level of analysis. Yet it is quasi-impossible, if not absurd to pretend that one can actually “read” a building as a text. Buildings, or monuments can be made to speak in their own ways, yet to advance an argument such as that buildings or monuments present an argument in a similar way to texts is far fetched. The only aspect that interests us here is the kind of effects that architecture produces, not the conflation of architecture and language in terms of interpretative approaches. As architecture is constitutive of subjects - and we have seen Smith’s (1990) argument on domestic architecture as constitutive of American homeowners - its effects on the subjects it constitutes are fundamental to analyze. Post-modernity at large, and post-modern architecture in particular, are part of these effects. Thus before advancing any further, we will comment on the concept of “meaning” in post-modern architecture.

(3) “Meaning” in Post-Modern architecture:

One of Jencks’ (1984) important questions is what are post-modern architects called to reflect on? He argues:

Another motive causing architects to leave the tenets of Modernism was its obvious inability to deal with or pose general questions of architectural meaning: what was architecture 'to be about', especially now that the Modernist beliefs in progressivist technology and the Machine Aesthetic were seen to be so naïve (or boring)? Architecture must have signifying reference – the Renaissance had its Platonic metaphysics, the Romans their belief in imperial organization – what is ours to reflect, beyond a polite agnosticism? (p. 112)

Does post-modern architecture answer the question of meaning of its projects? The short answer is “No”. The longer answer details on why this would be impossible.

Jencks (1984) further argues that “one of the particularly defining characteristics of Post-Modernism is its pursuit of odd metaphysics, ‘after strange gods’ as it were, instead of the familiar and tired gods of process and pragmatism” (p. 113). Despite this argument, “even with the machine metaphor dead, our age is much closer to credible metaphors or a developed metaphysics” (p. 113). Though we have not completely lost the capacity to gain understanding about the world, via metaphors, we do it less and less. At the same time, science, the ruling paradigm today and the main venue conducive to knowledge, does not provide all the answers and refutes arguments based on a metaphorical thinking. Thus, neither science, nor metaphysics help answering Jencks’s (1984) question:

Furthermore any metaphysics is thrown into question today for two quite different reasons: it is often too idiosyncratic to capture the imagination of society at large, and it doesn’t build up a foundation in habit and ritual, since industrial society tends to erode or commercialize this traditional base. [...] Nonetheless the

spiritual function of architecture remains, in fact will not go away even if a religion and metaphysics are lacking. (p. 113)

Should we follow Jencks' (1984) argument, the Leonardo da Vinci center demands us to use our metaphorical thinking. However, a post-modern metaphysics is not available to help us interpret what this line of thinking might unravel. Thus, the mystery of this particular Leonardo project will not be fully revealed. As the center becomes a rhetorical object of post-modern architecture, the taste for paradox of postmodern architecture is evident here. Attempting to present Italianicity in Montreal, a multicultural Canadian city in the province of Québec, the Leonardo da Vinci center confronts us with a paradox. In addition, as the diasporic situation is paradoxical in its nature, the architecture that stems from such situations further deepens this condition. The Leonardo center contributes to the integration of the Italian community from Montreal in a specific context and architecture, as the most "public" of all arts, helps insulate such contexts (Leach, 1999). Paradoxically, while in the past architecture communicated a clear message, today's consumer society disrupts the relevance of this necessity. Jencks (1984) argued along these lines:

Architecture obviously reflects what a society holds important, what it values both spiritually and in terms of cash. In the pre-industrial past the major areas for expression were the temple, the church, the palace, agora, meeting house and city hall; while in the present extra money is spent on hotels, restaurants and all those commercial building types... private wealth and public squalor. (p. 35)

In the consumer society, "there is no much uplifting content to symbolize" (p. 37). On one hand, there is the interpretative code of trained architects. On the other hand, there is

a traditional code, “based on everyone’s experience of normalized architectural elements” (p. 42). The two differ and while the first matters only inside certain circles, the second, though anything but professional, highlights the most valuable input of architecture for society – its public character and its fundamental political character.

As such Blair et al. (1991) argue as far as the rhetorical criticism of post-modern architecture:

The interrogative, critical posture of postmodern architecture suggests the critic be particularly attentive to the political character of an architectural text.

Postmodern architecture is an attempt to “speak” not only to architects about technical architectural matters, but also to viewers and users of buildings about substantive socio-cultural matters. To assume that postmodern structures are composed solely of building techniques or that they are merely reflections of a culture, therefore would be inappropriate. They frequently question and critique the norms and values of a culture. (p. 270)

What is the political character of the particular building under analysis here? What does the center call into question? In order to answer these questions, it is essential to establish the norms and values it criticizes or praises. Our discussion in the subsequent chapters of effects raised by users/visitors engaging with the da Vinci center will the center will reveal them. However, bellow we will finally position the center as a restorative nostalgia tale, and thus conclude the nostalgic stories of the Italian-Canadian Montreal based community.

VII. Key trajectories:

As a constitutive rhetorical object of post-modern architecture, the Leonardo da Vinci center calls into question the status of the very subjects it constitutes. These subjects are the children and grandchildren of the Italian immigrants. What do these subjects say through the da Vinci center?

Boym (1990) comments:

Later, when I was interviewing immigrants, especially those who left under difficult political and personal circumstances, I realized that for some nostalgia was a taboo: it was the predicament of Lot's wife, a fear that looking back might paralyze you forever, turning you into a pillar of salt, a pitiful monument to your own grief and the futility of departure. First-wave immigrants are [...] leaving the search for roots to their children and grandchildren unburdened by visa problems.

(p. xv)

The Leonardo da Vinci center is constitutive of the identity of the descendants of Italian immigrants to Montreal as they are on their way to discover their roots. The old, Italian immigrants long for their place of origin. As nostalgia is defined as a "yearning for a different time – the time of our childhood, the slower rhythms of our dreams", the postmodern space of the center, with its functional setup and its taste for vernacular, for paradox and multiple contexts allows them to go back into this time and into a space that might have never been there in actuality (p. xv). "The more nostalgia there is, the more it is denied", argues Boym (1990, p. xiv). In a sense, as nostalgia is "an abdication of personal responsibility, a guilt-free homecoming", it is also "an ethical and aesthetic failure" (p. xiv). The Leonardo center provides this type of "guilt-free homecoming"

where one can be proud of reminding and yearning for home in this space, rather than defer these emotions.

In addition, in contrast to reflective nostalgia, “restorative nostalgia ends up reconstructing emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and spatialize time” (p. 49). The Leonardo da Vinci center reconstructs the emblems and rituals of Italianità, in an attempt to conquer and spatialize a moment in time in St. Leonard, Montreal.

Just as progress did not cure nostalgia, the need for homecoming did not cure the Montreal Italians of their need to go back to the space where they belong. However, this type of belonging is complicated as “nostalgics from all over the world find it difficult to say what exactly they yearn for – St. Elsewhere, another life, a better time” and “as the object of nostalgia is notoriously elusive” (p. xiv). The postmodern with its multiplicity of contexts further deepens the *problématique* of belonging. Postmodern architecture with its unclear metaphysics does not bring about a resolution either.

One does not need to look for a solution or for the answers to this problem of belonging, but for the effects that arise from what restorative nostalgia creates: “a double exposure, or a superimposition of two images – of home and abroad, past and present, dream and everyday life” (p. xiv). As nostalgia creates both a real and an imaginary home, nostalgics are sometimes able to see ghosts. Boym (1990) argues that “one of the early symptoms of nostalgia was the ability to hear voices or see ghosts”, as in the 17th century, nostalgia was considered a disease. Unfortunately, far from curing it, progress “exacerbated it” (p. xiv):

Similarly globalization encouraged stronger local attachments. In counterpoint to our fascination with cyberspace and the virtual global village, there is no less global epidemic of nostalgia, an affective yearning for a community with a collective memory, a longing for continuity in a fragmented world. Nostalgia inevitably reappears in a time of accelerated rhythms of life and historical upheavals. (p. xiv)

The urban space, which starting with the 19th century and up to our days began to regard the past as a heritage, becomes a *memento mori* of other times and places. Thus, it is not surprising that border crossing and immigration are prone to bring about feelings of nostalgia. The evolution of immigrants on the social scale results in manifestations of such feelings in a manner that “restores” them in public architecture. Postmodern architecture with its lack of interest for anything that is final or predicated on a definitive truth serves such projects perfectly. Next, we will look at the effects of such projects on the subjects they constitute. There are significant effects raised by how the users/visitors of the da Vinci center engage with it and thus lead to their performance as citizens. Their citizenry speaks of their national affiliations in the Canadian context.

In the subsequent chapter we will discuss that the context of the Leonardo da Vinci center as well as the aesthetic features it employs, allows for a set of rhetorical effects that speak to that Italian-Canadian subjects manifest their citizenry while engaging with this building.

Chapter III

Who is invited to the “Leonardo da Vinci” center?

Public Architecture and Citizenship

I. The Leonardo da Vinci center and questions of citizenship

On January 23, 2006, Elections Day in Canada, John Ibbitson writes in “The Globe and Mail”: “the Canadian polity is split along several difficult lines”, while “the nation of Québec resides uncomfortably within the post-national Canadian state” (A4). This type of language emerges in national newspapers when Canada has to vote. When the language of the post-nation makes itself noticed in a newspaper like “The Globe and Mail”, it also enters the households of its readers.

Arjun Appadurai (1993) attempts to provide a definition for the term “post-national”:

The term postnational, [...] has several implications that can now be more closely examined. The first is temporal and historical and suggests that we are in the process of moving to a global order in which the nation-state has become obsolete and other formations for allegiance and identity have taken its place. The second is the idea that what are emerging are strong alternative forms for the organization of global traffic in resources, images and ideas-forms that either contest the nation-state actively or constitute peaceful alternatives for larger scale political loyalties. The third implication is the possibility that while nations might continue to exist, the steady erosion of the capability of the nation-state to monopolize

loyalty will encourage the spread of national forms that are largely divorced from territorial states. (p. 15)

Without further coining the terminology of the post-nation until the last chapter of this study, we retain this concept as the performance of citizenry the Leonardo da Vinci center allows for is connected to this post-national stage. Specifically, the current chapter will address the question of citizenship as it relates to the rhetorical effects raised by the da Vinci center.

In the previous chapter we looked into the problematic of aesthetics and form in conjuncture with the da Vinci center and the rhetoric of Italianicity. We argued that form and aesthetics are not random. In addition, post-modern buildings have various audiences and in consequence, their form and shape matter in that they have to connect with various publics. Also, the mix of vernacular, modern and post-modern elements opened up angles for the aesthetic interpretation. Buildings, like texts, open to multiple interpretations from their viewers and users. We argued that the aesthetic form matters inasmuch as it allows for a specific performance to occur inside the building. We also discussed that the “Leonardo da Vinci” center brings the Montreal Italians’ *Italianità* to another level. It does that through its scale and scope, through the energy it took to build it and through what it says about today’s Montreal Italian-Canadians. It does so because there is nothing else like it, with the same shape, background and future ahead of it. The center is expanding, becoming more and more important in the St. Leonard area every year, and in consequence, has a particular effect on the Italian community and on the city of Montreal. Thus, it represents more than its physical structure. Its aesthetics and form speak to various sets of intended rhetorical effects on those who participate in the activities held

by this center. Here, we claim that in the process of creating Italian-Canadian subjects, the da Vinci center allows for citizenry to occur. Citizenship is a key concept theorized in sociology and political science. Its practice is related to a multitude of other fields of inquiry. Yet, the type of citizenry Italian-Canadians practice by means of the Leonardo center cannot be outlined unless we will take a detour to explain the concept thoroughly in addition to its Canadian variations as presented in sociology and political science. This will be a useful effort, as the last two chapters following later will treat the connections between the Italian-Canadian identity and denominations such as “diasporic” or “post-national” in regards to ethnic communities. Also, considering the concept of citizenship here will significantly ease the task of defining national identities and help us insulate the role of the Italian community from Montreal in regards to its input as far as the Canadian nation is concerned.

Citizenship roughly refers to two sets: rights and obligations. It is also a right owned by birth or gained in one’s life. The latter situation points to inclusion and exclusion paradigms of citizenship. Statutorily speaking the Canadian citizenship is significantly more inclusive than others. The relation between the practice of citizenship and the da Vinci center lies in that the da Vinci center, as public architectural piece addresses an invitation to an audience. We argue that it does not allow only for the constitution of subjecthood, but also for the constitution of Italian-Canadian citizens in that they manifest or practice citizenship by means of honoring the invitation to this center. The question then becomes: who is invited to the da Vinci center? Answering this simple question also means outlining who is included and who is excluded.

Invitations to the da Vinci center are made via brochures, pamphlets, articles, e-mails to subscribers, etc. The addressees of such documents are potential users and visitors, in brief, guests to the center. By means of responding to these invitations, they bring the building to life, as the discourse set by the pamphlets, brochures and e-mails speak to the performance of this building. Moreover, what the users and the visitors of the da Vinci center *do*, i.e. as they respond to such invitations, is at the core of the message this center attempts to communicate.

As Booth (2004) argued rhetoric is “[...] the entire range of resources that human beings share for producing effects on one another”, the visitors’ use of the building points to a range of resources to be analyzed (p. xi). In addition, we believe that the resources resulting from the invitations made to the center in fact articulate the citizenry of its users/visitors. Citizenship is not only a sociological and political category; it is also a practice, which changes dramatically in the context of globalization and constant circulation of people. As Montreal can also be inscribed within such a global trend, we will also raise questions regarding the performance of citizenship prompted by the situation of the da Vinci center, to further inquire into the concept of citizenship in the context of national and global identities.

As Canada is a “multi-nation state”, to use Will Kymlicka’s (1996) concept, where citizenship is practiced in specific ways, the particularities of this case need to be addressed. In the process, we will touch upon larger debates regarding frameworks of citizenship that attempt to go beyond the nation-state model.

First, we will outline the range of practices the da Vinci center allows for. Second, in order to be able to interpret them in light of the concept of citizenship we will present a

brief history of this concept, followed by its latest variations called forth by citizenship being questioned in the context of globalization. These circumstances call theorists from a variety of disciplines, to reconsider the articulation of citizenship, which emerged in its modern version two hundred years ago, after the French and American Revolutions. We will also discuss recent formulations of the concept of citizenship, advanced in the last decade – “postmodern” (Keith Faulks, 2000), “disaggregated/lean/cosmopolitan” (Seyla Benhabib, 2004) and “economic” (Saskia Sassen, 1996). Arguably, they address the reformulation of the concept of citizenship to fit in within the present context of globalization.

Third, we will focus on how the concept of citizenship is defined in Canada, in order to address the particular practice of citizenship entailed by the da Vinci center. Keith Faulks (2000) argues that citizenship is a “contextual concept”. In order to adapt to a particular context, Canada has built an inclusive model of citizenship derived from the premise that it is not a nation-state, but a multinational and multiethnic one, as Kymlicka (1996) purports. However, we argue, that even though there is a legal framework that predicates inclusion, legal considerations of citizenship alone will not render a sense of attachment to the polity. In the case of nation-states, citizenship is a “deep” concept, attached to specific national identities (Faulks, 2000). This is the case for instance in Europe, where the concept of citizenship first emerged. Such a theoretical formulation poses tremendous problems nowadays as European countries are not inhabited by their own nationals alone, at least not any more, if this was ever the case. Thus, the “traditional” model of citizenship which emerged and was perfected in Europe does not accommodate global realities. The Canadian model of citizenship leaves room for

practices different from those in Europe which can help re-formulate the concept to accommodate global realities and possibly inspire better theorizations of this concept elsewhere. Yet, there is still room to further discuss how profound and sound this model is and to what extent it confers a sense of attachment to the Canadian polity.

Our stance is that, in the case of the Leonardo da Vinci center, citizenship is practiced in nuanced ways that render dual attachments both to the community and to the nation. Specifically, this is done by means of a community creating a public architectural object and using it for specific purposes related to their identity claims. This will lead us to an important part of the argument advanced by this chapter.

Fourth, as citizenry is expressed via the practices held within a public architectural object, we argue that citizenship must be discussed in the context of urbanism and architecture. Cliff Moughtin (1992) defines urban form as “a physical expression of culture, and as such, [...] related directly to user satisfaction and, ultimately, to public participation in the design process” (p. 7). Form and aesthetics matter as they respond to a certain architectural code, but also as they succeed in accommodating a specific public for the building. That is the case especially with postmodern architecture. This chapter will focus towards the end on the public of the Leonardo da Vinci center, complete with their performance and use of the center. By “public”, we refer to an intended audience, visitors and participant groups who have a status within the center – cultural, administrative or socially oriented (such as community oriented non-governmental organizations with a siege in the center). In addition, we argue that the way in which the publics “affect” the center speaks to their performance as citizens in the St. Leonard neighborhood and the City of Montreal.

As we will examine closely the performance of citizenship contained in the rhetoric of the da Vinci center, we will argue that the manner in which Italians from Montreal use and participate to the life of the center speaks of their identity and constitutes their triple subject-positions as (a) members of their specific community, (b) as Montreal-ers and (c) as Canadians. Their performance of citizenship is indicative of a certain shift that can be noticed in a variety of literatures that reconsider the concept of citizenship that is premised on a singular, in most cases, national identity. Only lately, have different types of citizenship that accommodate the global flux of people residing in one country and being nationals of another emerged. Our position is that this audience is composed of citizens who enact a civil performance by means of using the LDV center. Whether the citizens who work in or visit this center enact a duty towards the community, a civil obligation or attend events out of pleasure, nonetheless, they *do* something with it. In brief, what they *do* with it, speaks to who they *are*. Looking at their practices is the first step in attempting to establish their identity claims and prospects.

II. Who is invited to the Leonardo da Vinci center?

The rhetorical interpretation of the promotional materials for the da Vinci center reveals various sets of users/visitors as well as their reasons to become associated with this project. LdV promotes itself as a “vibrant place reflecting the values of the Italian community, offering a varied mix of sports, cultural and socio-economic activities” (see appendix). In addition, the answer to the question whether it serves only the Italian community, the answer is simple: no. The center is “above all designated to be a dynamic center of Italian culture and community activities, open to everyone in the Greater

Montreal who is interested in using the services by the Centre and who wishes to celebrate the Italian language and culture” (see appendix).

The main mission of the Italian-Canadian Community Foundation of Québec, which was created in 1975, had been for five years before the construction of the center to raise funds to “make it a reality”. The center now features: a piazza, a theatre, a bocciodromo (to play an Italian-Canadian sport called “bocce”), a community and cultural centre, a sports club, a youth center, a daycare, a chapel, an administrative center with meeting facilities and a municipal court of St. Leonard. As the center is a reality now, this is an instance where various institutions come together to create a venue where Italian-Canadians invite other non-Italian communities to find out more about the Italian-Canadian culture.

Engin Isin (2002) purports the genealogies of citizenship include citizens, strangers, outsiders, aliens, women, peasants, slaves, metics, mercenaries, raiders, traders, plebeians, clients, freedmen, wayfarers, knights, merchants, artisans, humanists, vanguards, poor, colonists, sanculottes, savages, flaneurs, intellectuals, immigrants, homeless, refugees, etc. It can be argued that the da Vinci center is a cosmopolitan venue, and that the open-ended invitation in its promotional materials is addressed to all listed above. As such the center speaks to the idea of multiple attachments that in this case might be rather to a specific culture – Italian - despite actually being of Italian origin or not. The center promotes a type of cosmopolitanism as it needs to address the needs of an eclectic public. Consequently, the Leonardo da Vinci center is the type of imaginative institution that acts at a local level to make things happen for a larger number of groups

that are all included in the mission statement and who share the major ideals behind the LdV project.

As rhetoric includes ethical effects, we claim that the rhetoric of the LdV center employs a promotional, “just façade”, which resurfaces a more “just community”, to use Isin’s (2003) terminology. The da Vinci center annihilates some of the problems of the city as “difference machine” which Isin (2003) believes is the case of large, cosmopolitan cities. In addition, it does so by means of constituting affinities, rather than differences, by creating common goals and by providing a place to enact certain subject-positions. This brings us to consider the type of values and rhetorical effects the center raises by means of the invitation addressed to a large, eclectic audience.

Just as Smith (1990) argues that constitutive rhetoric is important to understanding the realm of private architecture as productive of certain types of subjects, we contend that a public architectural object such as the da Vinci center is also productive of subjects. And while in Smith’s (1990) case, private architecture did not lead to considerations about the citizenship, the da Vinci center, as a public architectural object, calls for such considerations. The LdV center is productive of open-minded citizens, more willing to share and to integrate and who stand for inclusion rather than difference.

As the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal understands its specificity and at the same time addresses an invitation to a larger audience, citizenship is reformulated in imaginative ways. The concept of citizenship is enhanced by practices, such as those hosted by institutions like the LdV. Certain values associated with the center that bring about a set of rhetorical effects emerge from the materials that present the da Vinci

center. A promotional brochure writes “the Leonardo da Vinci center was developed from an integrated, original concept reflecting Italian-style warmth, joie de vivre and family values” (LDV, n.d.). In addition, the center was intended as “a place of convergence that draws throngs of people, where family involvement more than individual involvement is valued and encouraged” (LDV, n.d.). This goal is accomplished by the multi-purpose aspect of the center as it “will encourage all age groups to be active at the same time under the same roof” (LDV, n.d.).

The *piazza* stands as “a place of welcome” where to take “the pulse of the community” as it features an Italian-style bistro with specific food and beverages and is as such a meeting place. The theatre has multiple functions ranging from conferences to plays, multimedia and musical performances, lyrical theatre, and Italian cinema screenings. The *bocciodromo*, intended for the overall 350-semi-professional players from Montreal and for international competitions, brings together people of all ages who enjoy the game. The sports club and its infrastructure (i.e. spas, showers, whirl-pool baths, massage and tanning rooms, etc) which also contains a gymnasium with an indoor soccer field responds to both health and entertainment related community needs. A health clinic is also attached to the center as the Canadian-Italian community from Montreal is getting older and needs more and more assistance. This type of examples could continue as the center includes a chapel, a cultural and community center, a youth center, a daycare, community offices and a municipal court (see appendix).

As such, the da Vinci center carries on good values associated with the needs of the Canadian-Italian community from Montreal. It is an ethical, just, responsive, fundamentally *good* place. It builds good citizens in that it promotes values such as care,

both in the physical and spiritual senses with regard to the community it serves, but also with regard to society in general, as it is open to all who want to visit or take advantage of it.

Booth (2004) argued that ethical, practical and intellectual effects are involved in rhetoric. We claim that all these effects are raised by the invitation to the center, which is addressed to a large audience. In addition, this rhetoric is present in the discourse the center promotes as it stands for inherently positive values. It covers a wide range of activities with a practical purpose and it also brings the Montreal Italian-Canadian culture to the fore, to be further explored and enjoyed by all those interested. This type of citizenry is not common. To understand this claim and be able to draw on the consequences of this practice we need to take a detour to explain the concept of citizenship and some of its more recent variations.

III. What is citizenship?

Benhabib (2002) argues:

Sociologically, the practice and institution of “citizenship” can be broken down in three components: collective identity, privileges of political membership and social rights and benefits. (p. 95)

These sociological categories are crucial to a good understanding of the concept of citizenship. Most of the literature on the concept takes them into account. This study focuses on the practices of citizenship, rather than on citizenship as a sociological or political category, even though most literature on citizenship comes from the fields of sociology and political science. It is therefore inevitable for this project to shed a

refracted light on such bodies of literature. These perspectives will be made clear in the next section where we comment on the variations of the concept of citizenship in the context of globalization, variations which emerged mostly in the work of sociologists or political scientists. In the meantime, devising a brief genealogy of the concept of citizenship will help us better understand its latest conceptual variations.

Historically speaking, the concept of citizenship goes back to the Greeks and Romans. Only later, via the message of the French Revolution citizenship was conceptually translated into a modern and post-modern framework. Dominique Schnapper (1998) argues that the concepts of nation, citizenship or republic are inherently linked. Nonetheless, if these links exist, it does not mean that they are logical or necessary to be reproduced ad infinitum as far as the modern versions of the concept of nation. This contention demands a brief rendition of Schnapper's (1998) argument on the linkages between the concepts of nation and citizenship.

On the modern nation, Schnapper (1998) posits:

The uniqueness of the modern nation lies in the integration of all populations into a community of citizens and in the legitimation the action of the state, which is its instrument, by this community [...] The nation is defined by its ambition of *transcending particular belongings by means of citizenship* and of defining the citizen as an abstract individual, without particular identification and qualification, over and above all concrete determinations. (p. 35)

Schnapper (2001) analyzes the limits of the concept of citizenship. Furthermore, in an attempt to look for the sources for the success of 'citizenship' as a concept, she identifies its legal and theoretical aspects, as well as its history. The modern concept of

'citizenship' differs greatly from its original acceptance that can be found in the Greek *polis*, where the citizen was not only abstracted to an ideal political agora, but the *polis* itself was founded on an ethnic principle. The modern concept of citizenship is linked to Roman acceptance, in that we inherited the definition of citizenship in terms of legal status from the Romans. *Civis romanus* disposed of civil as well as individual rights and the concept of citizenship was in this respect regarded as universal. Therefore, Schnapper (2001) posits we are all somehow Roman citizens in that modern political thinking from the thirteenth century rediscovered Roman views on citizenship and then translated them into the modern theorization of citizenship. The synthesis of these ideas and the theory of the social contract represent the main sources for the modern definitions of the concept of citizenship. However, Schnapper (2001) asserts that modern thought produces a rupture as far as citizenship is concerned, a rupture that we still live with. This rupture consists in the fact modern citizenship is not an essence as the Romans viewed it, but is becoming a historical matter. The citizen from 1789 is not the citizen from 1848 and is different from the citizen of 2000 (Schnapper, 2001, p. 9).

While Schnapper (2001) argues that the concept of citizenship is born out of multiple historical conjunctures, Faulks (2000) underlines that "citizenship has an almost universal appeal" and "this is because citizenship contains both individualistic and collectivist elements" (p. 1). Therefore, citizenship is relational as it "entails cooperation between individuals in the running of their lives" (p. 1). As the concept of "private citizen is an oxymoron", citizenship thus means rights, duties and obligations (p. 1). In addition, "a consideration of citizenship must involve an examination of the conditions that make it meaningful" (p. 2).

Faulks (2000) argues: “while there is a consensus that citizenship is a desirable thing, there is much less agreement about what the status should entail, what kind of community best promotes citizenship and whether the status is inherently exclusive” (p. 2). As most contemporary accounts of citizenship have departed from the concept of “liberal citizenship”, he also focuses on this analytic category. The central claim of this study is that modern citizenship is egalitarian, though this has not always been the case. However, in the liberal tradition, which he regards as “synonymous with modernity”, citizenship has developed such universality (p. 3). Within the concept of “liberal citizenship” minorities can claim unequal treatment or the infringement of basic rights. This was the case with the anti-slavery movement or women’s movements demanding the right to vote at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In addition, the above-mentioned debates were possible based on the assumption that citizenship is a “momentum concept”, which is to say that citizenship has “an internal logic that demands that its benefits necessarily become even more universal and egalitarian” (p. 3). Furthermore, the status of citizenship implies “a sense of inclusion into the wider community” of an individual, “while at the same time granting him or her individual autonomy” (p. 4). This degree of autonomy is reflected in a set of rights which start with the right to political agency. In this regard, Faulks (2000) argues:

... a key defining characteristic of citizenship, and what differentiates it most from mere subjecthood, is an ethic of participation. Citizenship is an active, rather than a passive status. In short, citizenship is incompatible with domination, whether the source of that domination be the state, the family, the husband, the

church, the ethnic group, or any other force that seeks to deny us recognition as an autonomous individual, capable of self-governance. (p. 4)

In consequence:

Citizenship is always a reciprocal and therefore, social idea. It can never be purely a set of rights that free the individual from obligations to others. Rights always require a framework for their recognition and mechanisms through which they can be fulfilled. Such a social framework, which includes courts, schools, hospitals and parliaments, requires that all citizens play their part to maintain it. (p. 4)

If citizenship requires participation, and according to Faulks (2000) such participative venues are parliaments, courts, schools or hospitals, undeniably the Leonardo da Vinci center is also a venue for citizen participation. As Italian-Canadians from Montreal can be characterized as multi-layered, they perform an identity that plays out their Italianità, as well as they are Montrealers, who live in St. Leonard, Québécois and Canadians. Therefore, they participate in the matters of the community and in the activities held within the center in at least several capacities.

We will revisit the above-mentioned point later, yet for the time being it is fundamental to retain that participation is at the core of the concept of citizenship and that this fundamental component of the concept announces to a large extent the question of “who is invited?” to the da Vinci center. In addition, this is quite different than simply stating, citizenship is a mix of rights and obligations, as classical definitions advance. Participation, and in addition, its ethics, are key to the points we will further make.

Citizenship is also “a dynamic identity” (p. 6). In regards to this aspect, Faulks (2000) argues:

As creative agents will always find new ways to express their citizenship, and new rights, duties and institutions will need to be constructed to give form to the changing needs and aspirations of the citizen and community. As citizenship is about human relationships, it defies a simple, static definition that can be applied to all societies, at all times. Instead, the idea of citizenship is inherently contested and contingent, always reflecting the particular set of relationships and types of governance found within any given society. (p. 6)

This translates, as far as Faulks’ (2000) analysis into a necessity to understand the particular context where citizenship is practiced. In terms of our analysis of the da Vinci center, this statement translates into at least two sets of *problématique*-s. First, it is important to understand the Canadian context and the definition and limits of the concept of citizenship as defined in Canada. Second, it is important to regard Italians from Montreal as “creative agents”, who find “new ways to express their citizenship” by means of a new institution such as the Leonardo da Vinci center. As “creative agents” – main actors and users of a public building - they defy the static identity definitions of communities within a state or multi-nation state, as it is the case in Canada, and they stress their identity and/or difference by means of innovative ways to cope with changes. Moreover, it can be argued that they also become included into the larger community, that of the province and the country, by means of their new creative, participative explorations of citizenry.

Contexts, with regard to citizenship involve questions of power and content as far as what falls within the set of rights and to the extent to which these rights are granted. For the extent of citizenship, Faulks (2000) posits that “to ask who is to be included as a citizen is also to ask who to be excluded from the status” (p. 7). In the particular case of the Leonardo da Vinci center, the question of “Who is invited?” is thus fundamental, together with the kind of practices citizens develop. However, in order to arrive at this level of analysis, one needs to be aware of the various articulations of the concept of citizenship, imposed by globalization and the world-wide movement of people residing in one country and being nationals of another, as they re-fashion the whole idea of whom is invited to be a citizen in first place. In addition, we must also highlight the kind of performances that reflect different types of citizenship which fit in with the global reality.

IV. “Post-” frameworks of citizenship

The “Leonardo da Vinci” center instantiates the moment of the post-nation in Canada via its architectural rhetorical performance. We underline that we believe in a reality of today’s global world in which circulation prompts to a situation in which people need to belong beyond the nation. The manners in which this belonging is accounted for are scarce and inconsistent. Whether the terminology of the “post-nation” clearly describes this trend and responds to this phenomenon remains a theoretical problem. In addition, it is also a problem of verbalizing a reality that by all means is happening and needs to be accounted for. The post-nation has its skeptics, as we will argue more extensively in the subsequent chapter. However, this study does not take a skeptical

approach on the subject-matter as we turn to questions of citizenship defined in relation to what is usually termed as “post-national identities”.

In a text on citizenship and belonging, Riva Kastoryano (2000) argues:

In Europe, the political construction of the European Union, on one hand and the incorporation of immigrants into nation-states, on the other, have prompted a reflection on the concept of citizenship. These two phenomena, which are a-priori separate, raise the question of the relevance of the nation-state and its constitutive elements (citizenship and nationality) as well as that of the relation of nation-states and citizenship to identity. (p. 120)

Kastoriano (2002) provides a useful background for most of the recent discussions around the concept of citizenship. They do emerge on a European soil, where it is difficult to gauge the European identity in the context of pre-existing national identities and particular types of citizenship associated to them. It is not the same case in Canada. Though Canadian immigrants are granted a Canadian passport after three years of residence in the country, these debates still prompt us to consider the entire concept of citizenship as defined in relation to the nation.

As argued in the previous chapters, the Italian community acquired a voice in Montreal a long time ago. Various rhetorical resources were employed at different stages to create the ethos of this community. If the ethos of sojourning Italian workers highlighted their attachments to the homeland, later in the process, Italians from Montreal became Canadian citizens, many already born in the city of Montreal. Their ethos was and still is different than that of the elder generations. Their discourse indicates they are Italians as heart, but also Canadian citizens and Montreal-ers. The fact that one

community can enact multiple identities at the same time, prompts us to consider the question of Canadian national identity in general. There are numerous debates as to what constitutes this identity. For the moment, we will pass by these, as the question of national identity will be addressed in more detail later. To arrive at this point, it is however useful to analyze various aspects related to the performance of these people as citizens in the city of Montreal. This means unlocking the concept of citizenship in order to make it work for such situations where multiple identities are enacted.

Faulks (2000) argues that “in order to unlock the inclusive potential of citizenship, the concept must be freed from its associations with the nation-state” (p. 8). The attempt to unlock this concept from its associations with the nation-state framework results into a special terminology in the field political science, international relations and sociology, which is mostly characterized by the presence of a qualifying adjective before the cornerstone word, “citizenship”. Here we choose to analyze three such frameworks as they inform to a certain extent of the situation created by the building of the da Vinci center in St. Leonard, Montreal, namely: “post-modern citizenship” (Faulks, 2000); “disaggregated/lean/cosmopolitan citizenship (Benhabib, 2004) and “economic citizenship” (Sassen, 1996).

➤ Post-modern citizenship: Theory and Italian-Canadian Practice.

Faulks (2000) asks: “Could it be that the concept of citizenship is becoming redundant, since its close association historically with closed political communities is inappropriate to the porous boundaries of a new global age?” (p. 132). As globalization appears to “challenge the contemporary relevance of citizenship”, Faulks (2000) calls our

attention to the other frameworks that might replace it, such as human rights (p. 132).

However, Faulks (2000) rejects the point that human rights might replace citizenship, “because governance requires the exercise of political participation and responsibilities as well as the preservation of rights” (p. 133). In this context, the real question then becomes not what replaces citizenship, but how can it be enhanced to accommodate global, post-modern times? A brief historical rendition leads his argument. Consequently, Faulks (2000) contends:

Before the formation of modernity, citizenship was invariably an exclusive status. In some cases, particularly in the ancient Athenian polis, citizenship was undoubtedly deep, in the sense that citizens felt a strong commitment to common institutions of government and the obligations that citizens were expected to perform were extensive. (p. 162)

Yet:

... in the pre-modern world, the extent of citizenship was never broad in its scope, as it did not include large sections of the population. Women especially were excluded from citizenship. In pre-modern society, the division between citizen and non-citizen signified inequalities that were taken to be natural and immutable. (p. 163)

Moreover, liberal thinkers, such as Hobbes, Locke and Paine defended equal rights to citizenship, yet, the conception of equality purported by them was “abstract in character” (p. 163). Consequently, Faulks (2000) asks: “why do liberals overlook the barriers to citizenship?” (p. 163).

As liberals assume that “we are autonomous actors, even before the formation of the state, arguments for liberal rights are abstract in form and miss, or underestimate, how rights [...] must be rooted in a network of responsibilities between individuals and their communities” (p. 164). In addition, as post-modern societies are far from atomized, the institutions have to adapt in order that such networks of participation be available for citizens to perform their responsibilities. Central to it is that “there must be a degree of consensus over the values that underpin citizenship, if modern societies are not to fragment further...” (p. 164). In the process, “by enhancing responsibilities, we also acknowledge citizenship as an active and not passive status” (p. 164).

We claim that the Leonardo da Vinci center presents us with a situation where enhanced responsibilities with regard to the Italian community from Montreal are made evident. Moreover, an institution was created to serve them better. Italian-Canadians attend to the needs and obligations of their community. In consequence, they do practice a type of post-modern citizenship, as they enhance their citizenship obligations to Canada, to which they belong. Consequently, Faulks’ (2000) argument as to the necessity of extending citizenship to include those who perform multiple identity-roles holds water. The concept of citizenship must be enhanced to accommodate such situations and the da Vinci center features a situation in which various institutions, be it the City Hall of St. Leonard or the organizations that raised funds for the center, have adapted to the necessity to play from within multiple-identity positions. This is even more so the case, as Faulks (2000) also highlights that “for the foreseeable future, [post-modern] citizenship will be exercised primarily at the local level” (p. 168). However, it is not the fact that the da Vinci center exists as such which makes a case for post-modern

citizenship, but the multitude of practices that it can accommodate and might account for the successful exercise of this attempt to enhance the concept of citizenship.

“Citizenship’s emancipatory potential”, as Faulks (2000) claims, lies in breaking the lines of modernity.

Part of the above-mentioned lines would be to recognize that institutions such as the Leonardo da Vinci center that have emerged in particular contexts, with long and different histories of immigration and adaptation behind them account by means of the practices they can host, for the already unlocked potential of citizenship. Citizenship is unlocked in practice; the rest is a problem of theorization.

➤ Disaggregated citizenship: Establishing a range of post-modern practices.

Just as Faulks (2000) argues in favor of the extension of liberal citizenship to accommodate the postmodern, Benhabib (2004) examines what she calls “disaggregated citizenship”, a concept that stems from the same conditions analyzed by Faulks (2000), yet, which takes into consideration the mechanisms of inclusion-exclusion, which must accompany an extended concept of citizenship.

Her argument departs from a consideration of the “boundaries of political community by focusing on political membership” (p. 1). Benhabib (2004) defines “political membership” as: “the principles and practices for incorporating aliens and strangers, immigrants and newcomers, refugees and asylum seekers, into existing polities” (p. 1). In addition, she argues “membership, in turn, is meaningful only when accompanied by rituals of entry, access, belonging and privilege” (p. 1). She also makes a similar point with Faulks (2000) as she states, “the modern nation-state system has

regulated membership in terms of one principal category: national citizenship” (p. 1). Consequently, the issues of inclusion-exclusion need to be accounted for in a global context that is prone to change.

The Italian community from Montreal was granted political membership a long time ago, at least as far as the regulatory aspects are concerned (i.e. the right to be issued a Canadian passport). Thus, they are Canadian. Therefore, Benhabib’s (2004) point as far as the changes that transnational migrations bring in terms of how citizenship should be regulated, for instance in Europe, does not apply to the Canadian context. However, our stance here is that while regulating citizenship is a first step towards the recognition of subjects within a nation-state, this is just a prerequisite for practicing it at its full potential. The manner in which the former immigrants perform their citizenry within the state that grants them that right also speaks to the degree to which they are or are not incorporated within, arguably, the “*porous borders*” of the nation (p. 3, author’s emphasis).

We will discuss that the Italians from Montreal have incorporated practices of citizenship throughout their immigration process to a much larger extent than it is the case in Western European nation-states. In addition, the performance of citizenship in this city of various communities does and should cause envy to other countries who have not yet adapted to the consequences of worldwide circulation and global markets. Of course, Canada has its specific context that allowed for it to happen, which we will soon outline. Yet, this does not make it less a case for the analysis of such practices, but even a stronger one. To understand how these claims pertain to the Canadian case, it is important to render some of the points Benhabib (2004) makes.

Benhabib's (2004) central point is that the present-day nation state faces a "crisis of territoriality" (p. 4). That is to say that "territoriality has become an anachronistic delimitation of material functions and cultural identities" (p. 5). For instance, if by 1910, 33 million individuals lived in other countries than their own, by 2000 this number has reached 175 million, migration having increased as such six-fold over the course of ninety years (Benhabib, 2004). Consequently, Benhabib (2004) concludes that "we are like travelers navigating an unknown terrain with the help of old maps, drawn at a different time and in response to different needs. While the terrain we are traveling on, the world society of states has changed, our normative map has not (p. 6). As such, she states the scope of her study: "I do not pretend to have a new map to replace the old one, but I do hope to contribute to a better understanding of the salient fault-lines of the unknown territory which we are traversing" (p. 6).

The general normative aspects of the concept of citizenship are not the particular focus of the "Leonardo da Montreal" study. However, the normative aspects support the manner in which the performance of citizenship occurs and in this context, they concern us to this extent alone. We do not claim to bring a significant change as far as the normative reformulation of the concept of citizenship, which other disciplines can better address. Yet, the rhetoric entailed by the practice of citizenship might also indicate the direction of the possible changes in the normative framework. Thus, as far as the particular case of the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal several aspects need to be underlined with regard to the points Benhabib (2004) makes about "disaggregated citizenship".

As a former immigrant community which was fully integrated within a normative model of citizenship (Canadian), the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal contributes to the understanding of the “salient fault-lines” Benhabib (2004) brings to our attention with regard to how the concept of citizenship is presented to us nowadays. Italian-Canadians have undergone a long history of both exclusion and inclusion before they reached this status. In addition, their present situation occurred against the background of a multi-nation state, where the idea of including *the other* – i.e. people of different backgrounds - into the legal/normative was familiar and accepted. Nonetheless, this process did not happen immediately. As the Italian-Canadian literature accounts, there were a multitude of stereotypes associated with Italian immigrants, at the early stages of their immigration process. In addition, as time passed, though negative stereotypes became less pervasive, the Italian-Canadian communities from major Canadian cities have undergone a long process on their way of integration/adaptation. This process is reflected in Montreal by their evolution from one stage to another - sojourning, settling, colony and community - having come to a resolution with one ghost and facing another. This situation indicates that the process of including the other into a citizenship framework is far from being easy or fluent. In addition, as Benhabib (2004) suggests it is not dependent only on the legal recognition or the normative aspects entailed by being granted the right to citizenship in the adoptive country, as she argues:

Just as we cannot cease to mediate the needs of our loved ones with the demands of impersonal, institutional obligations; just as we cannot cease to measure the actions of our polities in light of the claims of strangers; just as we cannot cease to participate in dialogues with those who worship different gods than ourselves, so

too we cannot collapse the moral universal into the particular, the legal, or the functional. (pp. 16-17)

It is in this context that Benhabib (2004) advances the concept of “disaggregated citizenship”, which, she claims, attempts to personalize the concept of citizenship, within the larger context of “post-national solidarity”. With respect to this framework, Benhabib (2004) asserts:

The project of “postnational solidarity is a moral project that transcends existing state boundaries, and nowhere are the tensions between the demands of postnational universalistic solidarity and the practices of exclusive membership more apparent than at the site of territorial borders and boundaries. (p. 17)

“Postnational solidarity” as it transcends territorial borders challenges the necessity to find a working definition of citizenship within the nation. Benhabib (2004) also claims that “the nationality and citizenship rules of all peoples are an admixture of historical contingencies, territorial struggles, cultural clashes and bureaucratic fiat” (p. 17).

The fact that the former Italian community of sojourners and settlers has gained a different status in time stands for struggles, clashes and bureaucratic fiat. As argued in previous chapters, it was only by the ‘60s that Italian-Canadians have attained a certain level of institutional completeness. Their role within the Québec community became stronger as their attachments to Montreal increased. Renewed family ties by means of immigrants’ sponsorship of relatives contributed to Italians’ having acquired a fundamental, deep-down, feeling that Canada is their home. The documentary “Café Italia” makes such points evident.

One can safely argue that only variations on the concept of citizenship that accept the idea of multiple attachments apply to such situations “Dissaggregated citizenship”, “lean citizenship” and “cosmopolitan citizenship” are some of the formulae which take into account the multiple attachments immigrants experience. Yet, what does the “disaggregation” of citizenship mean? Benhabib (2004) asks:

Should we view the disaggregation of citizenship and the end of the unitary model with dismay? Are these “indicators” of the devaluation of citizenship, a trend towards “lean citizenship” [...] insofar, as one no longer need be a citizen to have access to some coveted social rights? Or are these developments indicators of a new sense of global justice and harbingers of new modalities of political agency, heralding perhaps cosmopolitan citizenship? (p. 171)

As mentioned earlier, her examination of “the ambivalences of disaggregated citizenship” departs from the situations that originated in the European Union countries (p. 171).

Without entering into much detail on each particular case, we will highlight the main aspects of the debates, as they pertain to how she further outlines her conceptual framework.

The European Union is a fruitful terrain for raising these questions, as the EU fundamentally is a union of different peoples. The European Union is an associative institution that fundamentally responds to pressures brought on by globalization and market integration. While the European Union provides an overarching European identity to its members to some extent, it has not changed the nature of local and national attachments, despite lucrative and economic ends. On the contrary, they precede the overarching European attachments.

In addition, Benhabib (2004) argues that “the European Union reproduces at the supranational level the internal tensions that have accompanied the birth of modern nation-states, while also showing their evolution along a different path” (p. 172). She contends: “The modern nation-state fused together the culturally homogenizing and *identitarian* understandings of the citizenry with more democratic and pluralist variants, through processes of contestation, struggle and cooperation as well as cooptation” (p. 172, author’s emphasis). In addition, national cultural solidarities have not been attained throughout time by means of a long process. In fact, they were “stable givens”, as citizenship had this effect. However, national identities, even around the time of nation-state formation in Europe were far from being cohesive, therefore the threat to the “community of solidarity” that disaggregated citizenship poses even more so nowadays is even more evident (p. 172). Benhabib (2004) thus concludes: “The politics of immigration is closely linked to the politics of conformism and disciplining the opposition at home” (p. 172). In addition, “trends towards the disaggregation of citizenship are an inescapable aspect of contemporary globalization” (p. 173). Thus, Benhabib (2004) argues that “new modalities of deterritorialized citizenship are emerging” (p. 174). As far as the European Union countries, new questions that were not common in the past in some nation-states emerge. Benhabib (2004) mentions one such question: What does it take for instance to make a “good German” out of a Turk, when Germans themselves cannot claim a cohesive collective identity? Furthermore, Benhabib (2004) states:

Multicultural enclaves in large cities everywhere around the world are harbingers of the new faces of citizenship which is no longer based upon exclusive

attachment to a particular land, history and tradition. Surely, advocates of deterritorialized citizenship are correct that political identities need not be conceived exclusively in state-centric terms: the boundaries of the civic community and the boundaries of the state territory are not conterminous. (p. 174)

She concludes that: “Democratic commitment to a locality which may be smaller or larger than the nation-state is significant and democratic governance implies drawing boundaries and creating rules” (p. 174). However, normative challenges arise when drawing or rethinking boundaries. “Disaggregated citizenship” might solve such problems in that it “permits individuals to develop and sustain multiple allegiances and networks across nation-state boundaries, in inter- as well as transnational contexts” (p. 174). How does this debate pertain to Canada and the Italian community from Montreal?

The Italian community from Montreal represents a case of disaggregated citizenship as its members experience multiple attachments, yet at the same time are confined within boundaries and normative roles conferred by their status of Canadian citizens. In that, Canada is an overall successful case in terms of the reworking of the concept of citizenship, molded and articulated in ways to accommodate the global flux of immigrants that also characterize other continents, which have not managed to accommodate so far to these circumstances. In addition, as far as the case under analysis in this study is concerned, an institution such as Leonardo da Vinci clearly sets the venue and provides an answer to the question of “how?” this is translated in practice. In addition, such an institution also creates the conditions for accountability, which Benhabib (2004) argues is fundamental:

Cosmopolitanism, the concern for the world as if it were one's *polis*, is furthered by such multiple, overlapping allegiances which are sustained across communities of language, ethnicity, religion and nationality. Such networks are conducive to democratic citizenship if, and only if, they are accompanied by active involvement with and attachment to representative institutions, which exhibit accountability, transparency, and responsibility towards a given constituency that authorized them in its own name. (p. 174-175)

The Italian community from Montreal provides a case where a community is actively involved in the protection and preservation of a cultural identity within the context of experiencing multiple attachments, by means of a representative institution – the da Vinci center. Thus, accountability, transparency and responsibility are fostered by means of this institution towards the members of the Italian community. Yet, it is important to retain one important aspect. Not all communities are capable of developing such projects and definitely they do not happen in a short amount of time or in early stages of their immigration processes. It is mandatory that an immigrant community first acquires a certain status within a new environment and fundamental to this evolution is the overall economic level of its members. Sassen's (1996) framework of "economic citizenship" sheds an interesting light on the economic aspects of citizenship.

- Economic citizenship. Transnational actors and particular citizens. Particular communities or all?

Sassen (1996) also engages in the contemporary debates around the reformulation of the concept of citizenship, advancing the concept of "economic citizenship", which she

argues, “is not part of the history and theorization of citizenship as conventionally understood” (p. xiii). In this section, we analyze her theory and we argue that the construction of the Leonardo da Vinci center was in part motivated by the need to express the Montreal-based Italian community’s “economic citizenship”. In addition to outlining the level at which this concept works for this particular case, we will also highlight other aspects of citizenship that apply to this case, which cannot be covered by Sassen’s (1996) framework.

Sassen (1996) argues that the “growth of global economy in conjuncture with the new telecommunications and computer networks that span the world has profoundly reconfigured institutions fundamental to processes of governance and accountability in the modern state” (p. xi). Therefore, “state-sovereignty, nation-based citizenship, the institutional apparatus in charge of regulating the economy [...] are being destabilized and even transformed as a result of globalization and the new technologies” (pp. xi-xii). Her central question follows from this: “What happens to processes of governance and accountability when the fundamental institutions upon which they rest and depend are thus destabilized and transformed?” (p. xii). As “cross-border flows” and “global communications” have affected the two distinctive features of the modern state, i.e. “sovereignty” and “exclusive territoriality”, she argues that citizenship, the other component that “marks the specificity of the modern state” has been affected. As such, she introduces a new term to describe the concept of citizenship in the context of forces such as the above mentioned, namely “economic citizenship” (pp. xiii).

“Economic citizenship” is according to Sassen (1996), “a strategic research site and nexus” that sheds light on the “conditions brought on by economic globalization”

which have profoundly affected the institution of citizenship as we know it from previous theorizations (p. xiv). While evidence supports this argument, “economic citizenship” however, belongs to “firms and markets”, specifically global financial markets, instead of citizens (p. xiv). “Economic citizenship” is “located not in individuals, not in citizens, but in mostly global corporate actors” (p. xiv). This is the fundamental aspect that one needs to retain as far as Sassen’s (1996) argument, as we argue that while “economic citizenship” was a driving force and the premise in the construction of the Leonardo da Vinci center, the center however, belongs to citizens, not to global actors. As such, there is a need to account for this aspect from other standpoints than Sassen’s (1996).

In addition, immigration is a factor profoundly affecting the concept of citizenship which builds on Sassen’s (1996) attempt to coin its economic aspects. She argues:

Immigration provides a crucial tension in this nexus. It often becomes the easiest target when the issue of renationalizing enters politics. But it also brings to the fore the contradictory notion of the state at this time. [...] what does it mean to say that the state is sovereign in the control of its borders vis-à-vis people? Has not sovereignty itself been transformed? Can we continue to take it for granted [...]? (p. xv)

It is clear in Sassen’s (1996) argument that “existing frameworks for immigration policy are problematic”, at least in certain parts of the world. In this context, even without going into the analysis of any particular Canadian immigration policies, and into how they might affect the formulation of “economic citizenship”, how does this concept apply to the situation of the Italian community from Montreal, which is a former immigrant community? What might have been the emerging factors that defined the Italians as

citizens in this city in the past and what are they now? As far as this research, we explore some answers to these questions as they emerge from the practices held in the da Vinci center and from the performance it puts forth. Part of the answer to these questions also lies in the fundamental point that Sassen (1996) makes is that “citizenship is at least partly culturally grounded” (p. 35). Yet, nowadays, “the institution and construct of citizenship are being destabilized” (p. 34). Sassen (1996) asks:

Is citizenship as conventionally instituted a useful concept for exploring the problems of belonging in the modern world? In a world where globalization may challenge the sovereignty of the nation-state and civil solidarity, what is the analytic terrain within which the social sciences need to examine the question of rights? Do we need to expand this terrain, to introduce new elements in the discourse? (p. 36)

In addition:

Have the specific conditions brought on by economic globalization, especially in highly developed countries, contributed to yet another major transformation in the institution of citizenship? My answer is yes. But with a twist – and not a pretty one. (p. 36)

Particularly, immigration worldwide brings to the fore the most controversial aspects of the concept of citizenship. Sassen (1996) argues: “... when it comes to immigrants and refugees, whether in North America, Western Europe or Japan, the national state claims all its own splendor in asserting its sovereign right to control its borders” (p. 59). She further states: “immigration can be seen as a strategic research site for the examination of the relation – the distance, the tension – between the idea of sovereignty as control over

who enters and the constraints states encounter in making actual policy on the matter” (p. 63). Thus, immigration is “a sort of wrench one can throw into theories about sovereignty” (p. 63). Yet, she states that “some countries – Canada and the United States, for example – possess political cultures and identity formation processes that incorporate the fact of immigration, while in others, particularly Germany and Japan, this is not the case whatsoever” (p. 64). Thus, a more focused look at Canada is necessary in order to build on our particular take on citizenship participation in the da Vinci center.

V. Citizenship in Canada: Multi-ethnic state and group-differentiated citizenship.

Towards a new framework via a specific practice.

Kymlicka (1996) argues that “much of the Canadian political system is founded on the premise that, in the words of the Canadian Supreme Court, the ‘accommodation of difference is the essence of true equality’” (p. 153). At the same time, “while the Canadian history contains its share of intolerance, prejudice and oppression, it also contains many attempts to find new and creative mechanisms for accommodating difference” (p. 153). Freedom of association, religion, speech, mobility and political association are guaranteed. These are common rights of citizenship. Yet, Canada is also premised on what Iris Young (1989) calls “differentiated citizenship”. It is on the special measures taken in Canada to accommodate difference that Kymlicka (1996) focuses in his essay.

Canada historically is a multinational state. With regard to this, Kymlicka (1996) argues:

Its historical development has involved the federation of three distinct peoples or nations (English, French and Aboriginals). These groups are “nations” in the sociological sense of being historical communities, institutionally complete, occupying a given territory or homeland and sharing a distinct language and history. Since Canada contains more than one-nation, it is not a nation-state but a multination state, and the Québécois and Aboriginals form “national minorities”.
(pp. 153-154)

Yet, “the incorporation of these national minorities into the Canadian political community was largely involuntary”, as “Indian homelands were overrun by French settlers, who were then conquered by the English” (p. 154). Consequently, Kymlicka (1996) purports that, “many of the pivotal moments in Canadian political history have centered on these attempts to renegotiate the terms of federation between English, French and Aboriginals” (p. 154).

Besides, in addition to being a multination state, Canada is according to Kymlicka (1996) a “polyethnic state”. Canada accepts large numbers of immigrants, who are expected to integrate within the Canadian institutions and learn English or French or both to acquire citizenship. In addition, he argues:

Prior to the 1960s, they were also expected to shed their distinctive heritage and assimilate almost entirely to existing cultural norms. However, in the 1970s, the Canadian government rejected the assimilationist model of immigration and instead adopted a policy of polyethnicity that allows and indeed encourages immigrants to maintain various aspects of their ethnic heritage. Immigrants are free to maintain some of their old customs regarding food, dress, recreation and

religion, and to associate with one another to maintain these practices. This is no longer seen as unpatriotic or “un-Canadian”. (p. 154)

Nonetheless, such groups are not nations, as they do not occupy specific lands. They also participate to the Canadian public life, within English or French cultures. As a result of this situation, Kymlicka (1996) identifies three models of “group-differentiated citizenship”: (1) self-government rights (enjoyed by Francophone and Aboriginal groups), (2) polyethnic rights (enjoyed by ethnic groups and religious minorities) and (3) special representation rights (enjoyed by minority and disadvantaged groups).

As “differentiated citizenship” manifests itself by means of these special rights, many fear that they might turn into a source of disunity and “inhibit a sense of shared Canadian identity” (p. 162). Citizenship’s main role is to cultivate a sense of community, yet it is mandatory that it also promotes a sense of inclusion. Kymlicka (1996) further stresses that “groups that feel excluded want to be included in the larger society, and the recognition and accommodation of their ‘difference’ is intended to facilitate this” (p. 162). Though there are many concrete obstacles to performing these special rights, yet they do work to a certain extent as “there are very few democratic multination states that follow the strict ‘common citizenship’ strategy” (p. 163).

If Young (1989) and Kymlicka (1996) advance a theory of “differentiated citizenship”, as it meets certain challenges such as inequality, vulnerable groups’ being given the opportunity to speak up, Faulks (2000) argues against such a model, as “the arguments for group rights are incoherent and are therefore unlikely to enhance citizenship” (p. 91). Firstly, Faulks (2000) posits that “a citizenship centered upon groups is ascertaining what groups can legitimately claim to be special cases and are therefore

deserving of additional entitlements not available to other members of the polity” (p. 91). Identities can be in tension with one another and moreover, “a theory of citizenship based upon group rights risks freezing social differences and creating an uncommunicative, fragmented and highly static politics” (p. 92). Secondly, another problem with such formulations lies in the incapacity to prevent “a proliferation of new groups demanding rights and thereby fragmenting the polity still further” (p. 92). In addition, “to deny that one group can understand the experiences of another has very dangerous implications for the quality of deliberation” (p. 94). As Faulks (2000) clearly states: “it sets the limits of democracy before a word has been spoken” (p. 94).

In regards to Kymlicka’s (1996) theory of group rights, defined along cultural lines, Faulks (2000) contends that “he assumes that choices that citizens make are meaningful only in the context of the nation” (p. 96). Faulks (2000) purports: “it may be that the identities that an individual most values are not their ethnicity or nationality but the ideological or lifestyle choices they make” and “Kymlicka appears to favour national identities above all sources of meaning because of its basis in history” (p. 96).

Though group-differentiated citizenship is contested, this does not mean that Canada is less a multi-nation state which clearly operates differently than most other nation-states which premise that citizenship and national identity are inherently interconnected. This might be a source of disunity and fragmentation for the Canadian polity, yet at this point of our argument, we are not interested in searching this very source of unity. Rather we are interested in how these rights derived from “differentiated citizenship” are performed at the level of the Italian community from Montreal and with what consequences of the accepted definitions of the concept of citizenship. In addition,

we suggest that the practice of citizenship by Canadian-Italian citizens enacting multiple identities prompt us to consider a language to define Canada as a post-nation in which the concept of difference is not at the core of the definition of citizenship as Kymlicka (1996) argues. Rather, we propose that multiple attachments build on inclusion to a variety of communities and therefore the language of post-nation builds on this aspect in that it is based on a practice of citizenry that is already enacted on such multiple levels. This claim is based on the evolution of the Italian community from Montreal.

Italians from Montreal have undergone multiple status changes in the last hundred years. Today they are one of the most integrated communities that pervade the social, political and cultural Canadian life. The case of the Leonardo da Vinci center is a typical one for conferring the venue to practice special citizenship rights. Individual practices of the members, as well as the messages this community attempts to transmit as the “voice” of the Italian community speak to this practice. These combined elements indicate the center contains its own rhetoric as much as it creates subject-positions for those who frequent it. As the center is premised on the idea to accommodate the needs of a particular group in first place, but also as a consequence of allowing for difference to be accepted, performed and integrated, we here raise the question of “Who is invited?” to the center. However, I would add, this invitation is made in the context of a cosmopolitan type of citizenship that potential users/visitors are called to consider when engaging with the center. This situation prompts one to extend the context of citizenship and define it in relation to the city and in particular to notions of urbanism and architecture as they connect to citizens. These are not traditional frameworks for defining the concept of “citizenship”. However, as this study attempts to connect rhetoric to public architecture

and identity building, the role of citizens as far as theories of urbanism is a subject-matter at the core of our argument.

VI. Public architecture and the constitution of citizens: Italian-Canadian *da* Montreal

Architectural objects have historically embodied the transformations and evolutions of a city. Fleming (2002) discusses the rhetorical power of the design of a city. He claims that three persons were instrumental in creating a “bounded democracy” in Thurii, ancient Greek colony founded around 444 BCE: the rhetor Pericles, the designer Hippodamus, and the sophist Protagoras. Of course, in order to speak about the “Leonardo da Vinci” center from Montreal one does not need to go necessarily to Thurii (which actual existence is shrouded in mystery), but from examples such as Thurii it is important to retain the idea that urban architecture has rhetorical power.

The Greeks also regarded the city as the locus of citizen participation. As such, its design was important. In regards to this, Rykvert (2000) argues:

The Greeks, who used the word *polis* for the city, used the same word for a dice-and-board game that, rather like backgammon, depends on the interplay of chance and rule. [...] If the analogy works it would follow that we are agents as well as patients in the matter of our cities. (p. 5)

Thus, “cities and towns are not entirely imposed on us by political or economical direction from above; nor are they quite determined from below by the working of obscure forces we cannot quite identify” (Rykvert, 2000, p. 5) In addition, cities are not passive; cities are fabric and image. Rykvert (2000) contends in regards to this:

Public institutions have therefore been muffled, yet the feel or the fabric of the town or city is always present to the citizen as it is to the visitor. Appreciated, seen, touched, smelled, penetrated, whether consciously or unconsciously, this fabric is a tangible representation of that intangible thing, the society that lives in it – and its aspirations. A representation, a figuration – not, I insist an expression.

(p. 6)

Whether the interaction of fabric and image in a city happens intentionally or unintentionally, with or without agency, it always has a certain effect.

This very chic multi-purpose cultural and community center which is the object of this analysis covers an area of 125,000 square feet distributed over four floors and which cost \$ 14.2 million. In the paradigm success-failure, the “Leonardo da Vinci” center is a success story. Citizen participation, be it monetary, in terms of fundraising, or emotional, in terms of attachment to the idea of this project and also aesthetics came together in order to build community. The effect cannot be but impressive. Some members of the Italian community from Montreal asked themselves whether they have the center they deserve and next, they built one. Several theoretical trajectories underscore the possible ways to understand citizen participation with regard to city planning. They are theories of urbanism and architecture.

Moughtin (1992) suggests an analytical framework for public participation with regard to urban planning and design. He argues that “urban design, or the art of building cities, is the method by which man creates a built environment that fulfils his aspirations and represents his values” (p. 11). Consequently, “central to the study of urban design is man, his values, aspirations and power or ability to achieve them” while “the task of the

city builder is to understand and express, in built form, the needs and aspirations of the client group” (p. 12). Moughtin (1992) further argues that two questions thus become important to the city builder: “How does the city builder design to best serve the community’s needs?” and “How can the designer ensure that the end product is culturally acceptable?” (p. 12). As such, city planners need to take into account the needs of what Moughtin (1992) calls “the layperson” or “the ordinary citizen”. Moughtin (1992) argues:

The layperson, too, has knowledge and experience. He or she is the expert on his or her family, its needs and aspirations. This is a highly specialized knowledge about the sort of housing, educational, health care and recreational facilities the family needs and can afford; it is his or her daily preoccupation. The layperson is well able to extend his personal knowledge and to form accurate ideas about his neighbor’s needs also. The layperson then is the expert on the problems of the neighborhood in which he or she lives. [...] The ordinary citizen also has knowledge about the ways in which these problems can be solved and how to capitalize on any possibilities that exist. (p. 22)

St. Leonard is inhabited mostly by the Italian community from Montreal. As mentioned before, the discussions about the idea of building this center started more than a decade ago. Throughout this time, the constituents of the Italian community agreed on the importance of building a cultural center. This center was intended to bring the elders of the community together and remind youngsters of their roots. Thus, the people of St. Leonard acted on their needs and in that they kept on asserting their knowledge as “ordinary citizens” with regard to matters surrounding their neighborhood. Moughtin (1992) points to several techniques used by city planners to ensure citizen participation.

Among them, rank: community planning and design, public meetings, public enquiries, planning appeals, exhibitions, press releases, planning surveys, user studies, anthropological studies, etc. This study will not focus on such methods as we do not write from the standpoint of urban planners. However, it is important to retain that both the theory and the practice of urbanism and city planning assume the role of the citizen as fundamental to public architecture.

Hearn (2003) also argues that architectural theory is everybody's business. He contends:

In the case of ambitious buildings, where deliberate design choices are made at every turn – whether for the sake of structure, function or design – the purposeful application of theory is inescapable. Even a person standing on the sidelines who articulates an opinion is necessarily taking a theoretical position. So, it is then, that architectural theory is both the property and the concern of all who build and all who evaluate buildings, either as observers or as users. (p. xi)

So, architecture is both the property and the concern of citizens, trained or not into matters of taste. In addition, architecture, which is often executed on the command of the multi-nation or nation-state, needs the approval of multiple bureaucracies to respond to rhetorical exigencies called forth by the refashioning of these very national identities and in the process, offers a change in their perception.

The “Leonardo da Vinci” center has a certain aesthetic and emotional effect that is permanently evaluated by citizens-users. This is made evident by the design of its central *piazza*, surrounded by columns and frontispieces where the names of the Italian regions appear in capital letters, or by the front statues dedicated to the immigrants who

came from two regions in Italy that constitute the core of the Italian immigration to Montreal. The center also has specific functions: it accommodates conferences, provides a get-together place, a venue for cultural activities, and it serves as headquarters for a number of associations active within the Italian community.

Another body of literature that deals with the discursive aspects of architecture comes from Europe. A number of studies produced on the architecture of Berlin for instance or on the architectural transformations in Eastern and Central Europe's post-revolutionary cities reveal the fundamental discursive aspect of public architecture, in terms of shaping identities. In such areas multiple debates have taken place publicly as to what will replace former voids, halls, former socialist buildings or the Berlin Wall itself (Ladd, 1997; Grenzer, 2001; Luescher, 2001; McKim, 2002; Gittus, 2002; Delanty 2002; Fratiloiu, 2004). These debates allowed for citizen participation and the public opinion got to play a key role. Yet very few would contend that citizen participation is instrumental as far as public architecture without any reservations as architecture demands that one has the capacity to appreciate and interpret it. Despite what some might believe, this does not necessarily require a particular training into the subject-matter or professional expertise. On the contrary since public architecture accompanies us in the every day as we enter buildings, and we spend hours working inside such sites, or we walk on streets marked by them, every "citizen" has an opinion and the right to evaluate public architecture. It is true that most of us are not that well-rounded to engage in a valid aesthetic evaluation, however even when we do not know how to evaluate architecture or even when buildings "tell" us nothing, we still produce the rhetoric of public architecture as even mere users of it, pleased or displeased by what it has to offer. This is the case of

the da Vinci center as it invites Italian subjects to become citizens and to participate in matters related to their community, city, province and country.

As argued before, the da Vinci center “speaks”, firstly via a certain aesthetics and structural arrangement, and secondly by means of its audience. Along these lines, Jencks (1981) argues that “post- modern architecture has a double-coding” it also has a double intentionality that involves the architects and an audience at the same time. In other words, post-modern architecture is all about “building with art, ornament and symbolism and on a grand scale in a language the inhabitants understand” (p. 7). Public architecture invites users/visitors to participate in the matters of their community and consequently practice their rights and obligations as citizens.

VII. Key trajectories:

The Leonardo da Vinci center is constitutive of Italian-Canadian subjecthood and as a public architectural domain it is also productive of citizens: Italian-Canadian citizens. In addition, The Italian-Canadian community from Montreal responds by means of the citizenry it manifests via the da Vinci center to several of the points raised by the frameworks presented on the concept of citizenship.

Italians-Canadians accommodate the pressures imposed by their identity as “economic citizens”, who need to step outside the cultural dimension and make the economics available for transactions and networks that support culture. Sassen’s (1996) assessment of economic citizenship applies to this situation. However, the center belongs to the people who frequent it, not to these economic actors, thus becoming a democratizing tool. As in Sassen’s (1996) rendition of the concept of “economic

citizenship” this practice, while it applies to a certain extent to our case, is mostly owned by corporations and transnational actors.

The Italian-Canadian subject positions constituted by means of this center and via this particular situation also demand us to reconsider the notion of group-differentiated citizenship. Situations such as the one created by the LdV speak to the concept of inclusion more than they speak to the concept of difference. We are not arguing that group-differentiated citizenship as a concept does not account for inclusion as it is premised in fact upon that acceptance of difference as key to equality, to which inclusion is implicitly attached. Yet, the concept of difference is a problematic category as Faulks (2000) argued. Major points of divergence can arise from its application or practice as to which groups need to be deemed as being situated in such group-differentiated categories. Also, as Isin (2002) asks: is “group-differentiated citizenship” really the case and the practice or is it still a means to highlight even more the “difference machine”? This is a question that merits a more extensive study on the basis of the concept of “differentiated citizenship” from all standpoints, which include the normative framework.

If the center is the type of institution that accommodates an eclectic public, it also stands for the notion of “disaggregated citizenship” advanced by Benhabib (2004). Benhabib (2004) argued “disaggregated citizenship” needs institutions to be practiced. The Italian-Canadian community from Montreal manifests a three-tiered attachment in the situation made evident by the LdV: a) to the specific community, by means of the practice of Italianità, b) to St. Leonard and Québec, by means of responding to the needs addressed by the City Council and the City of Montreal and c) to the nation, as it invites

an ethnic mix into the cultural life of the community and opens itself up to a cosmopolitan public.

Consequently, the LdV center calls us to reconsider the current formulations of the concept of citizenship, complete with the practices that fall under different categorizations. Questioning the narratives of citizenship demands us that we take into account what are the normative and discursive premises of the concept of citizenship as well as what are the limits of this concept in practice. Enhanced citizenship also needs to be explored both in theory and in practice. However, as this process starts at the level of practice, the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal already stands for the enhancement of the concept of citizenship via the range of activities held and carried on by the citizens engaging with the Leonardo da Vinci center.

To conclude, the situation created by the LdV helps us advance an argument that public architecture constitutes citizens, with respectable values and cosmopolitan views. As they experience multiple attachments, we argue they are postmodern subjects. Postmodern subjects are not confined within national boundaries, not even necessarily multi-ethnic boundaries. However, fundamentally the concept of multiple identities and inclusion call us to consider another language than that of difference and of difference within a multi-ethnic state, as Canada is has been defined so far. While Montreal Italian-Canadians live and constitute their identities within the Canadian nation, they also constitute the post-nation, here, in Canada.

The Leonardo da Vinci center is a successful case of citizenry enacted by means of a public architectural object. Its aesthetics and form are not arbitrary because they need to match all the activities and varied interests the center covers. This range of activities

brings about values, such as respect for the maintenance of Italian traditions and for their integration within the Canadian society, which in rhetorical terms are fundamental to what constitutes the Italian-Canadian subjects. Italian-Canadian subjects and citizens welcome those from Montreal, Québec and Canada. The subsequent chapter will continue to engage with a changing notion of Canada, unpacking a motive of belonging of the Italian-Canadian community which has dominated the Italian experience on this continent for quite some time. This model stems from the early stories of settling and sojourning and was pervasive up to the moment of institutional completeness of the Italian-Canadian community in Montreal, reached only in the 1960s-70s. This motive of ethnic identification is summed up by the diasporic condition. Only with the emergences of practices such as those described in this particular chapter that point to an enhanced citizenry, are we able to outline the rise of a new rhetorical motive of identification for communities of people living away from homeland. To be able to “mark off the rise of a new motive” of identification, as Burke (1969) formulates this call, based on the performance of the LdV center so far outlined, it is important to understand the premises of the diasporic condition.

Chapter IV

Italian-Canadian-ness: Unpacking the Diasporic Motive of Belonging

“An Israeli asks, ‘How did we ever end up in this terrible geographical situation, with enemies on every side?’

Answer: ‘It’s all because Moses had a speech impediment’.

‘How so?’

‘Well, when God had led the people of Israel out of Egypt, he asked Moses where they wanted to go. Where else but Canada. So, Moses tried to tell God: ‘Cana...Cana...’ – till God lost his patience and jumped to his own conclusions.

‘O.K. I’ll take you to Canaan’, he said, the rest is history.”

(Taylor, 1993, p. 187)

I. Canaan and Canada:

In this chapter, we will speak more about Canada and less about Canaan.

However, as we unpack the diasporic motive of Italian-Canadian belonging in Montreal, we shall discuss the importance of imaginary centers. While Canaan used to be an imaginary center and Canada is currently one, we will generally touch on multiple places of origin and destinations of Italian immigrants in order to outline the premises of the diasporic condition.

Migrants “organize” their dreams around places like Canaan or Canada. Though fundamentally different, both Canaan and Canada have something in common: they became “chosen destinations”. In terms of our particular case of Italian immigration, as outlined in the first chapter, Italian immigrants had to overcome several ghosts when they

left their country. In addition, they gained a sense of purpose while they associated their destination with a ghost-free life. In a way, destinations become “destined” places. Once they arrive to their destination immigrants begin to treat the place of origin as a type of imaginary center, as it is what they remember that helps them define who they have become. Therefore, in this chapter we first elaborate on the concept of diaspora complete with its relation to such imaginary centers. Next, we provide a theoretical framework as to how identification works with regard to such imaginary centers, to ultimately connect the Italian-Canadian experience in Montreal with the premises of the diasporic condition. We argue that the diasporic condition of Montreal-based Italians can be inscribed within a larger diasporic motive of identification of Italians abroad. Consequently, it can be inferred that the diasporic motive has largely dominated the Italian immigration experience and particularly, the Italian-Canadian immigration experience in Montreal, up to an important point in the evolution of the Italian immigration process to this country.

The above argument will be instrumental in establishing the existence of a diasporic motive of people belonging away from homeland, which works in a broader sense than the specific case of Montreal-based Italians. The diasporic motive is in fact the most prominent motive of identification for people who live elsewhere than where they were born, particularly for immigrants who are a significant group in this situation. Consequently, the diasporic identification provides a powerful and solid framework. Nonetheless, we argue that this framework does not account for how Italian-Canadians belong in Montreal today, for the practices they engage with in the da Vinci center or for their citizenry. In consequence, a new motive of identification will be treated in the subsequent and final chapter of this project: the post-national motive.

In this chapter, we specifically argue that two types of identification, which Burke (1950) calls “pastoral” and “ultimate”, can be discussed as far as the Italian community from Montreal. We argue that these types of identification occurred throughout a long span of the immigration process of this community. Both pastoral and ultimate identification lead us to believe the Italian community from Montreal went through an overall diasporic process of identification. The story of the Leonardo da Vinci center cannot be inscribed within this identity problematic and in consequence, a fundamental change in the rhetorical motive can be noticed and now acknowledged. Only then will we have come full circle with our central claim, namely that a new rhetorical motive accounts for communities belonging abroad and can be revealed via the analysis of the rhetoric of belonging of Italian-Canadians to Montreal.

The concept of “imaginary centers” lies at the heart of the diasporic condition. In the subsequent sections, we will discuss how migrants arrive to imagine such centers, complete with several examples, including Canaan and Canada.

➤ Canaan:

When they left Egypt, Moses wanted his people to walk for more than forty years, before they settled to a new place. He wanted them to forget all remainders of the serfdom mentality. Also, it was part of his rationale that the newer generations would be able to have a fresh start, new mentalities and expectations as “free” people. In addition, he gave them a place to dream about, and together with it, a guiding ideal. This place was Canaan and the guiding ideal associated with it was freedom.

Not all people leave the homeland for the same reasons. They want to work or study, seek refuge or make more money to provide for their families. They are immigrants, migrants, international or global citizens. Nowadays people have started living abroad for a variety of reasons. They share the overall idea that their life will be better abroad. Canaan is no longer a “chosen destination”, yet many other places resemble Canaan in that they become “chosen destinations”. Italian immigrants also started to emigrate to accomplish what they could not do in Italy and thus are a case in point for the diasporic condition. Consequently, we need to understand the importance of places resembling Canaan to understand this motive of identification.

The concept of diaspora is first premised on the experience of the Jewish people, on which we will draw as diasporic studies defines itself in relation to the Jewish experience. No other community of people was born under such circumstances, without a center of reference, a “nation” that one leaves behind. Consequently, Alain Finkelkraut (1994) argues: “They have a vagabond soul, the Western Jews. Their thoughts are in another place” (p. 117). Also, Boyarin and Boyarin (2002) tell us why the Jewish people are quintessentially diasporic, implicitly outlining the premises of the diasporic condition:

Beyond its sheer antiquity, Jewish diaspora might still be regarded as the most precise or concentrated diasporic experience in several respects. One of these is the persistence of Jewish communities, not only outside the homeland, and not only in the absence of political hegemony enjoyed by fellows in the homeland, but, for centuries, in the absence even of a substantial community of fellows, actually living in the homeland... (p. 11)

The experience of the Jewish people becomes therefore symptomatic of a larger phenomenon. Theorizing the diasporic experience of any community leads one to reflect on the idea of how people transform, how they relate to the places they leave as well as to the target destinations. Consequently, the diasporic experience is also indicative of the weight of their motivations which led to emigration.

In the first chapter, we discussed what pushed the Italian immigrants to evolve from one stage to another during their immigration experience in Montreal. As our argument unfolds we will return to some key aspects provided in the first chapter of the study, which outlined the context for the Leonardo da Vinci rhetorical situation. As we reiterate some of the earlier points, we shall elaborate on how such experiences can be inscribed within the larger picture of Italian immigration, as well as within the broader picture of the diasporic motive of identification as it overall applies to a wide range of situations where people live elsewhere than homeland. We shall therefore approach the diasporic condition of Italians in Montreal by imagining Canada as a center carrying a similar symbolism as the ancient, Jewish Canaan thousands of years ago. Thus, how does Canada become an imaginary center and why would Taylor (1993) argue that it is in fact the only possible such center?

➤ Canada:

Various communities identify with the diasporic condition in Canada, as Canada is the destination for large numbers of immigrants. Canada is a “real” country, but also an imagined one, in the most tangible sense of the term, as immigrants first imagine it, before they actually experience it. Inquiring whether Canada was in first place, i.e.

regardless of the immigration phenomenon, a “real country”, Ronald Beiner (2003) also argues:

Perhaps we can all come to an agreement on a resolve not to talk about our constitutional quandaries – at least for a certain period of time. But what we *cannot* do is to sustain a political community indefinitely as if those quandaries never existed, or as if they had actually been resolved [...]. (p. 169)

In other words, Beiner (2003) asserts: “once citizenship is up for grabs, there is no telling where the process of contestation and dissolution will end” (p. 169). Thus, Beiner (2003) raises the question whether Canada is a “real” political community in first place given that the three main communities – Anglophone, Francophone and Aboriginal challenge one another’s claims. Thus, as Canada is also the “imaginary land” for large groups of immigrants yearly, is likely to furthermore complicate the definition of a Canadian identity. We argue that in addition to the above mentioned communities, diasporic communities are also a key factor in the Canadian national identity equation as they bring their own ideas as to what Canada is all about when they imagine it as a center.

Imaginary centers are for the diasporic people not only an option to establish some place in the world, but also a necessity. As Finkelkraut (1994) put it, since Western Jews have vagabond souls, “they’ve entrusted Israel with the task of representing the Jewish existence” (p. 117). He also argues that “for the Diaspora this faraway nation is like an inner kingdom, providing its subjects of anxiety, pride and conversation. A Diaspora of dreams”, he concludes (p. 117). Israel is in this situation a place which has become imbued with affect and emotions connected to the homeland.

Canaan and Israel are examples of places where belonging could ultimately be accomplished for the Jewish people. When Taylor (1993) brings Canaan into discussion as a “promised land”, we are thus not surprised. However, he jokes that it actually is Canada that which had been supposed to be the “promised land” in first place, instead of Canaan, if only Moses could have articulated the last syllable. How does Canada arrive to contain a similar power as Canaan and as a metaphor of a chosen destination?

As Taylor (1993) argues, if Moses had not missed one syllable, we would have known exactly the way in which Canada was going to become *the* “chosen destination”. However, as the discussion goes between the Israeli and the respondent, we know only that Canaan and Canada are not *just any places*. They are metaphors of “chosen places” and in addition, Canada appears to be a more solid one, as it does not have enemies on every side and does not face a “terrible geographical condition”. Indeed, Canada is often presented as a peaceful land and an enemy-free place. A traditional folklore song “Maple Leaf for ever” provides such an example: “On Canada’s fair domain/ Here may it wave our boats, our pride./ And join in love together/With Lily, Thistle, Shamrock, Rose/The Maple Leaf forever” (in Hertel, 1959, p. 140).

In these Irish verses, Canada is presented a land of opportunities, as it is a “fair domain” where one can live a proud life. Also, it is a place where people “join in love together” and cherish the “maple leaf” symbol. The assumption that people who are “fresh off the boat” join in love together has more of a romantic power than it reflects a reality. Nonetheless, discursively speaking, this is just one example of what people might think about Canada when they are new immigrants. In brief, Canada has become a place where people often decided to go to if they wanted to leave unfavourable circumstances

behind them. It is an “imaginary center” and Italian-Canadians from Montreal are also a case in point in terms of imagining Canada as this type of destination.

In order to understand why the overarching diasporic motive explains the identification process experienced in Montreal by Italian-Canadians, it is necessary to further build on some of the trajectories Burke (1950) provides in his study on the philosophy of rhetoric as far as identification and consubstantiality. Next, we will discuss his theory of identification in the context of the diasporic belonging of Italians abroad.

II. Identification and “Consubstantiality”

Burke (1950) outlines the concept of identification as follows:

A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is *identified* with B. Or he may *identify himself* with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so. Here are ambiguities of substance. In being identified with B, A is “substantially one” with a person other than himself. Yet at the same time he remains unique, an individual locus of motives. Thus he is both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another. (pp. 20-21)

Simply put, Burke (1950) advances an argument that even under the circumstances of consubstantiality with others, each of us is unique. For example, children are consubstantial with parents, yet they are an offspring “apart from them” (p. 21). While substance is “an abstruse philosophic term, beset by a long history of quandaries and puzzlements”, identity is a simpler term.

Burke (1950) argues that “identity” is defined in the subsequent terms: “the thing’s identity would here be its uniqueness as an entity in itself and by itself, a demarcated unit having its own particular structure” (p. 21). Moreover, as he builds on the concept of “consubstantiality”, Burke (1950) claims that “a doctrine of *consubstantiality*, either explicit or implicit may be necessary to any way of life” (p. 21, author’s emphasis). In addition, consubstantiality is reflected in a range of things people do together, as he contends: “For substance, in the old philosophies was an *act*; and a way of life is an *acting-together*; and in acting-together, men have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes that make them *consubstantial*” (p. 21). Italian-Canadian men and women experienced this type of togetherness that led them to become consubstantial. They formed a group, an identifiable ethnic community, a diaspora, as some studies argue and as we will soon outline.

Moreover, as “*Rhetoric* deals with the possibilities of classification in its *partisan* aspects; it considers the way in which individuals are at odds with one another, or become identified with groups more or less at odds with one another”, (p. 22, author’s emphasis). In addition, Burke (1950) also covers the implications of “division”. While, “identification is affirmed with earnestness precisely because there is division”, it is also fundamentally, “compensatory to division” (p. 22). That is the case, as Burke (1950) concludes that “if men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity” (p. 22).

The principles of “identification”, “consobstantiality” and “division” can be easily analyzed with regard to the problematic of diasporic belonging. Diasporic belonging is the realm where division is also the key pair for both concepts of identification and

consubstantiality, as diasporic communities are constantly torn between “home” (principle of identification) and “abroad” (principle of division). In addition, as people find themselves in such a similar problematic condition, they *act together* in their attempts to solve such belonging dilemmas. As diasporic people regard certain places as “imaginary centers”, the former become consubstantial.

At the same time, as they are torn between one center that they left, and another which they arrived to, they are constantly divided. In the subsequent section we will elaborate on the premises of the diasporic condition as well as we will provide more insights on the particularities of the Italian immigration phenomenon. In the process, we will establish how identification, consubstantiality and division led to the formation of a motive of belonging abroad in the case of the Italian immigrants.

III. Diaspora: Concept and Practice

➤ The diasporic condition

As it is the case for the Jewish communities, the concept of “diaspora” often becomes conflated with the history and communality of experiences of certain communities around the world. Another case is the history of the Black community. With respect to this, Brent H. Edwards (2001) argues:

... diaspora has only in the past forty years been a term of choice to express the links and communalities among groups of African descent throughout the world. [...] the confusing multiplicity of terms floating through recent work – include “exile”, “expatriation”, “post-coloniality”, “migrancy”, “globality” and “transnationality”, among others – make it necessary to return to diaspora, which

is in danger of becoming a promiscuously capacious category that is taken to include all the adjacent phenomena to which it is linked but from which it actually differs, in ways that are constitutive, that in fact make a viable definition of diaspora possible. (p. 45)

Moreover, he considers that: “an intellectual history of the term is needed because, in other words, *diaspora* is taken up at a particular conjuncture in black scholarly discourse to do a particular kind of epistemological work” (p. 46). In addition, he also outlines a particular context for the emergence of a theoretical discourse around this concept that departs from allusions as to the type of situations, the concept underscores. Edwards (2001) points out:

But the crystallization of these figurative allusions into a theoretical discourse of *diaspora*, explicitly in dialogue with the long-standing Jewish traditions, behind the term, responds to a set of historiographic needs particular to the late 1950s and early 1960s... (p. 49)

Consequently, in terms of usage, the term becomes quite flexible and often “can be extended to both time and place”, as it designates, “an origin in the scattering and uprooting of a community, a history of traumatic and forced departure, and also the sense of a real or imagined relationship to a homeland mediated through the dynamic of collective memory and the politics of return” (p. 52). Therefore, the concept works both as an abstraction and an anti-abstraction. Particularly, Edwards (2001) claims that “the use of the term diaspora, I am suggesting, is not that it offers the comfort of abstraction, an easy recourse to origins, but that it forces us to consider discourses of cultural and political linkage only through and across difference” (p. 64).

Gabriel Sheffer (2005) points that several communities (Irish, Armenian, Palestinian, etc) have undergone similar historical circumstances, and therefore questions the uniqueness of the Jewish diaspora. Consequently, he argues that the concept needs to be defined taking into account the specifics of this situation. While there is disagreement in diasporic studies as to the uniqueness of the Jewish diasporic situation, the particular relation of the concept of diaspora and the idea of “homecoming” is undisputed. In addition, “imaginary centers” are fundamental to “homecoming”. Finkelkraut (1994) discusses how Israel became such a center in the case of the Jewish people nowadays:

Israel gave our parents a pleasure whose taste they'd forgotten: the pleasure of being Jewish. No more excuses, dissimulation, or hidden fits or self-contempt. Israel let them live again in public, in loving union with their image of Jewish destiny. For them, Zion wasn't a practical center; they'd chosen to remain in exile when the opportunity arose to bring it to an end. Nor was it the spiritual center that Ahad Ha'am dreamed of, but more precisely an imaginary center. (p. 145)

His thesis builds on the necessity for a diasporic community to have a sense of collective memory and a place to refer to as the “center”. The liberating effects that the existence of such a center has on a diasporic community cannot be denied. As Boyarin and Boyarin (2002) argue: “... diasporas are clearly dependent on shared images (that is rhetorics of common identity) as well as shared information (knowledge pooled from disparate sources that facilitates survival in conditions of insecurity” (p. 26). When people miss the similar “imaginary places” they start to identify as being part of the same group.

Raphael Patai (1977) and Howard M. Sachar (1985) also argue that common behavioral patterns, specific historical conditions, stories of exclusion, reactions to

normative models of identity present in the host culture, (mis)/adaptations, definitions by negation, a certain vulnerability and an inferiority complex that lead to scapegoating are just in part the basis of a diasporic ethos. Memory resorted from this common set of features unites people in the diaspora. People need to remember, and while they do that, they realize what they may have lost. Boyarin and Boyarin (2002) argue that this process applies to the Jewish people's history. We argue that this process applies to all immigrant groups. Boyarin and Boyarin (2002) make the following statement, which we believe lies at the core of the diasporic motive:

We remind of ourselves of what we are by reminding ourselves of what we miss, of the "without anything" on which the earth depends. Whenever, this wisdom threatens to blind us, we are in danger of losing it. We simultaneously tell the stories of our specialness and remind ourselves how risky those stories are. (p. 4)

Simply put, when we live where we were born we do not need to be reminded we are special. We might not even feel that way. We take for granted that we were born, raised and still live "at home". Diasporic identities remind us of all these and while that happens it puts actual places and events at the risk of memory filters. Fundamentally diasporic people know what they have lost after they have lost it and remember the place they left fondly. They turn it into a myth and make it imaginary, rather than keeping it "real". In addition, diasporic stories are fundamentally partaking of the local, though not necessarily always confined to it. It is within diaspora that the local meets with other realms and results in cultural interaction.

Italian immigrants in Montreal and elsewhere have also been consubstantial in their shared need to remember "home". The import of "local" elements was evident for

instance in our rendition of the rhetoric of places like Café Italia. When we discussed the Italian import of objects that connect places like Café Italia located on St. Laurent Boulevard with Café Nostalgija from Ljubljana, it was easy to observe how a reflective type of nostalgia emerges from the conundrum of memory attached to such places and objects. These were some of the premises that enabled Boym (2001) to discuss the concept of “diasporic intimacy” and the difficulties to achieve it against a foreign background. Memory was what holds places like Café Italia together as they speak to the Italian diasporic condition abroad.

➤ Italian Diasporic Studies:

Clarissa Clò (2001) argues that there are “unlikely connections” among Italians abroad. There are few critical studies available on the diasporic status of Italian immigrants. However, Clò (2001) conducts a brief history of Italian “migrants”, a term she uses to refer to: “... a wide range of groups, whose decisions to move were prompted by different reasons: internal and external labor migrants, explorers, colonizers, ex-colonized, merchants, artists, intellectuals, and so on” (p. 415). In addition, she argues:

...in the process of moving and relocating, all these communities collectively, generate, along with the locals, new cultural formations: ideas, collaborations, subjectivities, as well as social and political institutions, which are situated between and across, and simultaneously encompass ‘home’ and ‘abroad’. (p. 416)

Contrary to what some of the above mentioned conceptual frameworks have stated, Clò (2002) defines “diaspora” as a concept that is now more broadly conceived, becoming “a complex phenomenon of human mobility” (p. 416). Arguably, “diaspora” is the meeting

ground of multiple cultures connecting with each other. Italy provides such a meeting point.

Particularly, she argues that “Italy is the embodiment of a complex notion of diasporic flows, which in turn challenges commonsensical perceptions of nationhood” (p. 416). Therefore, she closely examines “the contradictory formation of the Italian nation and its subjects within a transnational framework attentive to cultural specificities” (p. 416). In addition, Clò (2002) claims these subjects “become political agents affecting the histories and peoples of the places they inhabit, leave behind, or return to” (p. 417).

Tulio Pagano (2004) makes a similar point, while referring to the particular conditions of Italinità at the turn of the twentieth century, in the context of Italians’ massive emigration. He argues:

... emigration was often compared to blood letting, a medical procedure commonly used to discharge the excess of blood which may otherwise upset normal bodily functions. Moreover, Italians abroad contributed considerably to the national economy with the money that they sent home to their families. (p. 67)

In the case of the Italian-Canadians of Montreal, the contribution to the national Italian economy is outlined by a large number of studies. To this adds the Italian-Canadian contribution to the development of the city of Montreal and to Canadian infrastructures, of which railroads are just one example. The point made above is also indicative of the interactions which happen between diasporas and the adoptive communities, which both Clò (2002) and Pagano (2004) discuss.

Pagano (2004) observes that as emigration from Italy became a widespread phenomenon, policymakers “became increasingly concerned about the absence of a

strong sense of 'Italianità' among emigrants and their children" (p. 67). The concern was that they "did not seem to preserve while living abroad, a close connection to the motherland" (p. 67). He argues:

Therefore, one of the challenges of the Italian government was how to maintain – or in many cases – how to create a sense of Italian national identity in the diasporic communities scattered around the world. (p. 68)

Arguably, the Italian government sought a "humble and peaceful colonization" in some parts of the globe where Italian immigrants lived in large numbers, including Argentina and Brazil. This colonization was economic and some of the important areas for Italian settlers, such as Plata in Argentina, were instrumental in terms of their contribution to the Italian identity created out of economic premises. As we will outline below, a sense of Italianità originated in Canada also as a consequence of economic factors coupled with the process of identity formation.

Immigrants also contribute to the culture of the place of adoption. In regards to this, Clò (2002) also argues:

When culture is taken as an integral part rather than just an epiphenomenon of diasporic experiences, creative experiences, such as literary and artistic projects cease to be understood as mere aesthetic exercises. Instead, they carry concrete political value precisely because they tell us important stories about the people who are part of such diasporas. (pp. 417-418)

These often, "repressed, silenced, or marginalized" stories that challenge the modern myth of national homogeneities, leave room to perceive "people in motion" both from inside and outside the locus of their origins. This is how she identifies several "unlikely

connections” among those who shaped the Italian diaspora worldwide and posits their special-ness within the diasporic condition. Below, we will briefly render these connections as they help us establish some of the elements that Italians shared abroad and helped them define themselves as diasporic.

➤ Italian values abroad:

Pagano (2004) argues that for many Italian immigrants, patriotism was “not merely a sentiment”, but “first of all a fact of an economic nature” (p. 73). Reproducing an account of Italianità among immigrants, Pagano (2004) isolates two characters. The first one is saying: “My country is the world!”. The second character tells about immigrants:

These gentlemen, practically, actively, they placed themselves outside Italianità: because they no longer belong to the Italian concentration camp. They may be patriots, if we give the word the meaning of a sentiment, or better a sentimentality; but they are no longer our compatriots in the practical, active sense of the word. Because if they were to remain Italians, nationally speaking, the land where they work and prosper would have to become Italian. Unless, we want to enclose the nation in a *cul de sac*, the only way to be nationalist - forgive me – patriot, is to be imperialist. (p. 74)

The type of discourse featured above occurred against the background of economic recession that forced Italians to consider emigration at a time when Italy itself was searching for a national identity. Consequently, the meaning of Italianità was complicated and difficult to grasp for all Italian immigrants and nationals alike.

Clò (2002) argues that “the meaning of Italian-ness” refers to a type of identity that has been “constantly contradicted, recycled, and reinterpreted over space and time to the point that” sometimes “the very word ‘Italian’ does not function as the qualifier of an essence, but as an analytical category” (p. 418). Also as outlined in chapter one, it is important to remember that one does not refer to a sole Italy. The North and the South are living proof of that at least the two Italies exist within the confines of the same nation. In addition, Clò (2002) argues that the fact that Italy nowadays becomes an immigration country for people coming from North Africa further “illustrates the impossibility of a homogenous Italian identity” (p. 419).

Moreover, as also outlined in the context provided for the immigration phenomenon to Montreal, Italian people have experienced a mobility yet to be rivaled by other communities. Several waves of immigrants arrived in Montreal, pointing to one of the most significant immigration phenomena in Canada. While this speaks to the importance of these communities in terms of shaping an identity abroad, Donna Gabaccia (2000) highlights another interesting aspect. She argues that in fact “Italians, when they existed at all, lived mainly in the diaspora” (p. 33). In addition, “even there they existed in the minds of the English, French, Spanish and Turkish who employed or traded with them” (p. 33).

Clò (2002) builds on the above argument and concludes that “these were the originators and carries of ‘civiltà italiana’ – “an elite notion of Italian sensibility, which defines Italian culture up to our day, as embodied, for example, in the elegance and sophistication marking the fashion, food, and sports car industries” (p. 419). Moreover, in fact, Italians were “made abroad” (Gabaccia, 2000; Clò, 2002). Where they were not

assimilated, and “made English, French, Spanish, Turks, Americans, Canadians or other”, they contributed to the overall world economy.

Consequently, they contributed to the cultures of the countries where they lived. Clò (2002) argues that Italians had a distinct role in each country where they settled, especially in US, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, France and Switzerland. She states:

Italian migrants had a distinct role in each of these nations. For instance, while Italian men’s employment remained marginal throughout the English-speaking world, [...] in South America, Italians became modernizing forces in a way they could not in more developed economies. (p. 420)

Local and national histories influenced dramatically the elements Italians brought onto the cultures of the countries where they decided to live. For example, the great Italian migration during the second half of the nineteenth century was the result of three key historical factors: (a) the Italian state, at that point with an un-integrated economy was not able to provide for all citizens, especially in the South, which remained poor; (b) emigration was encouraged by the availability of jobs abroad; and (c) Italians found their own occupational niches abroad. They provided “badly needed unskilled labor to the American continent” (p. 420). In consequence, she states: “even now, it is fascinating to consider how ‘poor’, ‘ignorant’, but ‘hardworking people’, as Italians were labeled, were able to move from their remote villages into a global economy” (p. 421). Still, even with chain migrations accomplished, as discussed at length in chapter one, “the love of a place in Italy” remained the main source of belonging for these migrants (p. 421). “The love of a place in Italy” is the first cornerstone of the Italian diasporic identity in general. This

particular factor also deeply influenced the experience of Italian-Canadians in Montreal as well as in other cities.

➤ A multitude of narratives. A single “Love of a place in Italy”

Throughout chapter one we investigated the rhetoric of Italianità as it stems from a variety of narratives drawn from the experience of Italian-Canadians from Montreal starting with the early stages of their immigration process, until the moment when they created a community around the 1960s in St. Leonard. We argued in favor of a specific immigrant ethos for each respective stage during this immigrant process, corresponding to the sojourning and settling moments, including the stages when the immigrants started to create a colony and later a community.

With each particular stage, new stories emerged about what it meant to be Italian-Canadian in Montreal, as a consequence of one ghost giving rise to a new rhetorical exigency to which immigrants responded. In consequence, the meaning of Italian-ness changed in the process. In chapter one, we drew on such differences in order to further be able to explain the rhetoric of the Leonardo da Vinci center and how this rhetoric is fundamentally different than the preceding types of rhetoric of Italianità.

With the Leonardo da Vinci building, Italian-Canadian identities started to be constituted in Montreal by means of a public architectural object, a venue to which all other cultures are invited. In addition, the Leonardo da Vinci center addresses the needs of a new audience of Italian-Canadians. These Italians, descendants of the initial Italian immigrants do not long for Italy any more. Longing used to be the quintessential aspect of all stories Italian-Canadians told about themselves when they first arrived to Canada.

Their grandchildren do not long any more. Instead they only cherish the roots of their elders. The “restorative nostalgia” tale of the Leonardo da Vinci story has little, if nothing at all in common with the “reflective nostalgia tales” told before by Italian-Canadians from Montreal. For the purpose of this chapter, we will situate the stories Italian-Canadians told about themselves, in the larger context of the Italian diaspora.

First, we argued that a ghost pushed the Italian immigrants to evolve from one stage to another and it gave rise to a rhetorical exigency. The latter led to a specific discourse that marked each particular stage of immigration. Whether an unknown voice – that according to Žižek (2001) we called “ghost” – told immigrants that they would not be able to bring food on the table for their family (the sojourning stage) or whether this voice told them they would remain poor (the settling stage), it was ultimately the fear of not be able to overcome one’s condition which led to the articulation of an Italian-Canadian immigrant identity. Clò (2001) was right to argue that Italians who ended living abroad were usually regarded as humble, simple and hardworking. Italians from Montreal made no exception.

If we had to take the two stages of immigration mentioned above and look closer at the narratives they led to we would only discover similar tokens. Nicola Manzo, an immigrant whose story we told in the first chapter, said that Italian immigrants worked “like horses” in Montreal. Constanzo D’Amico, another immigrant story rendered within the section dealing with the settling narratives said he came to Montreal from Molise to have a better life. He worked day and night. Zucchi’s (1988) account of Italian immigration to Toronto points out that the Italians who came to Canada shared a similar

background, similar goals and attitudes towards life and hardships and in addition, longed for the same things.

Narratives similar to those rendered about the immigrants to Montreal occur in Toronto as well. In addition, Zucchi (1988) also provides a professional profile for most immigrants that ended up in the metropolis: bricklayers, iron workers, carpenters, tailors, barbers, miners who immigrated to Buenos Aires by the 1880s, but by 1900 formed the core of the Italian immigration to the United States and Toronto. As far as their reasons to emigrate, Zucchi (1988) points out:

Many Italian townspeople chose Toronto as one of a number of possible destinations in "America". As far as the national politicians and the intelligentsia were concerned, a few principal reasons determined the peasant's decision to emigrate or choose a particular point of arrival. In reality, however, the reasons for emigrating were as varied as the number of peasants that abandoned the peninsula. (p. 32)

In Toronto, as well as in Montreal, Italian immigrants formed a colony. Moreover, specifically in Toronto, there were small colonies of Italians coming from Laurenzana and Pisticci, Gravere and Meana di Susa, Casacalenda and Boiano, Monteleone di Puglia, Ghivizzano (Tuscany), Cadroipo, Terracina, San Sisto, and a complete list would have to include every small town or village in the south of Italy. Immigration from these places mainly occurred before the Second World War (Zucchi, 1988). Some of their places of origin were similar to the immigrants in Montreal. Yet, this is not the main point we would like to make. What needs to be retained is that these immigrants generally came from a variety of villages in Italy and ended up creating specific colonies based on the

towns of origin. Their allegiance to a specific place in Italy led during the colony stage to another recurring element – the longing which ultimately made them act together and identify with their particular location. This also led to the formation of specific associations based on the town of one's origin. These associations were the first indication that the Italian communities started to engage in the civic lives of their cities of destination. Yet, the Italian communities were still fragmented at this point. This aspect reflected in how they defined their identity.

Zucchi (1988) argues:

The peasants who emigrated to Toronto from many villages and towns in Italy left their country not as Italian nationals but as people of their hometowns. While the unification of the peninsula and the subsequent period of consolidation instilled some sense of national consciousness into the Italian peasantry, the emigrant's primary affections and loyalties were directed at their *paesani* or fellow townspeople. (p. 34)

Building on the same lines, Zucchi (1988) further outlines that these allegiances were not totally sentimental; they were also economic. The peasants were ultimately looking for their fellow townspeople to gain knowledge about the destination. Their fellows were a source of capital and information. The need to bond due to economic advantages and added knowledge about the destination place was similar in Montreal.

Michele Marcogliese, an immigrant whose story was covered when we treated the narratives occurring during the colony stage in Montreal, said he moved with his mother and brother from Casacalenda to Montreal. During his stay in Montreal, the peasants from Larino initiated an association. He wanted that the immigrants originating from

Casacalenda open one too. At this stage the common feature of Italian-Canadian narratives is that they were starting to find ways to create connections in an effort to overcome their longing for homeland and their difficulties of adapting to a new environment. Yet, fundamentally their first level of identification was still with their village. Our goal is to explain the experience of Italian-Canadians in rhetorical terms and find what lies at the core of the identification process these people underwent.

➤ Italian “Pastoral” Identification

Burke (1950) observed that whenever social classes are contrasted, there is a certain element of conflict that needs to be solved or to overcome in some kind of way. As a large numbers of studies show, Italian immigrants had to overcome class differences in their host societies at the beginning of their immigrant experiences. While some of them discuss the stereotypical ways in which Italian immigrants were described by the locals due to class differences, other studies point to how their contribution to the host societies was perceived in economic terms. We will briefly point to some of the difficulties Italians faced in some of their chosen destinations, in order to further outline how the pastoral emerged as an identification motive for Italian immigrants. Pastoral identification helped immigrants overcome class differences. In addition, pastoral identification is also an overall motive among Italian immigrants abroad. As Lucio Sponza (1988) outlines some of the challenges Italian immigrants had to face in the British society during the nineteenth century, he argues:

These challenges were aspects of changing conditions and attitudes in British society towards the poor, minorities with their different ways of life, and

foreigners, rather than the hostile perception towards those “sons (and daughters) of the South”. (p. 267)

Sponza (1988) outlines that for a variety of reasons these perceptions did not affect the overall integration of the Italian community in London. Instead, he makes the following case:

From the point of view of the Italians themselves, this meant, of course, that their link with the new environment through the bond of employment and dependence was very tenuous. The nature of their occupations (apart from the dwindling case of the artisans, and to some extent, the successful restaurant keepers) made the vast majority of them sojourners, rather than settlers – people who were essentially interested in accumulating savings in order to return to their villages. This important aspect was in turn responsible for the building of a dynamic and interlocked community system, which appears to have carried on (and certainly expanded) without changing much of its way of life and purpose, as a consequence of the pressure and hostility it arouse. (p. 269)

Consequently, the Italian immigrants bonded within the community and gave up as little as possible of their way of life. Class differences between Italian immigrants and host societies were thus evident in British society.

Similarly, Zucchi (1988) argues that in Toronto class differences started to be overcome only later, as a class of notables started to emerge within the Italian community, only around 1885 and 1915: “These men were mostly professionals, self-employed businessmen, Italian newspaper publishers, or agents for federal or provincial political parties” (p. 101). They had a fundamental role within the community “by virtue

of the trust they commanded from the grassroots, and of the intermediary role they played between the immigrants and the goods and services they purveyed” (p. 101). Zucchi (1988) also provides a brief profile of the Italian notable in Toronto around this time:

As a banker, steamship agent, or wholesaler of Italian food and dry goods, the ethnic entrepreneur was an immediate descendant of an earlier middleman in North American immigrant communities, the *padrone* or labour agent. The Italian *padrone* was most influential in the United States and Canada during the period stretching from the late 1870s to the early 1900s. (p. 102)

The *padrone* is an important predecessor of the Italian banker and steamship agent in the post-1900 era, as Zucchi (1988) argues. In addition, his very existence speaks to the Italian class system that pervaded the Italian communities from the very beginning of the immigration process.

Zucchi (1988) also emphasizes that the *padrone* system developed on the North-American continent in the early 1870s provided the mechanisms for drawing Italian peasant labor to American and Canadian capital. The *padrone*-s flourished in any North American city. Zucchi (1988) comments: “Canada’s most prominent labor agents, Albert Dini and Francesco Cordasco, were located in Montreal” (p. 102). He adds, “from there, they controlled most of the labor market for the doubletracking of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in the west at the turn of the century” (p. 102). The Italian immigrant depended heavily on this class system and consequently, on the *padrone*. As Zucchi (1988) highlights:

The labor agent played a powerful role among the transient or sojourning population of each Little Italy by acting as middlemen between the migrant and

other agencies: he provided work, food and clothing for the work season in the northlands, a post office box, and a safety deposit box for savings. He also forwarded remittances to the sojourners' hometowns. When the laborers returned to Toronto, the *padrone* attended to accommodations, either at his own boardinghouse or in another home in Little Italy. In other words, the *padrone* provided for all the ancillary needs pertaining to the migrant's main goal: acquiring capital to bring back to the hometown. (p. 102)

For all these early immigrants, while class differences were at the core of their existence, the only reason to deal with this situation was their attachment to the hometown and the need to provide for those left home. Their lives abroad were organized around such key factors.

One of the ways to overcome class differences is "pastoral identification" which, according to Burke (1950), a "kind of expression which, while thoroughly conscious of class differences, aims rather at a stylistic transcending of conflict" (pp. 123-124). Consequently, "there are typical social-stylistic devices whereby spokesmen for different classes aim at an overall dialectic designed to see beyond the limitations of status" (p. 124). The fact that most Italian immigrants had "a Love of a place in Italy" in common speaks to their peasant roots and also to how they managed to overcome class differences during immigration. Therefore, they remained "true" to their origins, or to put it differently, consubstantial with their previous selves. Also, this way, they did not feel divided in regards to the adoptive societies. The "love of a place in Italy" or the identification with other townspeople brought along a set of recognizable mechanisms to adapt to the new environment.

Burke (1950) argues that pastoral identification involves “the concern with a politeness, or humility”, stemming from “the mimetics of social inferiority” (p. 124). Therefore, pastoral identification explains why Italians were humble and hard-working people. As Burke (1950) identifies that pastoral identification occurs in poetry to transcend class differences, he also outlines several figures that accompany it. They are: literary simplicity, irony, and mock-simplicity. In addition, he argues that by means of such figures “the ‘mystery’ is still present in such expression, but it is transformed into subtle embarrassments that cover a range extending from outright flattery to ironically veiled challenge” (p. 124).

The Italian-Canadian stories from the sojourning and settling stages are imbued with simplicity, irony and mockery. Burke (1950) argues the use of such figures is not accidental. Ultimately, he claims that “the ‘reverence’ of social privilege has been attenuated into respect” (p. 124). Overcoming one’s social status is also a “real” challenge that Italian immigrants covered ironically by means of discourse. However, the type of respect they showed to hierarchic principles be it in terms of respect for the value of work, or often the *padrone* himself, leads us to believe that the implications of pastoral identification were ranging beyond the uncomplicated “Love of a place in Italy”. Ultimately, pastoral identification turned into a strategy of surviving and entailed a range of practices of socially coping with the problems posed by immigration.

Burke (1950) argues:

And we are led to feel that the impulse behind such compromises is not merely [...] a fear of a superior, but rather the magic of hierarchic order itself, which imposes itself upon superior and inferior both and leads them both to aim at a

dialectic transcending their discordance in status. Looking at matters thus, you find that many attitudes quite different from outright approval can serve such ends. Relations between classes, even where the aim is to make both sides feel themselves part of a larger unity, may be treated “as well by mockery as admiration”. (p. 124)

In addition, Burke (1950) completes this model adding that “the ‘mystery’ of social relations can become identified with the mystery of first and last things” (p. 125). Irony ultimately transcends class motives. Therefore, the class system and the identification with the hometown in Italy is at the core of the identification process that many Italian-Canadians experienced.

The expression of a “Love for a place in Italy” that most Italian immigrants experienced together with their fellow class members, led to an “ultimate identification” with a locale or an imaginary center which eventually ceased to exist in reality. They ultimately had an “imaginary center” of existence. Consequently, both pastoral as well as ultimate identification with this place, (the source and the end of the Italian immigrant experience) led to the formation of a diasporic motive of belonging. While the pastoral identification can be more identified with the core of the diasporic motive, a few more remarks are necessary when approaching Burke’s (1950) concept of “ultimate identification”, complete with its application to the Italian immigrants’ experience of belonging.

➤ Italian “Ultimate” identification with an imaginary center:

Burke (1950) argues that “ultimate identification” often occurs in the rhetoric of mysticism. Yet, he also claims that “mysticism is no rare thing” (p. 332):

True, the attainment of its pure state is rare. And its secular analogues, in grand or gracious symbolism, are rare. But the need for it, the itch is everywhere. And by hierarchy it is intensified. In hierarchy it can exist under many guises. Nature, society, language and the division of labor – out of all or any of these the hierarchic motive inevitably develops. Analogically, if you will, but at least “socio-analogically”, in hierarchy reside the conditions of the “divine”, the goadings of “mystery”. (p. 333)

As there are rhetoric-s of mysticism associated with wars, the holocaust or social inequality, there is also a rhetoric of mysticism related to the immigrant “home”. Interestingly, if our brief analysis of how the class system operated within the early immigrant communities in North America, led to the articulation of a pastoral motive of identification, its very evolution started to provide Italians with a sense of a diasporic Italianità over time.

Zucchi (1988) discusses the role of the Italian entrepreneur, the new type of businessman, who emerged from the Italian *padrone*. This analysis reveals how Italianità started not only to emerge but also to be used towards practical ends.

The wholesale network, indeed the commerce of the ethnic economy, operated on the premise that all immigrants from the Italian peninsula, were Italian. If these immigrants identified with the homeland rather than with their respective hometowns or regions, then the entrepreneur would have a broad market for his goods and services. (p. 116)

This is to in part say that: “Although the ethnic economy of Toronto’s Italian immigrants was local in nature, it was also part of a larger North American Italian immigrant

economy” (p. 116). Consequently: “Immigrants who patronized the banks, steamship agencies, or large grocery stores were constantly reminded that as Italians, it was their duty to patronize their countrymen. At home, the housewife constantly read labels of new ‘Italian’ food products, whether it was tomato sauce imported by Pastene’s in Boston or Montreal or pasta manufactured by Puccini’s in St Catharines” (p. 117). At the core of the North-American sense of Italianità stood the identification with Italy as an ultimate “center” of belonging. A certain mystique stemmed from the economic field in order to provide immigrants with a distinct Italian identity. Consequently, “ultimate” identification allowed Italian immigrants to imagine a center in Italy itself. This was different than the feeling of belonging solely to their hometown and their identification with Italy started to point to the stage of institutional completeness of immigrant communities. As outlined in chapter one this stage was achieved also in Montreal.

The mystique of Italy as a center however, did not mean Italian-Canadians were less diasporic. Even more so, it highlighted this community’s needs to belong to a place which ultimately was covered by the North-American economy in labels and food products and led to dishes such as “spaghetti with meatballs”, but which ultimately did not previously exist as such in the Italian culture. Italy itself became by definition an “imaginary center”. Even during the community stage occurring much later, when Italian-Canadians had institutions that responded to their needs and represented the core population of particular neighborhoods in major Canadian cities, they would still believe they were first Italian and next Québécois or Canadian.

As the documentary *Café Italia* pointed out they had difficulties defining who they were, in relation to both their place of origin and their place of adoption. The St.

Leonard school crisis over the choice of their language of education underscores the need immigrants felt to define their identity in peer consubstantiality. They felt at that time they did not need an overarching Canadian identity to define or augment who they were. The situation of the Italian-Canadians from Montreal, in particular was even more prone to amount to a diasporic condition as the language divide in Montreal made it even more evident. Italians did not need to subscribe to a mainstream culture in the city, as there were at least two - Anglophone and Francophone. As these two cultures were competing with one another, they could choose to define themselves aside from any association with any mainstream culture.

The evolution of Italian immigration as a phenomenon in Canada leads us to believe that up to the stage of institutional completeness, Italian-Canadian immigration falls within a diasporic motive of identification. Diasporas, as previously argued need an imaginary center which provides them with a sense of identification and unity to resist the dissonances, many of them, class related, produced by the rupture entailed by emigration. These imaginary centers are centers of affect. Before they immigrated, Canada represented an imaginary center for the immigrants. Once this process was complete, they began to regard the villages where they came from as imaginary centers to soon start to see Italy as one such center.

IV. Diasporic Italian centers: Interaction among contexts

While the imaginary centers gave immigrants a sense of who they were, it is of no less importance that diasporic communities ultimately interact with multiple contexts. These interactions lead to a process of transformation which Burke (1950) explains that it

is also part of the identification process. In the following chapter, we will comprehensively outline the concept of “transformation” and its implications in terms of the changing motive of belonging abroad for the Italian community. Until then, a few remarks are necessary on the implications diasporic identities may have on communities.

➤ Diaspora’s many powers:

Boyarin and Boyarin (2002) argue that diaspora has a paradoxical power: ancestry is a cornerstone for the concept, yet everything is at risk within its confines. As it always entails a situation of risk, diaspora challenges the nation-state framework and calls for the nation to adapt to the global polity where circulation of people and migrant movements always occur. Therefore, it is not accidental that Italian-Canadians have often been called a “diasporic” community. Italians have formed diasporic communities in lots of other countries around the globe. Pagano (2004) outlines that 14 million nationals have left Italy between 1876 and 1915. Similarly, Clò (2001) argues that between 1876 and 1976 alone, 26 million Italians left the country. Meanwhile, the Italian people around the world amount to approximately 60 million, outnumbering the number of Italians living in Italy. Two points can be made by looking at this numbers.

Firstly, as Clò (2001) argues, Italy is “the embodiment of a complex notion of diasporic flows, which, in turn challenges commonsensical perceptions of nationhood” (p. 416). Secondly, it is important to notice that these flows occur until the 1970s, when the immigration flows stop. Therefore, after that stage, we do not speak about immigration any longer, but about generations of hyphenated Italians, including Italian-Canadians. This is not to say that these communities cannot be regarded as still diasporic.

As the construction of the Jewish identity abroad proves, that immigration flows stop does not make these identities less diasporic. However, it is important to acknowledge also the emergence of new generations of people, who are immersed in the host culture. This aspect changes the identity dynamic within a community. These changes however occur in conjuncture with the politics home countries apply to immigrant groups.

Clò (2001) argues that “different cultures have understood and regarded migrants differently, depending on the historical conditions, material and discursive, in which these movements occurred and on the attitudes of both sending and receiving states” (p. 415). Consequently, “it is, indeed through the lens of the nation-state and of individual national histories that migrations and diasporas have mostly been approached” (p. 415). Studies like Sponza’s (1988) on the Italians living in Great Britain during the nineteenth century clearly demonstrate this point. They also show that immigrants will ultimately find their own way into the host societies while they establish certain professional niches and contribute to the overall economy of the host societies in particular ways. This is how the host nations are fundamentally affected by diasporic flows.

Furthermore, Clò (2001) claims the nation-state model “does not allow for more comprehensive understanding of people’s traveling and resettling across space and time”, which “both predate and go beyond the boundaries imposed by the emergence of modern states” (p. 415). In addition, “the national model of migration does not adequately take into account all the human components that all these travels entail – for example, the way in which migrants themselves contribute to the shaping societies they leave and to the ones they enter into” (p. 415).

Throughout this thesis, we outlined how Italian-Canadians started to have distinct subject positions within the Montreal culture. They manifested in a variety of ways since the beginning of their experience in Montreal depending on their particular sojourning, settling, colony and community stages. In addition, by means of the Leonardo da Vinci center they shape the culture of their community and of the community that lives in its vicinity in a particular kind of way which is very different from everything else they had previously accomplished in terms of subject positions and citizenry. Consequently, they contribute to a Canadian national identity. Also, we claim that they become post-national subjects within the framework of a Canadian post-nation.

The concept of “diaspora” does not fundamentally account for how communities contribute to the host cultures. This is the key difference between diaspora and post-nation that leads us to find a new rhetorical motive to describe the identity of the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal. This task is not easy as Soysal (2002) argues:

Theories are stubborn. Nation and ethnicity, the “invented traditions” of the nineteenth century [...] may be with us for some time. They may be reinvented, and given new life, as in the renewal of old concepts such as diaspora. The concept of diaspora effortlessly casts contemporary population movements as perpetual ethnic arrangements, transactions and belongings. In so doing, it suspends immigrant experience between host and home countries, native and foreign lands, homebound desires and losses-thereby obscuring the new topography and practices of citizenship, which are multiconnected, multireferential and postnational. (p. 149)

We argued that the diasporic motive circumscribes the overall Italian experience in immigration until the stage of institutional completeness. In addition two types of rhetorical identification – pastoral and ultimate – led to the creation of a diasporic motive of belonging as they both revolved around the creation of imaginary centers and the overcoming of class differences and hierarchical constraints. The concept of “diaspora” is premised on the existence of imaginary centers. In addition, it creates situations where pre-existing dynamic of hierarchies is complicated by the new immigration flows. In addition, the diasporic terrain creates conditions for immigrants and host societies, to interact, yet these interactions occur against a pre-existing hierarchical structure. Only, if re-worked, this concept could underline the multiple contexts of interaction between immigrants and host-societies. However, diaspora is a very stubborn theory. While within its confines, immigrants regard themselves as different, special, and longing for an imaginary center. At their turn, host societies cast them as different and tend to maintain the existing class differences. Diasporas are also egocentric, hard to let go of imagining, and unwilling to replace what they imagine about their past with something altogether new.

To build on Taylor’s (1993) story that introduced this chapter, to be Canadian generally means to be friendly, polite, nice and peace-loving. In addition, some would add that this profile results from the Canadians’ willingness to accept that their country is in a constant process of change, related to the constant process of welcoming immigrants. They are welcome in a statutory framework of rights and obligations that we began to outline in the third chapter. In addition, Canada has been home to many communities that have so far engaged into a diasporic type of experience. A lot can be gained in terms of

the formulation of an overall Canadian identity by means of analyzing the evolution of diasporic communities. As to what can be gained in more general terms as far as the concept of diaspora, Boyarin and Boyarin (2002) argue:

... there may be something to be gained from thinking about diaspora not merely as a comparative social or historical phenomenon, not even as a predicament shared by many people or peoples who otherwise have little else in common, but as a positive *resource* in the necessary rethinking of models of polity in the current erosion and questioning of the modern nation-state and ideal. (p. 4)

This calls our attention to the area covered by the concept of diaspora and the type of practice it entails.

➤ Diaspora and pluralism:

Boyarin and Boyarin (2002) argued that “diaspora is not equivalent to pluralism or internationalism” (p. 9). They also argue that pluralism or internationalism are “more the complements or the correctives to nationalism” (p. 9). Consequently:

Pluralism (which cannot be dismissed as long as the nation-state remains the dominant form of organization) reduces incommensurate differences to equivalent shades upon a single palette. [...] Internationalism falls within the same logic as nationalism, both seeing the ethnic territorial nation as the proper *unit* of polity and collective identity – differing only on whether the normal state of relations between those units is one of conflict or potential harmony. (pp. 9-10, author’s emphasis)

In addition:

[...] Since the most common form of encounter between people “identified” with different nations is in the context of immigration and all of its attendant mistakes and uncertainties, an ideology that at least implicitly asserts that people should be judged as representatives of their nation inevitably produces stigmatization and failures. (p. 10)

Diaspora thus offers an “alternative ‘ground’” to the intricate linkages within the territorial state and leads to conflict to be avoided. This is one of its important powers. However, though usually an “alternative” ground, diaspora also characterizes the situation of certain communities intrinsically. For such communities, the diasporic condition is a “normal” state as some people are born in it. It is their condition and their predicament.

Gabbacia (2000) calls us to read Italianness also as “intrinsically diasporic” (p. 177). She claims that “Italianità – where it persisted at all – resides in the humble details of everyday life, not in the glories of any nation state” (p. 177). In addition, Clò (2002) makes a similar point contending that “among the common traits that Gabaccia mentions (moral values, eating habits, and creativity), skepticism towards the Italian state is the most convincing cultural thread uniting Italians around the world” (p. 424).

Josephine Hendin (2001) raises a vital point about the importance of the Italian diaspora in regards to the overall question of national identities as she argues:

The explosion of interest in Italian Americana over the past decade comes of its concern not only for *Italianità*, but also for ways of mediating between the divisive separatism that has shadowed the large achievements of ethnic studies

and a universalism based on the erasure of differences. How to best negotiate that distance? Road maps have been hard to find. (p. 141)

While much of American Studies have debated the assimilation thesis, some critics including Hendin (2001) argue that the narratives of Italianicity work in multiple ways. For example, even a typical narrative of Italian-Americana, “The Godfather”, rejects the assimilation thesis and builds on the principle of reverse assimilation as Don Corleone’s character speaks for his own mythical past, rather than his American present. In the meantime, Americans such as Kay, his daughter-in-law, or Don Corleone’s adopted son Tom Hagen adopt his code and end up living by his standards. Such narratives build on the thesis that ethnic identities are the result of a combination of contexts that people bring with them and also find at their destination.

V. Key trajectories:

Despite the fruitful terrain diaspora appears to offer, this study challenges its very concept and argues that it does not create the possibility of imagining new ways to describe belonging in today’s world for communities of former immigrants that have long left home. Such immigrants, while they constituted diaspora at some point, do not regard the place where their elders come from as their “home” any more. They are integrated, though not necessarily assimilated. They are still “special” and different, yet they are completely adapted to the life of the host societies. In addition, they do not have the same imaginary centers their elders had.

As Soysal (2002) argues:

Diaspora is a past invented for the present, and perpetually labored into shapes and meanings consistent with the present. As such, it exists not as a lived reality, but as part of a broader scheme to insert continuity and coherence into life stories that are presumably broken under the conditions of migrancy and exile. It is the reification of categorical homelands, traditions, collective memories, and formidable longings. It is a category of awareness, in which present tense practices lack capacity in and of themselves, but attain significance vis-à-vis the inventiveness of the past. (p. 137)

This is the case as Soysal (2002) argues that “diaspora is the extension of the place left behind, the ‘home’; thus the presumed rootlessness of immigrant populations in the here and now of the diaspora and their perpetual longing for then and there” (pp. 138-139).

In addition, in Canada, due to particular circumstances and national frameworks that are more welcoming to immigrants than in other parts of the world, assimilation occurs even more rarely, allowing immigrants to create their own identity. Italian-Canadians from Montreal now belong in Canada, though they are not “assimilated” in the way one would expect. In addition, while they speak about the experience of their elders fondly, they have detached themselves from it. They have a past, the past of the grandparents, yet they no longer identify themselves only with it. They keep it alive but it has ceased to define who they are. Our claim is that the motive underlining their belonging to Canada is post-national. The diasporic motive cannot explain how these Italian-Canadians feel at “home” in Montreal, experiencing multiple allegiances, as well as their type of belonging.

In addition, as Soysal (2002) observes, “designating immigrant populations as diasporas, ignores the historical contingency of the nation-state, identity and community, and reifies them as natural” (p. 139). She asserts that national boundaries need to be challenged. Consequently, “the seeming naturalness and inevitability of diaspora formations (and theorizing immigrant communities as diasporas) are part and parcel of [the] global and hegemonic discourse of identity” (p. 142). In order to step away from exclusionary mechanisms to speak about identity claims within nations, we need to step out of the diasporic language.

We argue that a Canadian post-nation is becoming more and more a possibility and that evolutions including that of the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal speak to its emergence. This is indeed a new factor in the global identity equations that we also account for by means of this study. One can notice a change in the rhetorical form that speaks to identity and belonging in a global world. The nation and the diasporas created the conditions for a new language which explains identity in a global world to emerge, yet this important factor is not acknowledged. As Soysal (2002) outlines one more time:

This profusion of immigrant experience illustrates the fact that public spaces within which immigrants act, mobilize, advance claims and produce cultures are broader than the ethnic dominion of diaspora. [...] Theories and policy prescriptions, however, have yet to respond to the changes in citizenship, rights and identity. (pp. 147-148)

We do not speak of policy prescriptions but we acknowledge the emergence of a new rhetorical form that speaks to the rethinking of theories that Soysal (2002) argues are

needed to take place. The postnational motive of identification is a consequence of diasporic flows and “unlikely connections” happening between immigrant groups and host cultures. However, it is altogether different than diasporic identification, describing how people arrive to feel at home away from their homeland.

The post-national motive underlines the multiplicity of belonging and of expressions of identity in a global, cosmopolitan, post-national environment. As this argument will unfold, we will be able to build on this thesis and discuss that the experience of the Italian-Canadians from Montreal is probably not singular. Other immigrant communities might go through a similar process of evolution. While at various stages one can speak about Italian, diasporic communities, the particular present case of the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal cannot be accounted for with the concept of diaspora. The identity claims made by this community have changed. However, while in this chapter we demonstrated why a rhetorical form emerged and continued to explain how people belonged abroad for quite a long time span, the identity claims advanced by the rhetoric of the Leonardo da Vinci center call for a fully fledged consideration of the concept of post-national identity which will conclude the argument advanced by the present thesis.

Chapter V

Unpacking the Post-national Motive of Belonging

I. “Praesenza”:

In 2003 and 2004, the Canadian Museum of Civilization featured “Praesenza”, an exhibition that celebrated the every day life of Italian-Canadians. “Praesenza”, or “Presence” made the Italian-Canadian culture available to Canadians, including those of Italian descent. The Leonardo da Vinci center fulfils the same function for the same publics. Yet, as argued in chapter two, in contrast with exhibitions such as “Praesenza”, the Leonardo da Vinci center is constitutive of Italian-Canadians. We argue that the rhetorical situation the center creates and the exigencies that led to its construction mark the rise of a new identification motive for how this community belongs to Canada. Consequently, this change in the rhetorical form of the Italian-Canadian identity leads us to engage with the very notion of an overall Canadian identity. The Italian community from Montreal stands as a former immigrant community whose identity is now defined within a Canadian context, yet also in the context of its own Italianità, which is an aspect that prompts us to consider that national identities are in fact plural, rather than monolithic and essentialist. “Canadian-ness” has multiple meanings and most definitely this is the case of ethnic communities that come to belong to Canada in their own way. While Canada is defined as a multi-nation state, it is from a constitution of an identity perspective a post-nation, as hyphenated identities find their own ways to belong to

Canada. A further discussion about “Praesenza” will help us understand these claims and introduce the argument that this chapter offers.

The exhibition featured 300 artifacts ranging from the famous Italian car, Fiat Topolino, to kitchenware, artisanal objects and musical instruments. An entire set-up was created to display Italian culture to descendants of Italian immigrants as well as to Canadian nationals. “The Canadian Historical Review” (2005) highlights that:

While the use of the Italian language is ubiquitous, efforts have been made to make this foreign language and culture accessible to all Canadians. Information cards appear in both official languages and videoclips sometimes feature Italian-Canadians speaking in French or provide interpretive services in the form of subtitles or voiceovers. (p. 113)

The exhibition had three main objectives. It first highlighted the presence of the Italian-Canadian culture, and gave a historical review of the phenomenon of Italian immigration to Canada. Second, the exhibition attempted to “communicate the relevance of Italian Canadian traditions and values in today’s society” (p. 114). Finally, the display introduced visitors to the values and traditions of Italian-Canadians. As “The Canadian Historical Review” (2003) claims, the exhibition encouraged many non-Italians to participate in the Italian-Canadian lifestyle and engage with their cultural heritage.

Overall the organizers aimed to create an Italian-Canadian ambiance:

Canadians who share an Italian heritage will appreciate and even chuckle at the sound of a rooster crowing incognito in the background. Sound is yet another way the curators have translated the Italian-Canadian experience. Amid the crowing rooster is a backdrop of overlapping and incessant chatter emanating from the

movie clips at the outdoor café and the various audio posts throughout the exhibition. No other medium captures so well what it is like to live in an Italian Canadian family or community. (p. 116)

The exhibition was a success and helped visitors acknowledge both the presence of an important immigrant group in Canada and the specificity of the Italian-Canadian culture. Nonetheless, “Praesenza” was only representative of artifacts featuring Italian-Canadian-ness and specifically addressed the past of this community. It did not allow visitors to understand how Italian-Canadians feel Italian, Italian-Canadian, or Canadian, how they relate to all these aspects of their identity and how they constitute their identity in Canada. By means of the cultural display it features, “Praesenza” just allowed visitors to understand that the Italian-Canadian culture is sufficiently strong to become a museum culture. “Praesenza” was fundamentally about the Italian-Canadian imagery and not about how an Italian-Canadian identity is constituted. The Leonardo da Vinci center, while it also displays elements of Italian-Canadian-ness, does not only create an ambiance of Italianità. In fact, it allows Italian-Canadian subjects to constitute their identities of Italian-Canadian citizens and participate in the Canadian project in their own way.

We argue that the Italian-Canadian community, due to its long-standing immersion in the Canadian society shares not only common representations of its past, but also constituted its identity in this country. Moreover, the Italian-Canadian community has reached a new stage during its evolution and therefore points to a different identification motive with regard to how communities generally identify in a host society. Most communities of immigrants are diasporic. As we argued in chapter

four, the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal was also diasporic during previous stages of immigration. However, the types of publics that participate in the Italian-Canadian culture and the range of practices the Leonardo da Vinci center underscore a versatile Italian-Canadian identity, open to the Canadian environment while still closely connected to the essence of Italianità. Diasporic communities are inter-connected and do challenge the paradigm of national identities of the host countries. Yet, diasporic people share nostalgic feelings of their homeland and a common vision of the imaginary centers left behind. The Italian-Canadian community from Montreal, while not assimilated in a classical sense of the word by the host culture, does no longer experience divisive nostalgias. Instead, it can restore its past by means of a building, indicative of the present and future projects of the community. Italian-Canadians from Montreal thus challenge current understandings of national and diasporic paradigms of identity. Consequently, we need to further think about how their identification process speaks for how the Canadian national identity is currently understood. A common framework which takes into account multiple identities experienced by communities living abroad is provided by the terminology of the post-nation.

There is no “statutory” framework to comprehensively account for the changing identity of the nation-state under global circumstances and increasingly complex patterns of migration. Canadian national identity is one of the most flexible as Canada has long been a country of immigrants. However, while the Canadian statutory framework to account for the phenomenon of globalization coupled with current definitions of the Canadian multi-nation state is not an issue we want to investigate, the terminology that explains the rhetoric of belonging in such circumstances is our core concern.

Our argument is that Canada is a post-nation, not in a political sense, but in the sense that the identities people develop within Canada are post-national. This is so because the concept of post-nation accounts for the types of attachments that communities, including Italian-Canadians, develop in regards to Canada as a “chosen place” of their existence and constitution as communities. This chapter will treat the affinities expressed by Italian-Canadians from Montreal to Canada via the da Vinci center, in terms of how they reflect the way in which this community belongs to this country. The attachments to Canada expressed by Italian-Canadians inform the Canadian-identity building process. Consequently, they signal a new form in the rhetoric of identity and belonging that we broadly identify as the post-national motive.

Canada is a multi-nation state. As already outlined, a multi-nation state provides the right for special minorities to express their cultural allegiances as long as they do not infringe on other fundamental rights. The idea of a multi-nation state and also the immigration phenomenon that Canada has long been engaging in have led many theorists to believe that the Canadian national identity is therefore not sufficiently “thick”. The Canadian national identity would be too open in that it allows minorities to resurface their background and be less concerned with getting assimilated to a mainstream Canadian culture. “Thick” national identities rely on strong symbolism and commonly shared mythologies as to what a nation is. “Thick” nation-states call their citizens to subscribe to a given mythology and become one with the nation. Such states are common in Europe. While such examples stand for “thick” identities, they feature mixed blessings: on the one hand, they provide their people with strong roots; on the other hand, they are slow to welcome both change and new residents.

We will define below the concept of the “nation” and its application to the Canadian case. We believe that the “thin” Canadian national identity is not problematic. The problematic aspect as far as the process of formation of a Canadian national identity is not that it leads to a less strong symbolism or to less commonly shared mythologies than other nations, but arises from the conceptual framework against which it is compared. Our fundamental point will be that the search for a thicker national identity is counterproductive because such identities stemmed from different historical and social circumstances. In addition, these are lately in decline and are incapable of adapting to global circumstances. Canada is better equipped to extend the national framework and adapt it to these circumstances.

The language of the post-nation applies to the type of national affiliations some immigrant communities, including Italian-Canadians experience in Canada. It also provides a framework to explain how these people arrive to belong to this country. In addition, such a theoretical position can inspire other frameworks that are “stuck” in the past, and open to a way to recognize that changes to the mythologies of the nation are natural under current global circumstances. A fresh way to think with regard to this *problematique* might also lead to an overall re-definition of the concept of “nation”, in order to allow for the inclusion of identities beyond the national framework.

We will take a brief theoretical detour to explain the concept of the nation, including the vehicles that make people feel attached to nations. In addition, we will outline several “global” concepts to describe the attachments that migrants experience. We will then proceed to outline how the transformation of the Italian-Canadian identity led to a new motive of post-national identification. Specifically, the rhetoric of the

Leonardo da Vinci center standing for the constitution of the Italian-Canadian identity in Montreal is considered to be congruent with the rise of the post-national motive.

We will also discuss the particularities of the Canadian national identity and provide an analysis of the Canadian-Italian identity within existing “global” frameworks. Our central claim is that the current Italian-Canadian identity creates a set of rhetorical effects that allow us to look at Canada as a post-nation. In addition, as the community created the conditions for the shift of identity claims within the nation from the diasporic type of claims, it also marks the emergence of a new rhetorical form that explains identity in global/post-national contexts.

II. Nation and Post-nation: Theoretical Underpinnings

➤ What is a nation?

According to Anderson (1991) the nation is “an imagined political community – imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”^{viii} (p. 6). The nation became possible in the context of print culture and capitalism. Anderson (1991) argues that the initial market for print culture was literate Europe, “a wide but thin stratum of Latin readers” (p. 38). When Reformation added another important cluster and Luther became “the first best-selling author”, the translations of biblical texts into the vernaculars created the basis for national identities and ultimately in the 19th century we already assist at the formation of linguistic nationalisms (p. 39).

Anderson (1991) states that, “nation, nationality, nationalism – all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone to analyze” (p. 3). Departing from the idea that “nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time”,

Anderson's (1991) project is to "clarify" the concept of 'nation' and explain its derivatives such as nationalism, for which not only that it is difficult to establish "scientific" grounds, but which have also been misinterpreted in various theoretical frameworks^{ix} (p. 3).

Anderson's (1991) major claim is that nations are cultural artefacts of a particular kind that must be explained diachronically in order to be able to understand why they raise such "deep attachments" (p. 4). While the concept of "nation" has never produced grand thinkers, it is "as inescapable as 'neurosis' in the individual, with much the same essential ambiguity attaching to it, a similar built-up capacity for descent into dementia, rooted in the dilemmas of helplessness thrust upon most of the world [...] and largely incurable" (p. 5). Thus, the neurological terms in which Anderson (1991) sets up the discussion provide a terrain to regard nationalism as an anomaly.

Anderson (1991) also offers a definition of the nation. The **nation** is "an imagined political community – imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (p. 6). It is *imagined* – "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 6). It is *limited* – "because even the largest of them (...) has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations" (p. 7). It is *sovereign* – "because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm" and it is a *community* – "because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that might prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p. 7). Nationalism "is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness, it *invents* nations where they do not exist" (p. 6). As Beiner (2003) also argues: "Nationalism [...] is the

'ideologization' of nationality. Nationality is more or less a given. [...] *Nationalism* makes it an ideological duty to affirm with all your heart this given" (p. 127).

According to Anderson (1991), two other types of communities were imagined in the same way we imagine the nation today: the religious community and the dynastic realm. Both of them were then, "taken-for-granted frames of reference, very much as nationality is today" (p. 12). While the sacred languages and the holy texts made religious communities possible to be imagined, the political system we have or imagine nowadays is a response to the dynastic structures that preceded it. Yet, Anderson (1991) emphasizes:

It would be short-sighted, however, to think of the imagined communities of nations as simply growing out of and replacing religious communities and dynastic realms. Beneath the decline of sacred communities, languages and lineages, a fundamental change was taking place in modes of apprehending the world, which more than anything else, made it possible to *'think' the nation*. (p. 22, our emphasis)

Anderson's (1991) major claim is that nations are *imagined* or *thought* and also that a wide range of vehicles are at the core of all these imagined identities. By means of assimilating these vehicles, people become imbued with allegiances and affects.

Ernest Renan (1997) also considers the categories that are at the basis of constituting the nation. While nations are born from violence, both memory and forgetting become thus crucial for a nation to continue to exist. The guiding principle constituting the nation is not any of, as many would expect, the race, the language, the

religion, the community of interests or the geography. According to Renan (1997) the nation is thus based on a grand solidarity. Renan (1997) argues:

Une nation est une âme, un principe spirituel. Deux choses qui, à vrai dire, n'en font qu'une, constituent cette âme, ce principe spirituel. L'une est dans le passé, l'autre dans le présent. L'une est la possession en commun d'un riche legs de souvenirs; l'autre est le consentement actuel, le désir de vivre ensemble, la volonté de continuer à faire valoir l'héritage qu'on a reçu indivis. (p. 18)

Jeremy Jennings (2000) argues that Renan's lecture best illustrates the French perspective on the theory of the nation, "where, with the emphasis placed on the individual will of the citizen, the nation is defined as a 'daily plebiscite', 'un plébiscite de tous les jours'" (p. 577). In the French perspective, nation, citizenship and republican tradition are intertwined. The ideas derived from the French republican model show us not only the grandeur of the concept of nation, but also its limits.

Both Anderson (1991) and Renan (1997) argue that the nation is based on commonly shared mythologies, deep solidarity and that belonging to the nation is reflected in people's actions as they have a strong sense of duty towards it which they cannot experience towards other social organizations. In this regard, Anderson's (1991) example that people choose to go to war in the name of their nation while they are less prone to do that for organizations such as Amnesty International or the International Monetary Fund is famous, as it also speaks for how people feel deeply attached to the nation and less attached to international or global interests.

Ulf Hetedoft and Mette Hjort (2002) also discuss the concept of the "nation":

In such terms, national belonging follows from neither nature nor culture in any simple forms – though this is how it is often experienced and more often discursivized – but is the result of complex social and historical processes whereby the political, sovereign communities that we know as nation-states reinvent themselves as prepolitical, simplistic and “ethnic”, partly in the mirror of selective histories of glory, heroism and destiny, partly by drawing on anthropological paradigms of kinship, blood and territorial rootedness. (p. xii)

Hetedoft and Hjort (2002) thus argue along Andersonian lines that national belonging is premised on a shared sense of history, a common national destiny as well as takes the “territory” and its limits as the fundamental unit of analysis to delimitate the confines of the nation. In addition, they comment:

In these communities, therefore, it requires more than just legal citizenship really to belong and therefore to be a true native with a genuine and universally recognized nationality. Features and images of the political (civic) and the prepolitical (ethnic) community must merge for a nation-state to be experienced and recognized as the authentic, cultural home of any individual living inside or outside its political given borders. (p. xiii)

While Hetedoft and Hjort (2002) discuss that legal citizenship is not sufficient to “belong” genuinely to these formations, Charland (1987) argues that the concepts of “nation”, as well as “people” are rhetorical constructions, from which it follows that people manifest their belonging and attachments rhetorically. Peoples have national heroes, national flags, national symbols, national territories, national pride, national ideals, national sports, national dishes, and so on and so forth. One could argue there are

even have national seasons (see winter for Canadians, though Russians could claim it too). All these lead to national rhetoric-s. All these make people *belong* to *nations*.

Not the same can be said about the post-nation. We argue that not only are there no symbols similar to those that enable people to belong to the nation, but that the means to *belong* to the *post-nation* are not as consistent. Consequently the post-nation is not constituted similarly to the nation. A short account of what is meant by “belonging” and “constitution” will help us clarify this claim.

➤ Belonging and Constitution: What constitutes “Home”?

Hetedoft and Hjort (2002) argue:

At first blush, the concept of “home” and “belonging” are as innocuous as they are semantically interdependent. Our home is where we belong, territorially, where loved ones reside, where we can identify our roots and where we long to return when we are elsewhere in the world. (p. vii)

“Belonging” is a concept “replete with organicist meanings and romantic images”; “it is a foundational, existential ‘thick’ notion” (p. vii). As it accounts for feelings of “homeness”, complete with “homesickness” it is also a factor in determining identity, “an elusive, but still real psychological state of being in sync with oneself under given external conditions” (p. vii). When “home” is within one’s national boundaries, a particular rhetoric of identification emerges. As Charland (1987) argued that nations are built on mythologies, common heroes and commonly shared stories, to identify the “nation” with “home” means to accept that one belongs to the nation in the same way that

one feels at home. However, it is not a simple matter if “at home” and “in one’s nation” do not coincide.

Hetedoft and Hjort (2002) argue that “home” and “belonging” point more to affect than to cognitive types of concepts, as “*home* is where we feel we belong” (p. vii).

They argue:

...we feel we belong to our culture, because it constitutes a home of natural embeddedness and unthinking attachment – “familiarity” *tout court*. Somehow it is beyond the grasp of analytic understanding, defies rationality, and has to be accepted for what it is. There is something alluringly attractive about this reference to the “banality” of belonging, and it does have its merits. (p. xi)

Yet, what happens when belonging is no longer this simple? And this is usually the case when a cultural and ethnic home does not match with the objective assumption of membership, for instance in a situation where “being” in one place does not match with “longing” for another.

Hetedoft and Hjort (2002) claim that “national attachment and identity, in whatever form, are inconceivable and inexplicable without recourse to a certain measure of irrationality, emotionality, sentiment and unselfish dedication” (p. xi). In the first chapter the framework of reflective nostalgia served to underline how Italian-Canadians manifested emotional ties with regard to Italy, the place they left. It was an accurate conceptual framework to explain the mismatch first experienced by Italian-Canadians at the beginning of their immigration to Montreal, and which they continued to experience later, with the arrival of the new immigrant waves until the late ‘60s. “Reflective nostalgia” explains how people fill in this gap of living in one place and longing for

another, while constituting their “home” under new objective circumstances with membership in a new society. Places such as Café Italia emerge from such conditions and they feature an Italian-Canadian mythology.

In the previous chapter, we argued that as the Italian-Canadian community from Montreal longed for various “centers” of affection located in Italy, in an attempt to re-create common and familiar mythologies, heroes, and shared stories, they became diasporic. With the framework of “restorative nostalgia”, we began to explain how the Italian-Canadian community evolved from simply longing for Italy, to ascertaining its status under the new objective circumstances. “Restorative nostalgia” takes longing to a different scale and in the process, offers “objects” of attachment in which past, present and future are all contained. The da Vinci center is one such example. The building was a different type of object of attachment compared to those that reflected Italian-Canadian-ness before, as it addresses an invitation to others to participate and acknowledge the Italian-Canadian culture while at the same time providing the public with more than a representation of their culture. Restorative nostalgia thus allows for the creation of subjecthood and citizenry and specifically allowed Italian-Canadians to constitute a distinct identity.

In chapter two, we argued that as public architecture is constitutive of subjects, the Leonardo da Vinci building gave Italian-Canadians from Montreal a constitutive object of attachment. The type of discourse that this building allowed for made it possible for the Italian-Canadian subjects from Montreal to engage with the building as citizens. As we began to argue in chapter three, Italian-Canadians practice a type of “dissagregated/enhanced citizenship”, as they experience multiple attachments. They are

attached to Italy, though they might have never traveled there, to Québec, as their parents and grandparents have been living in Québec for generations, and to Canada, as coming to Canada was the fundamental project that immigrant elders had in mind when they decided to contribute to a better life for their future generations. They are comfortable performing these multiple identities. Canadian-Italian citizens they do not long any more for a land some have never known. Therefore, Italian-Canadians find themselves in the situation described by Hetedoft and Hjort (2002); they “may feel they have several belongings, several places and cultures they belong to and that determine their identity as multiple, nested, situational, or fluid” (p. ix).

Italian-Canadians are not as nostalgic in the sense in which the literature on belonging discusses mismatches between the identity that one performs and the statutory identity of a new place to which an identity status is ascribed. In other words, they are not diasporic. Consequently, what lies at the constitution of this comfort zone? To be able to answer this question, the intersection of belonging and locality needs a new rhetorical form to characterize this situation: the post-national identification motive outlines this change in how locality and belonging occur in this context. Below, we will introduce these terms complete with the concepts of “transformation” and “constitution” to help us clarify the emergence of a new rhetorical form to explain the identity claims of “post-national” Italian-Canadians.

➤ Belonging, Locality and Transformation:

In writing about the Western nation “as an obscure and ubiquitous form of living in the *locality* of culture”, Bhabha (1994) defines “locality”, in a sense that allows us to

better explain our own views of the concept of “belonging” (p. 140, author’s emphasis).

He says:

This locality is more *around* temporality than *about* historicity: a form of living that is more complex than “community”; more symbolic than “society”; more connotative than “country”; less patriotic than *patrie*; more rhetorical than the reason of State; more mythological than ideology; less homogenous than hegemony; less centered than citizen; more collective than “the subject”; more psychic than civility... (p. 140)

As both “belonging” and “locality” feature hazy conceptual boundaries, one or another could easily take the grammatical position of the subject in the above quote. However, if one associates, “belonging” to “locality”, theoretical debates become even more complex, involving binaries like local-global, or place-space, to which this study might respond, though indirectly. We shall employ the term “belonging” loosely, just like Bhabha (1994) uses “locality”, in order to benefit from its degree of openness, crucial to outlining the concept of the post-nation. In addition, we argue that Bhabha’s (1994) style to define the concept of “locality” points to a process that Burke (1950) explains to be the search for the best term, against which another term becomes meaningful. Burke’s (1950) theory of transformation explains how this search needs to occur.

When Burke (1950) discusses the concept of “transformation” he is looking for a guiding principle that allows the analysis of images standing for the same motive. For instance, murder and suicide can become convertible as dialectically, they stand for the same motive. He argues: “you need to look for *a motive that can serve as ground for both these choices*, a motive that, while not being exactly either one or the other, can

ambiguously contain them both” (p. 10, author’s emphasis). A term that serves as a ground for two terms, arguably, transcends them both. Similarly, different kinds of images perform a similar kind of function.

We believe that the terms of “belonging” and “locality” have a similar core, as “belonging” involves longing for a place and “locality” involves a certain familiarity with a place. In addition, “belonging” also assumes feelings of attachment to a certain “locality”, which could be a “locality” referring to an actual locale, but also of a more abstract, cultural type. When “belonging”, understood as a process is finally achieved, people in fact *constitute* their identities in the specific place or locale. Therefore, our argument is that the term “constitution” is the overarching concept that contains both terms of “belonging” and “locality”.

According to Burke (1969) constitution is a term directly emerging from the notion of substance (“sub-stance”, where “stance” derives from the German *stellen*, i.e. “to place”, and results into “substance” meaning “that stands beneath”). An identification motive needs “to stand beneath” to lead to a constitutive identity. If national identities are constituted via commonly shared mythologies and a strong sense of a common history, post-national identities are less discussed in terms of how people arrive to be constituted as post-national subjects. Italian-Canadians are neither a nation, nor are they diasporic any longer. They need another identification motive to explain their type of belonging. To understand why the terminology of the post-nation would provide them with one such motive, we will proceed with a brief review of the concept of “post-nation”, as covered in a variety of literatures ranging from sociology to political science.

➤ Post-national identity frameworks

Benedict Anderson discusses the concept of the “nation” from a perspective that does not include those who live away from homeland. Also he does not consider formations beyond the nation. Anderson’s last chapters are still about the nation and its “isms”. In other words, this text speaks only to those who feel they belong to nations. Yet, in our global world people either do not belong to any nation any more, arguably becoming alienated and rootless as a consequence of increasing circulation or, according to a more optimistic view, they develop further attachments for forms of political organization that go beyond the nation. This section covers several concepts outlining the phenomenon of belonging beyond the nation in order to arrive to explain the identification motive of Italian-Canadians abroad.

Along the above mentioned lines, Boym (2001) also argues:

Left out of Anderson’s account are the stories of internal and external exiles, misfits and mixed bloods who offer digressions and detours from the mythical biography of the nation. The development of their consciousness does not begin at home, but at the moment of leaving home. (p.255)

Even if it is left out of mythical accounts of the nation, diaspora as a concept does not account for the multiple attachments people develop abroad either. We align our claims with Soysal (2002) who challenges the concept of “diaspora” because of its insistence on models that privilege the nation-state. She asserts that “the axiomatic primacy granted to nations and nation-states as units of analysis is difficult to hold in the face of contemporary changes in the geography and practice of citizenship and belonging” (p. 138).

Several thinkers (Habermas, 2000; Appadurai, 1993; Sassen, 1996; Calhoun, 2002; Pollock, 2000; Delanty, 2002; Cheah and Robbins, 1998) account for belonging to post-national formations. While this is not the place to detail their frameworks, it is important to identify the common elements they share.

All these literatures point to the fact that “we need to think ourselves beyond the nation”, Appadurai (1993, p. 10)^x. Similarly, Jürgen Habermas (2001) invites a response to the same question when he observes that:

The phenomena of the territorial state, the nation, and a popular economy constituted within national borders formed a historical constellation in which the democratic process assumed a more or less convincing institutional form. And the idea that one part of a democratic society is capable of a reflexive intervention into society, as a whole has, until now, been realized only in the context of nation-states. Today, developments summarized under the term “globalization”^{xi} have put this entire constellation into question. (p. 60)

“Constitutional patriotism”, the concept that Habermas (2001) proposes in response to such challenges, would open the territory towards the consideration of an alternative type of loyalty to the nation-state project, which would account for larger types of civic solidarity. Thus, “constitutional patriotism” becomes the defining principle of the post-national constellation. The key question Habermas (2001) raises is aimed at what happens when the nation-state proves to be insufficient as far as accounting for the allegiances people develop under the present circumstances of circulation?

Developments that can be summarized under the phenomenon of “globalization” prompt us to find answers to this question. Habermas (2001) identifies what he terms as a

“paradoxical situation” stemming from that “we perceive the trends toward a postnational constellation as a list of political challenges only because we still describe them from the familiar perspective of the nation-state” (p. 61). The post-national constellation needs to surpass this “tail” of the nation. Similarly, Sassen (1996), whose understanding of “economic citizenship” was thoroughly outlined in the previous chapter, is troubled by the same difficulty of re-defining some concepts, citizenship for instance, in the context of globalization because they are inherently intertwined with the nation-state. “Economic citizenship” - a term outside the traditional lineage from which citizenship has been so far theorized - also entails the necessity to think beyond the nation-state mechanisms to account for sovereignty in the context of the new global realities. The “institution of citizenship” has always been discussed in the context of sovereignty and exclusive territoriality, which mark the specificity of the modern state (p. 32). Along these lines, she argues that “as the global economy has created new conditions, it may spur another phase in the evolution of the institution of citizenship”, and that “the institution and construct of citizenship are being destabilized” (p. 34). Both Habermas (2001) and Sassen (1996) signal the potential dangers to be triggered by globalization, among which political fragmentation that in Habermas’ formulation, would “breach in this façade of ‘the nation’”. These authors share a similar interest in what lies beyond the nation-state and the necessity to redefine the concepts traditionally associated with it. Even if such frameworks provide valuable models and a solid background, they do not respond to the question of belonging to the post-nation to which we intend to pay close attention. However, they address the difficulties in explaining adjectives like “post-national”.

“The term *postnational*, has several implications that can now be more closely examined”, argues Appadurai ^{xii} (1993, p. 15). By all means, despite the implications of the term “postnational”, Appadurai’s (1993) claim does not mean “the nation-state in its classical territorial Form is as yet out of business” (p. 16). He also notices that the term “post-national” is often used without comment, and this calls for attention especially if one wants to use it more than a “catchword of the moment” (p. 20). Pheng Cheah (1998) further investigates other similar buzzwords, including “globalisation”, “transnationalism” and “postnationalism” (p. 20).

“Postnational” is a problematic term since it is difficult to identify the core of any possible formation beyond the nation. Yet, just as rhetoric provides a way to account for identification and constitution, we contend that it can explain what lies at the core of the identification with the post-nation. In particular, we are able to highlight a new rhetorical form that emerges from the conditions of post-national belonging. This will be addressed below. Before doing so, however we need to briefly direct our attention to another framework built upon post-national attachments.

“Cosmopolitanism” attempts to provide a way to explain the type of belonging that occurs when people experience themselves on global terms. In addition, “cosmopolitanism” underlines the overall motive of identification beyond state frameworks and boundaries. In contrast with other above-listed frameworks, this concept has a long history. Cosmopolitanism has a wide scope and points to issues of transformation of rhetorical motives. Even so, it has its shortcomings especially in terms of its application. In the subsequent section, we will look at these in more detail.

➤ Cosmopolitanism: Ethical effects

Bruce Robbins (1998) argues:

Understood as a fundamental devotion to the interests of the humanity as a whole, cosmopolitanism has often seemed to claim universality by virtue of its independence, its detachment from the bonds, commitments and affiliations that constrain ordinary nation-state lives. It has seemed to be a luxuriously free-floating view from above. (p. 1)

As a philosophy rooted on the European soil, cosmopolitanism has been widely theorized as a reassertion of Greek or Enlightenment values of universalism, as much as an evident extension of the Kantian moral-political project of perpetual peace (Wood, 1998). Yet, Robbins (1998) argues that “situating cosmopolitanism means taking a risk” (p. 2). He claims: “until now, only the enemies of cosmopolitanism have been eager to situate it. Cosmopolitanism’s advocates, on the other hand, have most often felt obliged, to keep it un-located in order to preserve its sharp critical edge, as well as its privileges” (p. 2). However, located or un-located, there seems to be an agreement among several authors that even if they do not quite reflect an “ideal of detachment”, terms like “reality of (re)attachment”, “multiple attachment”, or “attachment at a distance” usually render the meaning of cosmopolitanism (p. 3). Cosmopolitanism also generally describes a “style of residence on earth” (in Pablo Neruda’s wording), by “repudiating a romantic localism of a certain portion of the left, which feels it must counter capitalist globalization with a strongly rooted and exclusive sort of belonging” (p. 3). With such a-priori-s as far as belonging and attachment, the concept of “cosmopolitanism” is a valuable concept for our project. However, together with Robbins (1998), we argue that “common humanity is

too weak a force to generate sufficient solidarity” (p. 4). The value of this framework lies in its fundamental utopian character. If one chooses to look at “utopia” as the force that leads and directs change, utopia becomes that thing without which “a map of the World is not worth even glancing at, as Oscar Wilde said. Yet its problems lie in the same utopian dream to be found at the core of the concept, where there are question marks as to the kind of international solidarity it would entail. From this last perspective, cosmopolitanism can be considered dangerously utopian. Thus, there are possibilities, as well as limitations of this concept as far as dealing with the constitution of identities beyond the national. Despite a capacity to fix it and therefore translate it into a workable framework outlining global solidarity, cosmopolitanism however has a wide range of rhetorical effects that are, or at least, should be incorporated in any democratic approach on the issue of migration or global circulation of people.

According to Jacques Derrida (2002), the main features of cosmopolitanism depend on whether “we can still make a legitimate distinction between the two forms of the metropolis – the City and the State” (p. 3). As outlined so far, the nation-state represents a modern, pervasive framework, which is at the core of how the role of the state is defined around the globe, with particular variations that are context-based. Cosmopolitanism, however, “has something to do either with all the cities or with all the states of the world” (p. 3). In addition, it entails “a renewal of the law” (p. 3). Consequently, Derrida (2002) argues that “a simple response to such a question” should not be anticipated.

Derrida (2002) also argues that the reinvention of the concept of “solidarity” lies at the core of the concept of cosmopolitanism. This translates into practices that include acts

such as providing refuge, regarding the immigrant as a neighbor, or inviting the other into one's culture. These are ethical values, yet their application as much as it is urgent from an ethical standpoint, is also difficult. Derrida (2002) argues:

In reviving the traditional meaning of an expression and in restoring a memorable heritage to its former dignity, we have been eager to propose simultaneously, beyond the old world, an original concept of hospitality, of the duty (*devoir*) of hospitality, and of the right (*droit*) to hospitality. What then should such a concept be? How might it be adapted to the pressing urgencies which summon and overwhelm us? How might it respond to unprecedented tragedies and injunctions which serve to constrain and hinder it? (p. 5)

Cosmopolitanism entails the ethics of hospitality and calls the citizens of the world to engage with it. The question then becomes "could the City, equipped with new rights and greater sovereignty, open up new horizons of possibility previously undreamt of by international state law?" (p. 8) However, Derrida (2002) also claims:

There is still a considerable gap separating the great and generous principles of the right to asylum inherited from the Enlightenment thinkers and from the French Revolution and, on the other hand, the historical reality or the effective implementation (*mise en oeuvre*) of these principles. (p. 11)

The demographic and economic interests lie at the heart of law-making and are consequently, as Derrida (2002) argues, "mean-minded" (p. 11). Cultivating an ethic of hospitality is thus not yet the job of the state that operates on a different rationale in the name of another type of ethics with practical ends in view.

Cosmopolitanism was practiced during particular historical circumstances when cities were major economic actors. For instance, in medieval Europe, Dante was welcome in Ravenna, at a time when he was banished from Florence during the cities war. Also the right to asylum and refuge still operates under international provisions. The language of hospitality has also biblical roots where Derrida's (2002) interpretation of St. Paul's words could read as follows: " 'foreigners' (*xenoi*) is also translated by guests (*hospites*); and 'metic' – but see also 'immigrants', for '*paroikoi*' - designates as much as the neighbor" (p. 19). Immanuel Kant also attempted, as previously mentioned, to formulate "the law of cosmopolitanism", that "would encompass universal hospitality *without limit*" (p. 20, author's emphasis). This law is at the heart of the condition for perpetual peace, the Kantian ideal. However, the "Great Law of Hospitality" that Derrida (2002) speaks to cannot be widely applied or instituted. Even Kant defined the "right of residence" as different from "the right of visitation" and also subdues hospitality to state sovereignty. In conclusion, Derrida (2002) argues that cosmopolitanism still represents an experiment. Though it needs an urgent response, it is limitless in terms of the reflection that it must cause but it has limits in terms of its practical ends.

So, we have come to a crux in terms of the debates around the conceptual frameworks that theorize belonging beyond the nation-state. The rhetoric-s of belonging beyond the nation-state become more pervasive as the limits of the nation-state are acknowledged. Certain philosophies that profess international solidarity, cosmopolitanism included, emerge with rhetorical consequences upon the large audience of "citizens of the world". Nation-state rhetoric-s are still "in business", as Appadurai (1993) notes. However, they face a decline and often a harsh critique.

Though certain theoretical frameworks provide a pertinent start to theorize the post-nation, they are less consistent in accounting for belonging to the post-nation. Part of the problem is that such frameworks do not deal with the constitutive identity elements of the post-nation. Their approach departs from the framework of the nation-state and from the statutory facts explaining attachment and belonging. Here, we argue that the particular cases that might lead to an overall theorization as to what constitutes post-national subjects and a post-national identity inspire a theorization along the above-mentioned lines. In particular, the concept of Italianità enabled the Italian-Canadian subjects from Montreal to perform an identity that is based on multiple attachments. This has consequently given rise to a new rhetorical form that accounts for how identities are constituted at a distance. The process was also possible due to the particularities of the Canadian case and its open-ness to terms other than strict nationalism. In addition, both the Canadian and the American cases are defined in terms of multi-nation state frameworks. A brief analysis of how national identities are defined across the Atlantic will help us understand how national identity rhetoric-s are formulated in this context. Moreover, they also point to how various communities of people define their identities in the context of these multi-nation states.

➤ Transatlantic images of belonging

Hetedoft and Hjort (2002) argue:

... no other state makes such a claim to “exceptionalism” and “manifest destiny” as the United States, and feelings of belonging to this country and its history and

myths of independence and conquest are obviously no less forceful and deep-seated than in other national contexts. (p. xiv)

In addition, “the home of the brave” presents itself as one, not many, which makes the authors juxtapose it to the view on national identities in Europe as follows:

In spite of the fact therefore, that, on the face of it, the United States seems to diverge radically from the ethnic, European blueprint of nation-states, the fact of the matter is rather that it has reworked and modernized the model in order to assimilate patriotic identity (homogeneity) to individualism and cultural pluralism, allowing different groups to seek out their own avenue toward American identity, exceptionalism, and pride, and thus to reconfigure forms of belonging as national, subnational and cosmopolitan at the same time. (p. xiv)

Consequently, “where in Europe political communities pose as prepolitical and ethnic, in the United States the situation is reversed” (p. xiv). “Hyphenated” American-ness is a plural form. However, “an American ‘nation-state’ genuinely based on civic, political principles would not be particularly tolerant or all-inclusive, but would draw borderlines between ‘us’ and ‘them’...” (p. xiv). Hetedoft and Hjort (2002) finally claim that the result is the same in both kinds of nation-states and in consequence, only transnational and globalizing processes point to a new type of identity formation.

Hall (2002) argues that “belonging needs to be re-imagined because the world has changed” (p. 53). As the nation-state is “hollowed out” by global forces, traditional national identities are less and less adequate. If in Europe, vicious circles of nationalism arise as a consequence of such changes, circumstances call for a different type of analysis in on the North American continent. He claims:

Basic mapping of the terrain to do with transatlantic images of belonging suggests [...] (that) much depends on drawing a distinction between two senses of transatlantic belonging: on the one side is membership in a transatlantic political entity, whether formal or informal; on the other sense is belonging to a society other than that of the nation-state in which one resides". (p. 53)

The central thesis Hall (2002) advances is that the concept of membership in a transatlantic political entity declined significantly in the modern world. He makes his claim by taking a brief look at the history of the American continent in the 18th century to conclude that what were formerly transatlantic structures of domination (British or Spanish, in the case of Central and Latin America) became "national, nationalist and international" types of belonging rather than "transatlantic" belonging.

For the particularities of the Canadian case, Hall (2002) argues that the decline of transatlantic belonging can be made even more forcefully. He argues:

This point can be made with more force and sophistication by considering the history of Canada certainly from Confederation in 1867 to the First World War and perhaps even to the 1960s. Here was a country with a state but without a national identity of its own. This is not to say there was no sense of identity in Canada. (p. 55)

The Québécois identity that according to Hall (2002) is "inward-looking" is different than the identity of the rest of Canada, where transatlantic belongings were quite strong at the beginning of the eighteenth century. "Imperial connections" first controlled the Canadian economy, as shipping lines and railways depended on capital from London. Secondly, they allowed the metropolitan aristocracy access to job opportunities as well as provided

a “remarkable social mobility for colonials within the metropolis” (p. 55). Moreover, Hall (2002) follows on examples that date to the 1960’s as he claims that the historical patterns that led to these circumstances would not come to an end for a long time. Nonetheless, the central point of this account is that the era of transatlantic belongings is finally over in Canada. Canadian identity is now not conceived along these lines. Instead it is “sophisticated, open, tolerant” allowing for multiple emotional attachments to be expressed (p. 56).

In addition, even if we need to be careful about stating that transatlantic images of belonging are strong, some of them, in fact might reflect, as Hall (2002) argues, a “primordial”, distinct American identity. For example, the “spaghetti with meatballs” image reflects a distinctively Italian-American culture rather than an Italian one. The key question then becomes not whether communities living outside nation-states become sufficiently strong to express multiple attachments, but whether they become connected with each other, thus shaping the new society in which they live. The key question that needs to be then raised in this context is “how much of these ideas of post-nationalism and multiculturalism should we be willing to accept”? (p. 60) In consequence, the question addresses the extent of inclusion and acceptance. Also, this is a question about identity and becoming. The following story offers an interesting entry point into this subject-matter of attachments. The title it bears also sums up the fundamental issue of a distinct Italian-Canadian identity formation process.

➤ “Where We Are and Who We Want to Be?”

Ulf Hannertz (2002) tells a story about Nelson Mandela in an article with the above-mentioned name. This story speaks indirectly to how certain identities, including

the diasporic become accepted as natural, in the same way that national identities are regarded as givens. It is in the sense that the Italian-Canadian diasporic identity has become something else and that Italian-Canadians do not speak about their identity by contrasting who they are with who they were prior to immigration. They naturally consider themselves to be Canadian. Yet, while this speaks to the extent of their attachments to Canadian nation, we cannot fully argue that they accept the Canadian national identity as a given, since they perform multiple identities. Consequently, it is fair to say that Italian-Canadians have become post-national subjects.

Hannertz (2002) recounts how: *“In his autobiography Long Way to Freedom, Nelson Mandela describes life in the house that was his home for a little more than a year, in the Victor Verster prison compound in Pearl, in the Cape wine district, a halfway house before his final release. It was a comfortable whitewashed cottage with a swimming pool in the backyard. Mandela was provided with a cook, who, although he was Warrant Officer Swart, was certainly white. Swart prepared breakfast, lunch and dinner for Mandela, gourmet meals when there were visitors and in between would bake bread, brew ginger beer and make dishes that Mandela asked for because he remembered them from childhood”*. (p. 217)

A few years later, when Mandela had a chance to build his own house in his childhood village, he built it according to the floor plan of the Victor Verster Prison camp. This was the first comfortable house that he ever had, comments Hannertz (2002), who concludes: *“There seemed to be a clash between who Mandela was, or ought to be, and his sense of where he felt at home”* (p. 218).

In our view, this was the first comfortable house he ever had and this is what matters, regardless of whether his comfort zone was achieved in a house that reproduced a former detention place. On the one hand, liberty is a state of mind and does not need a particular location. On the other hand, one does not need a detention house to feel under arrest. And while many who were born elsewhere might have felt fundamentally trapped or imprisoned in Canada, and it might have been a “house” that felt like a prison for Italian immigrants at early stages of immigration, yet this has been long forgotten. Italian-Canadians, like Mandela, arrived to be comfortable in their new “homes”. It is pointless to question the type of “house” in which a comfort with one’s identity occurred. What happens in the end and what really matters is that people achieve the comfort zone that helps them say: “I am home here”, and then rest. By this we mean that the past is history in the most literal sense. People change, houses change and nations need to follow.

III. Italianità and the Constitution of the Post-National Italian-Canadian Subjects

Let us further build on Burke’s (1950) framework on imagery and transformation, both introduced at earlier stages in this study. The concept of “transformation” renders the evolution of the Italian-Canadian identity easier to understand.

Burke (1950) argues that in a variety of writings, (such as Milton’s story on Samson where ultimately Samson is identified with God or Coleridge’s texts where murder and suicide become interchangeable) we encounter a series of paired images where what matters is not the imagery in and of itself, but the concept of “transformation” that lies at the heart of all imagery. Yet, this is not to say that imagery

does not have its own force. Burke (1950) further argues: “we do not want to ignore the import of the imagery in its own right, first as needed for characterizing a given motivational recipe, and second for its rhetorical effect upon an audience” (p. 17). Several images of Italianità were evoked in this thesis. We will briefly analyze their rhetorical effects upon the audiences they address.

The image of “spaghetti with meatballs” introduced the debates over the concept of Italianità or Italianicity in North America. It visually outlined how Italianicity is translated into a new context and how a new type of identity that is altogether different than the “original” Italian identity emerged. We did not dismiss the value of this image and its strong effects on the Italian-American as well as on a more general North-American audience. However, we rejected the idea that identities at a distance are constituted that simply. The image of “spaghetti with meatballs” is a trace of a certain cultural synthesis, yet points to just one aspect of a deeper and more complex process. Consequently, this image needs to be explained within a framework of rhetorical transformations to see where its power lies and the type of identity constitution it contributes to.

In addition to the above, we pursued a second argument that emphasized how Canada and specifically Montreal exhibit particular examples of identity formation in North America. While the immigrant culture in United States points to a general understanding of the concept of integration (the melting pot assimilation pattern), Canada appears as a mosaic culture. Particularly, Montreal is *par excellence* the epitome of Canadian bilingualism and at the same time a large metropolis, welcoming immigrants from a variety of other cultures, who thus become integrated differently than in a

“melting pot”. The mosaic allows them to pick and choose what suits them first and only next worry about incorporating aspects of a new identity into their lifestyles.

In terms of Italian-Canadian manifestations in Montreal, we witnessed the change of tropes associated with “longing” for the homeland, into tropes showing the immersion into the new environment. Today Italian-Canadians plant their own tomatoes in their back garden, and while having a garden reminds them of Italy, they do not long for it. Instead, they adapted to Canadian conditions. Such attitudes show how values like endurance, strength, power, and adaptation have been slowly built into the Italian-Canadian imagery, leading to a clear identity transformation from “longing” to “belonging” to the new land.

At the same time, as new immigrant waves arrive and familial ties are remade, immigrants as well as first and second generation Italian-Canadians start feeling comfortable with whom they had become in Canada. They reach this comfort zone, in part because their families are complete, which also meant that their lives in the “adoptive” countries can begin to feel whole. The presence of a support network also results in them not needing to define themselves only in terms of assimilation to either of the mainstream cultures in Montreal: Anglophone and Francophone. They were distinctively Italian-Canadians.

Italian-Canadians began to make identity claims in Montreal. Such a moment in the evolution of their community is reflected during the St. Leonard crisis over the language of education of their children, during the late 1960s. We suggested that making identity claims led to the stage of “institutional completeness” (D’Andrea, 1990). This

moment prefigured the performance of Italian-Canadian citizenship at all levels, which was later expressed by the Leonardo da Vinci center.

Images of Italian-Canadian citizenry are offered via the center, which allows the community to manifest their multiple attachments as they feel they *belong* to Canadian culture, as well as to their Italian roots. Throughout the present study we argued that this type of citizenry fits with Benhabib's (2004) concept of "dissagregated citizenship". The concept of "dissagregated citizenship" also goes beyond the standard definitions of the concept of citizenship, including its Canadian variations. The LdV center allows for the Italian-Canadian performance of citizenry to occur and consequently, contributes to the emergence of a constitutive Italian-Canadian identity.

If up to a certain point throughout their evolution Italian-Canadians were a diasporic community, somewhere on the way they ceased to be so. One cannot pinpoint a single moment or a specific event that led to this change. Their narratives, tropes, imagery, but more importantly, their identity was transformed. The Leonardo da Vinci center makes this transformation evident.

IV. The Leonardo da Vinci center: the Italian-Canadian oxymoron

According to Burke (1950) a figure that combines "contradictory elements with a single expression" is the oxymoron. The situation created by the Leonardo da Vinci center presents us with several such oxymorons which unveil the identification process of Italian-Canadians in Montreal.

First, we stated that the Leonardo da Vinci center reinforces as a restorative nostalgia tale. Taking "longing" to another level and "restoring" it redeems the feeling of

loss – the loss of an imaginary center or a home – and makes it acceptable by transforming the feeling of nostalgia. “To restore nostalgia” is the first oxymoron as nostalgia is by definition a type of feeling deemed negative. Nostalgias are usually negated or removed, but not restored. Thus, this is also the first indication that the Italian-Canadian identity in Montreal is being accepted as a given, the same way national identities are regarded as given.

Restoring nostalgia by means of a building triggered several consequences. The building has to speak to both, past and present, as well as present and future transcends the temporality of Italian-Canadian-ness. By allowing old subjects to transform into new citizens, the Leonardo da Vinci building stopped to contain an identity paradox – of people who long for one place and live in another, once regarded as the epitome of the diasporic condition. It created new citizens, Italian-Canadians that manifest naturally several allegiances simultaneously and practice a “dissagregated” type of citizenship. In terms of the architectural form we argued that a certain aesthetic – both modern and post-modern – accompanied the institutionalization of the Italian-Canadian subject-hood.

Unlike the Italian-American identity, the Italian-Canadian identity is thus not just a hyphen. It is a performed identity at whose core lie constitutive aspects. These people have their own stories, attachments, objects of affection, experience of the past with nostalgias and longings, a history in the specific context of Montreal, Canada and memories about Italy gained from their elders. In a nutshell, the Italian-Canadian community from this city has enough potential to claim a well-defined, fully-articulated identity. Only communities of people living in one nation can assume similar identity

symbols. Our next oxymoron is the direct result of the situation described above. Italian-Canadians in Montreal are not a nation, yet they are far from needing one.

The terminology of the post-nation presents us with an oxymoron that can characterize such occurrences. The post-nation transcends the nation itself, rhetorically speaking by means of a natural process of transformation of immigrant diasporic communities that step into the comfort zone of post-nationality. This type of transcendence leads to the rise of new rhetorical motives of identification. Within the post-national motive, people can simply belong to multiple communities without further qualifications. In the Italian-Canadian case, the shift from one identity to another occurs without the need for further clarification. At the same time, Canada itself provides a framework where the experience of belonging to more than one community is deemed acceptable and natural. The United States is the other example of a multi-nation state. Hetedeoft and Hjort (2003) argue that immigrants to this country have to find a way towards becoming American. In Canada one does not need to constantly assert one's Canadian identity and can perform multiple attachments.

In the first chapter we recounted some of the stories of Italian immigrants at the beginning of Italian immigration to Canada. Numerous studies discuss the Italian experience at its beginnings, in Montreal. There is no study about the immigrants' descendants and about their current identifications. Therefore, we can not present and interpret *their* stories. Yet, there are many such stories that need to be approached ethnographically in Italian studies as these stories are very different from those the early Italian immigrants would tell. Such ethnographies would reveal that the newer generations shift from an Italian to a Canadian identity effortlessly. As the descendants of

the Italian immigrants also represent present and future generations of Canadians, we argue that they are in the process of constituting Canada as a post-nation.

V. Constituting Canada as a post-nation :

Despite the fact that Italian-Canadians have a long history in Montreal, they arrived at post-national subject-hood after several waves of immigration and generations of Italian-Canadians. Canada is regarded as a “chosen destination” by many immigrants as it represents an alternative from many points of view, which vary according to the different reasons to emigrate. The truth of the matter is that it also presents us with an alternative way to formulate a national identity, even among multi-nation states. Is Canada a special case?

Sassen (1996) explores the questions of territoriality as they are no longer connected exclusively to the nation:

Even when nation-states with exclusive territoriality and sovereignty were beginning to emerge, other forms might have become effective alternatives – for example the Italian city-states and the Hanseatic League in northern Europe – and the formation of and claims by central states were widely contested. (p. 3)

Thus, qualifications like “post-national” should not be regarded as completely new as political territorial organizations that went beyond the territoriality of nations preceded it. In addition, Sassen (1996) also outlines that “there have long been problems with the exclusive territoriality of the modern state” (p. 4). According to her study, economic globalization significantly contributes to the re-fashioning of national territoriality.

Despite this claim, she still asks: “does this mean that sovereignty or territoriality are less important features in the international system?” (p. 5).

It is clear that “together with sovereignty and exclusive territoriality, citizenship marks the specificity of the modern state” (p. 32). Canada is also a modern multi-nation state with specific identity claims issues that we will soon outline. Territoriality and sovereignty are also important. The Canadian nation and citizenship have been shaped by similar elements as anywhere, which Sassen (1996) believes to be: “a city culture, secularization, the decline of particularistic venues, the emergence of the idea of public realm, the erosion of particularistic commitments, and the administrative framework of the nation-state” (p. 32). Yet, these contexts are always different for each country and if particular contexts contribute to the emergence of particular models of both citizenship and national identity, several particularities of the Canadian case need to be reiterated.

➤ Canada: A Multicultural Place

Fred Dallmayr (1996) argues:

In recent American discussions, the issue of “multiculturalism” (under this label) is often styled as a debate over curricular structure and reform, with defenders of mainstream education arrayed against advocates of “postmodern” pluralism or heterogeneity. Approached from this angle, the issue of largely (or only) of academic interest [...]. In a more direct and tangible fashion, the issue penetrates into contemporary ethical-political and constitutional theory in America – but again in a manner that rarely touches on the deeper level of cultural paradigms and existential life forms. (p. 280)

Multicultural pressures are profoundly felt in Canada. As Dallmayr (1996) continues, “there are several aspects that render the Canadian case noteworthy and instructive” (p. 280). One aspect is the high political saliency of cultural pluralism and diversity. More than elsewhere (in the West), multiculturalism has been the topic of intense public and constitutional debates. This debate also indicates that Canada has never fully subscribed to the assimilationist or “melting pot” ideal of her neighbor.

In addition, Dallmayr (1996) outlines the consequences of a 1967 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism report which focused on the rights of citizenship and also on the issues of cultural diversity. Four years later, a governmental policy that promised both equal rights as well as the protection of the distinct life of the minorities was instituted. A decade later, the Canadian “Charter of Rights and Freedoms” addressed the preservation of the multicultural heritage of all Canadians. To complement such provisions and official documents, multiculturalism was constantly under the scrutiny of the Canadian intellectual elite as well as of public opinion at large. Despite such measures, Taylor (1993) argues that recognition is still an issue in Canada.

According to Taylor (1993) the concept of “equal and autonomous citizens” is a myth (p. 188). Instead of focusing on individuals, Taylor (1993) is concerned with addressing this issue as it regards communities and their performance of multi-cultural identity, complete with the derived rights. Speaking about “recognition”, Taylor (1993) argues:

The recognition I am talking about here is the acceptance of ourselves by others in our identity. We may be ‘recognized’ in other senses – for example, as equal

citizens, or rights bearers, or as being entitled to this or that service – and still be unrecognized in our identity. In other words, what is important to us in defining who we are may be quite unacknowledged, may be even condemned in the public life of our society, even though all our citizen rights are firmly guaranteed. (p. 190)

In addition, he claims that “no modern nation really lives up integrally to this standard. And many people have concluded that the inequalities in contemporary societies are so great as to disqualify them as genuine democracies” (p. 189). In conclusion, Taylor (1993) states that when it comes to practicing a “fair hearing” of claims made by all communities, “Canada is a tragic case in point” (p. 190).

➤ Canada: a tragic case?

If compared to how other nations define their identities based on commonly shared mythologies for centuries, excluding the others, including the migrants from this mythology, Canada then has a “thin” national identity. Yet, not all national identities need to meet the same premises. Besides, current phenomena including globalization and worldwide circulation of people call civil societies around the globe to question the above presented framework of national identity. There is no room left for “essential” identities as very few could still claim an “essential” type of identity even in the most “thickly” defined nations.

The “post-nation” might be an elusive political concept, yet it is the best one available to circumscribe a reality that is not entirely national. Canada presents us with a

multitude of questions indicative of the transformative aspects of identity being acknowledged and regarded as natural. If these were any different, it would be tragic.

Taylor (1993) argues:

To build a country for everyone, Canada would have to allow for second-level or 'deep' diversity, in which a plurality of ways of belonging would also be acknowledged and accepted. Someone of, say, Italian extraction in Toronto or Ukrainian extraction in Edmonton might indeed feel Canadian as a bearer of individual rights in a multicultural mosaic. (p. 183)

"Deep" diversity is one term that could also account for the further enhancement of Canadian national identity. As Taylor (1993) argues, "deep" diversity would arguably allow the Italian in Toronto or the Ukrainian in Edmonton to feel "more" Canadian. We believe that the generations following communities of immigrants increasingly experience a deeper attachment to Canada, while also performing this type of "deep diversity" in order to maintain their identity of origin. At the same time, Taylor (1993) also asks:

Is this utopian? Could people ever come to see their country in this way? Could they even find it exciting and an object of pride that they belong to a country that allows deep diversity? Pessimists say no, because they do not see how much such a country could have a sense of unity. The model of citizenship has to be uniform or, or people would have no sense of belonging to the same polity. (p. 183)

At a practical level, this expectation might be utopian. Metaphorically speaking, Canada can be a "promised land", with all the promises of that concept met. In this context, we need only remember Taylor's (1993) comparison of Canada to Canaan. We explained

here how the process of identity transformation that shifts into the post-national occurred in the case of the Italian-Canadian community of Montreal. This example might bring us to consider that other communities might evolve in a similar manner. Rather than analyzing this process from the standpoint of policies or statutory frameworks, we can gain valuable knowledge on the formation of identities abroad by looking at the evolution of former immigrant experiences, as our case proved. Thus, we strongly believe that Canada is far from representing a tragic case with regard to national identity formulations; yet its national identity increasingly needs to include a hyphen, to be “post-national”.

Leonardo da Montreal: Conclusions

*“Rhetoric is concerned with the state
of Babel after the Fall.”*

Kenneth Burke, 1950, p. 23

In this study we have argued, that while the diasporic motive of belonging underlined the Italian-Canadian experience in Montreal, a change can be noticed in terms of the rhetorical form of identification for communities that live away from their homeland, and have entered a post-national stage.

We started by building on Boym’s (2001) framework of nostalgia and analyzed how the narratives of Italian immigration to Montreal occurring during four stages of immigration – sojourning, settling, the colony stage and the community stage – resonated with reflective nostalgia. Reflective nostalgia builds on the past and imports elements from the past in the present, attempting to recreate the atmosphere of “home”. The “home” that immigrants make for themselves, has something uncanny, as the feeling of belonging is constantly incomplete. We argued that the Leonardo da Vinci story does not feature the same type of nostalgia. We also outlined that this story is a representative anecdote, in the sense Burke (1969) describes the concept, as it features unique elements with regards to how the Italian-Canadian community identifies in Montreal nowadays. In addition, we observed that the story of the da Vinci center underscores a change in terms of the Italians’ nostalgic feelings as they are now restoring the past and make it available via a building, presenting it in terms of what it means for the present and the future of

their community. The community does not necessarily focus on the past itself but on how it is passed from one generation of Italian-Canadians to another. The Leonardo da Vinci story is consequently a restorative nostalgia tale.

Building on Smith's (1990) claims that architecture is constitutive of identities, we argued that the Leonardo da Vinci center constitutes Italian-Canadian subjects. In addition, as we discussed the rhetorical situations created by public architectural objects, we also argued that the building allows Italian-Canadians to express their citizenry by means of the practices the center allows for. In addition, the Leonardo da Vinci project addresses an open invitation to multiple publics to engage with Italian-Canadian culture.

Consequently, Italian-Canadians do not practice a classic model of citizenship within the walls of the da Vinci center. Moreover, the types of practices in which they engage do not suit the present conceptualizations of "citizenship". In contrast, their citizenry is enhanced and "dissagregated", as in Benhabib's (2001) formulation of the concept, in that the "dissagregated" type extends the concept of citizenship allowing multiple allegiances to enter the performance of citizenry. Drawing on this argument, we finally claimed that Italian-Canadian subjects/citizens do not share a similar approach in their perception of an "imaginary center" as in the past, which was marked by a diasporic type of identification for the Italian-Canadian community. Instead, the community reached a new stage that calls for a different theory as to how identification occurs. Consequently, the Italian-Canadian community raises the importance of identifying a new motive to account for the experience of belonging for communities that live away from their homeland.

The concept of the “nation” assumes one’s national identity as a given. Even multi-nation states do not fundamentally challenge the thesis that national identities are mutable. Therefore, the identity of communities living abroad needs to be placed within frameworks that are not confined to national borders. Trends like globalization for example, accentuate the urgency to rethink the formulation of the “national” concept. The diasporic identity challenges the concept of the nation allowing for interaction among identity contexts. Yet, it is an egocentric type of identity that dwells on the past and constantly reiterates it. Identities that are theorized under a “post-national” umbrella attempt to consider the multiple attachments that various communities experience when they live away from a homeland. In addition, they do not regard the past of a community as the cornerstone of its identification in a new place. Drawing on these bodies of literature, we claimed that the new identification motive of the Italian-Canadian community in Montreal is post-national. Within this motive, Italian-Canadians constitute their identity in Montreal by considering the multiple attachments they express to the place of origin and to Canada. Thus, this identification motive is different from the national one in that it accounts for this multiplicity of affects for different lands and identities and is also different from the diasporic motive as well, which regards the land where one comes from as the main source of identification and a single, lost “home”.

In addition, we also argued that as Canada is a country where many foreign communities decide to settle, this process has effects on the Canadian national identity, which must be further formulated and described as a post-nation from the formation of an identity kind of perspective. As a multi-nation state, Canada already presents us with an open model for the national identity building process. This model could be further

enhanced, should we further argue that Canada is also a post-nation. Based on the argument presented in this study we can draw several conclusions.

1) The Leonardo da Vinci center: Scope

A central question that one can raise would be why the Leonardo da Vinci center represents a paradigmatic story? In chapter two we argued that the center features all the elements of the rhetorical situation the Italian-Canadian identity raises. As such, it has the necessary scope to be a representative anecdote. At the same time, the center is unique, this featuring the necessary simplicity to also become representative in this sense of the word. However, why not take any cultural center and analyze it as representative in the sense described above? In Canada, Italians have had a cultural center in Toronto, for instance, another major destination for Italian immigrants. Also many other communities have cultural centers. One that sparked our attention at the beginning of this study was the Bronfman center of the Jewish diaspora from Montreal. Comparing briefly the story presented by the Leonardo da Vinci center with the stories of these other two centers will help us identify the key differences between this situation and the situations in which for example the above mentioned centers were built.

As argued in chapter four, Toronto is even more than Montreal a city with a high concentration of Italian-Canadians. Therefore, if we only compared the number of Italian immigrants in the two cities, it would be simple to argue that the evolution of Italian-Canadian-ness in Toronto is paradigmatic, in contrast to the evolution of Italian-Canadian-ness in Montreal. However, this is not the case as immigrants were “called” to

respond to a single mainstream culture in Toronto – the Anglophone one. In Montreal, as there are at least two major mainstream cultures disputing their claims – Anglophone and Francophone - Italian immigrants ended up raising their own claims as to their difference in regards to both. Consequently, in this city they adopted what suited them from both these cultures and at the same time maintained their own sense of Italianicity. Thus, Toronto stands as a powerful Canadian example for the “melting pot” theory of cultural adaptations that represents a situation that widely occurs in all major cities in North America. It is thus not different than most situations covered by a wide range of studies, including sociology, as well as area and diasporic studies that all address the evolution of immigrant identities.

Our central reason to focus on the situation created for Italian-Canadians in Montreal is not only the exceptionality of this case. In contrast, we argue that immigrant identities do not necessarily evolve according to the “melting pot” theory. Immigrant identities in fact challenge the mainstream identity frameworks and consequently affect the national identity processes of the countries that receive them. Thus, they inform the national identity of the host nations, aspect that needs to be further acknowledged.

The Leonardo da Vinci center was created as a consequence of the Italian community’s capacity to achieve the level of maturity and the prosperity to afford this type of venue, but also to voice its need to have a venue which “tells” others who they are at this point. The da Vinci center thus is architecture making identity claims, as opposed to its general function of outlining the profile of a given culture.

The situation created by this center is different from the situation of the Bronfman center built for the Jewish community of Montreal. As previously argued, the experience

of the Jewish diaspora is the basis of diasporic studies in general. We do not claim that the presence of such architectural artifacts does not have an important value for the existence and the maintenance of the life of diasporic communities. On the contrary, diasporic communities need such venues to perform their identities. However, diasporic communities see themselves as “dispersed” from the center. They regard the former “home” as the “center” of their affect and the main source of their identification. This is a natural process for communities of people living abroad. Regarding the place where one comes from as the root of one’s identity is a basic human condition of identification. However, we argue that, as the “dispersion” of people who live away from homeland is becoming pervasive under the circumstances created by globalization, we need to consider its effect on the identity processes of these when they are no longer diasporic. The concept of diaspora can describe the condition of communities identifying abroad for thousands of years in some cases, as it is the case of the Jewish people. Yet to describe all communities that live abroad as diasporic would mean to freeze them in this condition, which is not necessary. The Italian-Canadian community from Montreal does no longer live within this condition as their identity does not revolve around an “imaginary center” located elsewhere. As argued, diaspora is a stubborn theory which needs to be challenged to be able to step out from the same circles of conceptualizations of identity.

The Leonardo da Vinci center also brings us to consider the importance of rhetoric as a discipline to address identity formation processes occurring via architectural objects. Consequently, our second set of conclusions builds on this thesis.

2) Rhetorical studies and architecture

Burke (1950) argues that “rhetoric is concerned with the state of Babel after the Fall” (p. 23). This is in a way to argue that rhetoric is the discipline that addresses civic discourse in complicated situations. Communication offers solution to uncomplicated situations as communication presents us with a model of understanding and mutual acceptance. However, discourses do not usually occur under these “nice” circumstances. People often dispute their claims and have to learn to agree they disagree. Rhetoric is concerned with making sense of this process. In addition, as suggested by Burke (1950), the main purpose of rhetoric is not “persuasion”, but “identification”.

Immigration gives rise to situations where communication is not sufficient to resolve disputes. Rhetoric, which occurs when an exigency must be addressed, responds to such situations. Immigrants respond to exigencies to move from one condition to another. Otherwise the immigrant experience would not make sense. Immigrant communities also respond to exigencies to adapt to the new environment, which puts pressure on them as they perceive their difference as a source of possible failure with regard to their sense of project. In chapter one, we explained how ghosts from the past “told” Italian immigrants they needed to overcome various sets of circumstances, ranging from not being able to put food on the table to not being sufficiently integrated in Montreal. These ghosts gave rise to rhetorical exigencies to be addressed. Thus, rhetoric provides a framework to explain the identification process this community underwent. Particularly, “constitutive rhetoric” addresses how communities of people who raise claims arrive to identify and be constituted as subjects. Further, we argued that rhetoric would gain if it allowed for a multidisciplinary approach. This study covered a wide

range of literatures to explain the rhetorical situation created by the Leonardo da Vinci center as well as the rhetorical effects it raises. Next, we would like to highlight what rhetoric would gain if it was more concerned with architecture.

Architecture does not lack being theorized as discourse. On the contrary, there is a wide range of studies which address the impact buildings have in terms of creating discourses. Moreover, the discourses advanced by buildings are sometimes discussed as representing the cornerstones of human historical or aesthetic evolution. Architectural styles are not just fashions. They are usually the result of mentalities shaped by a multitude of social and cultural factors. To identify their aesthetic means to be cultivated and well-read. Architectural knowledge means possessing some intellectual capital. Consequently, architects and discourse theorists have produced many studies on this subject-matter. However, very few of them do regard architecture as *constitutive* of identities. Even fewer rhetoricians regard architecture as a form by which claims are made. To a certain extent, this situation can be easily explained as buildings do not actually “speak” or “write”. However, we have argued that their form does not produce only aesthetic value, but also provides a set of claims. We argued in this study that architectural form leads to practices and in their turn, the practices performed within a public architectural object “speak” to the citizens’ values. Architecture thus provides a terrain that needs to be investigated in terms of what it does for rhetoric. In the particular case of the Italian-Canadian community, architecture “restored” the Italian identity to Italian-Canadians in Montreal. This leads us to our third set of conclusions.

3) Nostalgia Restoring Identities

Nostalgia is a powerful emotion as it colors the past and makes it mythical. People experience it at all levels either for a specific time in their lives, a place or a situation from the past. During the process of remembering, the actual places associated with the memories change as they are not experienced firsthand, but filtered by memory. In the case of immigrants, their homeland is such a place. However, nostalgia appears in a variety of situations as people and societies in general need myths to survive and the good, old times might rescue them from the disappointments associated with the present. Nostalgia particularly reappears in the context of post-modernism.

In the context of postmodernism, people's nostalgias lead them to recompose the past in order to make it available for the present. Objects of affection, cafés, restaurants, appear as a consequence of capitalizing on people's needs to feel they can go back in time safely. Consequently, nostalgia becomes associated with consumption and capitalism as it is literally *capitalized* on. The underlining factor leading to this recreation of the past while attempting to contain it in the present is an aspect of the dissolution of metanarratives, which Lyotard (1990) argued is part of postmodernism. Consequently, nostalgia becomes part of the urban space and is also often contained in architecture.

For the Italian immigrants from Montreal, places like Café Italia gave them a past locus for their emotions. There they could develop a sense of who they were and where they came from. Like most immigrants, some notoriously nostalgic and remembering a variety of details constitutive of their "home", others notoriously un-nostalgic and wanting to forget the past, Italian immigrants used Café Italia towards a variety of ends. The accounts provided in the documentary on the Italian immigration from Montreal,

“Café Italia” reveal that former immigrants felt safe claiming they used to be first Italians and only next, part of Canadian society. However, the accounts their children provided also outlined that the next generations started to develop more attachments to Canada than to Italy, the place their elders had come from.

The Leonardo da Vinci story instantiates a new moment in the evolution of the nostalgia associated with the Italian homeland community. More precisely, in this case nostalgia is restored. In the reflective type, nostalgic feelings are negated or experienced on an individual level or the small circle provided by a café or the network of people who share the same emotions. Unlike the reflective type, restorative nostalgia appears when “people take themselves seriously” as Boym (2001) would say and build an artifact to present it to the rest of the world as evidence that they contained the nostalgic feelings.

Public architecture restores the feelings of homesickness and gives them a decent social place. Public architecture represents the institutionalization of the immigrant claims, both in terms of their difference and their inclusion and “states” that they have been contained within the host society. In addition, it also speaks to the present and the future of immigrant communities and the societies that host them. Consequently, restoring nostalgia by means of public architecture leads to changes in the identification motives of these communities and it has consequences on how the host nations need to define their identities.

4) Motives and the nation

We argued that as the Italian community from Montreal is characterized by a diasporic motive of identification as it underwent through the stages of sojourning,

settling, creating a colony and creating a community. The diasporic motive underlines that the respective communities locate their center of affect elsewhere. In the case of the Italian community such centers were the hometowns of immigrants and only later they were replaced by Italy as a country. Two themes accounted for the overall diasporic motive: pastoral identification and ultimate identification.

Most immigrants were attached to the hometown they left where their families still lived. Consequently, the hometown was their center of affect and a diasporic mythical place. Their lives and action revolved around these centers, as they defined who they were in regards to the specific place of origin. Recomposing one's identity along the lines of a mythical place was regarded by Burke (1950) as leading to pastoral identification.

Pastoral identification also addresses the class component. In the process of recomposing their "home", immigrants had to overcome class differences. Transcending one's class led to a transformation from pastoral identification into an ultimate type of identification. The immigrant ultimate identification occurred in our case in the sense that Italian immigrants started to locate their center of affect in Italy rather than in their town of origin. To underline the transcendence of class differences, Italianicity was also capitalized on in North-America as it became associated with a style, a fashion and a way of life reflected in products advertised within and beyond the Italian communities.

In the fourth chapter we also argued that the diasporic experience of Italians in Montreal is not singular. Therefore, we discussed that together with most immigrant communities, the Italians from Montreal could be circumscribed within a larger diasporic identification motive of belonging. The diasporic motive does not underline the

identification this community experiences in Montreal today. Drawing on Burke's (1950) framework on the transformation of motives, we have argued that nowadays Italians from Montreal articulate a different type of Italianicity via the Leonardo da Vinci building. They are constituted as Italian-Canadian subjects and citizens via this building.

In the last chapter of the present study we argued that the concept of the "post-nation" underlines a multiplicity of attachments experienced by communities that live outside the borders of their homeland, Italian-Canadians included. Consequently, the rise of a new rhetorical motive that accounts for belonging away from the homeland, such as the post-national motive, can be observed in the case of the Montreal Italian community.

The rise of the post-national motive of belonging becomes relevant in the context of this study as this change of motives marks a transformation of the rhetorical form of identification for a community. Rhetoric, as Burke (1950) argues, covers a wide range of ways that people "act together". As an increasing number of people live abroad, the way we map their attachments offers a way to make sense of these experiences.

The "post-national" motive of identification provides a way to explain identification processes that do not fall back on the shortcomings of other theories, including those of assimilation or the diasporic condition. Not only do some communities overcome a diasporic condition, the Italian-Canadians from Montreal being a case in point, but though they are integrated, they are not assimilated in the sense that assimilation usually assumes. Assimilation takes the nation as a given and assumes that immigrant communities adopt the patterns of the host society. This happens to a large extent, yet, the assimilation theory does not account for the multiplicity of attachments, focusing instead on the evolution of the immigrant identities from the vantage point of a

pre-existing national identity. In contrast, we argue that immigrant communities do challenge the national paradigm and contribute to the changing profile of the national identities of host-societies.

5) Globalization and the post-nation

“Globalization” is a current catchword to describe the current state of the world. Conceptually it is also difficult to define it as it is a phenomenon, a situation, a set of circumstances, a state. If globalization was initially the result of late capitalism and economic exchanges, it also becomes pervasive and encompasses all realms, social and cultural. Globalization is also access made simpler to the culture of the other than in the past. Consequently, national identities are under a global “attack”.

Nation-state frameworks started to be criticized in this context, as they appeared against a completely different social and historical background. National identities are not mutable and open to change and to the identity of the other. On the contrary, they are fixed and essentialist. As people are constituted by nationality via commonly shared mythologies, nationalisms are the exaggeration of these mythologies and their transformation into ideologies that exclude foreigners from the main national paradigm.

We argued that even multi-nation state frameworks do not fundamentally challenge the national main assumptions with regard to what constitutes a people or the citizens. Also, though the citizenry is more multi-faceted in a multi-nation state, still multi-nation states do not allow all attachments to resurface in their implication in the polity, citizenship remaining a functional model that is ascribed from above. While in a multi-nation state, citizenship allows for a mix of rights and obligations for both the

majority and the minorities, these rights and obligations are still posited against a national paradigm. Thus, multi-nation states are not fundamentally different from that of the nation-states.

From the standpoint of rhetoric, we are concerned with the identification processes of the people constituting a nation. Today, subjects/citizens belong differently than in the past and to places that are not confined within fixed boundaries. Consequently, identification processes are different than in the past in that they are multi-faceted. Present theorizations of nation-states and multi-nation states do not cover the multiple attachments that are at the core of the constitution on their identities, leading to their identification as national subjects. Despite its theoretical looseness, the concept of the “post-nation” allows for a way to explain the changing understanding of how belonging is achieved when accounting for the phenomena of globalization, immigration, or circulation.

➤ Implications for further research:

Our attempt to create a theory that connects rhetoric, identity and architecture prompted a debate on the various contexts (diasporic, national, global, cosmopolitan, post-national) within which such identities need to be considered. Various entry-points into the subject-matter coming from a variety of theoretical orientations were already available before this study. In consequence, the present thesis has a multidisciplinary character and sheds a refracted light on various fields where the debate around multiple attachments and identities in a global world are performed, including Italian and cultural studies, urbanism, architectural criticism, political science and sociology.

Such an approach was necessary in order to address a point Hetedoft and Hjort (2002) make with regard to the multiple attachments experienced by migrant communities. They argue: “This is where the web starts to get tangled, where ostensible simplicity is supplanted by complexity, permanence by mutability, clear-cut boundaries by fluid images of self and other” (p. vii). Further research needs to consider these mutations and outline how people arrive to be “home”, away from homeland, as migration becomes a pervasive phenomenon.

Italians from Montreal who have joined the 4th and 5th generations of Italian-Canadians engage with the Leonardo da Vinci center, and practice a type of citizenship that is closer to Benhabib’s (2003) framework of “dissagregated citizenship” than to the standard definitions of the concept. The concept of “dissagregated citizenship” creates the possibility for more identities to be enacted at the same time. Such types of practices point to the dissolution of the classical concept of citizenship. Standard definitions of citizenship, such as liberal citizenship, are inherently linked to the concept of nation-state. Both citizenship and nation-states were theorized around the same time and stemmed from different historical circumstances than those we face under globalization. In addition, we also argued that if Italian-Canadians from Montreal practice a “disagregated” type of citizenship, their experience reflects on a certain type of affiliation to the Canadian nation. In Canada, the extent to which the presence of more than one ethnic community has effects on formulations of the national identity has been theorized in the context of the multi-nation state. Even if this framework leaves room for more than one community to express its attachment to the same nation, it does not explain how

immigrants, including the Italian-Canadians in Montreal, end up feeling that they belong to Canada. Thus, more studies need to address this direction.

Sassen's (1996) concept of "economic citizenship" steps beyond the traditional lineage of citizenship theories. Departing from the perspective of the global economy, Sassen (1996) argues that "the institution and construct of citizenship are being destabilized" (p. 34). While using the concept of "economic citizenship" as "a strategic research site and nexus", Sassen (1996) acknowledges "this notion is not part of the history and theoretization of citizenship as conventionally understood" (p. xiii). However, given the emerging global conditions in which we live, she considers that "economic citizenship" could become a mechanism through which governments can be held accountable. Nonetheless, though potentially a new form of accountability that overcomes the nation-state boundaries, the main danger, that Sassen (1996) herself acknowledges, is that "economic citizenship" might not belong at all to citizens, but to global financial actors. We have argued that "economic citizenship", while an interesting attempt to merge theoretical fields, does not explain how Italian-Canadians belong away from homeland. Therefore, further research in a variety of fields needs to explore how both our present nation-related frameworks and the concept of citizenship need to change in order to accommodate such situations. Canada provides a good research site for a variety of reasons.

In the Canadian context, there are already pre-existent debates as to what constitutes the Canadian national identity. Taylor (1993) argues that in Canada minorities and groups ask to be "recognized". In addition, he claims that "anyone who can use the expression 'just symbolic' has missed something essential about the nature of modern

society” (p. 194). It also follows that an appropriate “politics of recognition” needs both to validate claims and put them into practice (p. 193). This is not a simple matter, as these claims depend upon acceptance. As Taylor (1993) asks:

After all, what is the moral background that people appeal to in demanding recognition? It is some sense of universal principle that everyone should be recognized. How then can people so easily define their demands so as to exclude others? Why are these demands so readily accepted by a wider public? (p. 191)

While answering these questions, Taylor (1993) states that “the demand for recognition tends to hide itself, tends to be represented as something else” (p. 192). In addition, “at the moment when one feels the need for recognition, there is always some question, some doubt, some concern about one’s own worth” (p. 192). Taylor’s (1993) “politics of recognition” applies to the context of the demands for sovereignty made by Québec, in Canada. We argue that the demand for recognition needs to be further explored and considered in terms of immigrant communities’ claims as well. Canadian identity is characterized as “one enterprise - two nations”, which leads to “two solitudes” (p. 25). We argue that without a politics of recognition that should consider immigrant communities as they evolve from their initial stages into something altogether different, the number of solitudes could only increase. Then, Taylor (1993) asks what model can Canada adopt?

He argues: “But if the American model does not fit, the European one does not either; for these nations are for the most part united by language, by culture and often by a long history. In Canada these things serve rather to divide” (p. 25). In consequence:

The only model for a state like Canada that remains seems to be the multilingual European state, such as Belgium or Switzerland. But this is hardly helpful. Belgium is ripped by even worse internal conflict between language groups than Canada is, and Switzerland seems to achieve harmony by the device of mutual ignorance in watertight cantons. [...] We Canadians are very much on our own. We have to create our own model. (p. 25)

In consequence, Canada needs to develop its own model, including a model for unity, while taking into account multiple factors. However, the country provides a fruitful terrain for the development of such a polity model, unlike most nations whose identities are fixed and immutable. Taylor (1993) further argues:

In fact the search for identity seems to be at odds in Canada with the search for unity; for our country is very diverse – not only in the obvious sense, that there are two major languages and cultures, or in the ‘mosaic’ sense, that there are people from many different backgrounds, but in the geographical and historical sense.[...] These differences are not just ones of regional separation and economic interest, but are often based on history, background and tradition. (p. 26)

Their mere acceptance arguably does not provide a sufficiently strong basis with regard to what holds Canada’s constituent groups and regions together while they share a strong sense of identity. With respect to the question of unity, a major issue that needs further investigation, Taylor’s (1993) answer lies in the search for “a significant common future rather than a shared past” (p. 27). We also share this point of view and we argue that looking at Canada as a post-nation is helpful in responding to the question of unity and

identity implicitly, as a sense of a common project works in conjuncture with the separate projects of immigrant communities.

If Taylor (1993) asks “what is a country for?”, we say a country is for providing means for its people, including immigrants and former immigrant communities, to identify with a common project, to feel they belong, and to develop a sense of patriotism. If the countries of the future cannot be post- yet, the identities of their citizens will probably be post-national.

Endnotes

ⁱ The terms “Italianità” and “Italianicity” will be used interchangeably. They both refer to the substance of Italian identity in North-America.

ⁱⁱ For a more detailed look on Jewish diaspora see Sachar (1985) – “Diaspora: An Inquiry into the Contemporary Jewish World” or Patai (1971) – “Tents of Jacob – The Diaspora Yesterday and Today”.

ⁱⁱⁱ For those interested in elaborations on this subject-matter, books like Brice’s (2002) “Histoire de l’Italie” document this kind of assertion extensively.

^{iv} Vincenzo Consolo himself is someone who left Sicily and moved to Milan in search of his own personal development as a writer.

^v See D’Andrea (1990) MA thesis for a detailed analysis of the historical context of this neighbourhood.

^{vi} In our particular case there are two architects who were involved in the construction of the Leonardo da Vinci center: Ruccolo Faubert for the initial design and John Palumbo for the follow-up on site. This is thus an instance where the two visions are informing each other, and working together within the final product.

^{vii} Anderson (1991) goes about explaining each of the terms in detail: *imagined* – “because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (p. 6); *limited* – “because even the largest of them (...) has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations” (p. 7); *sovereign* – “because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm” (p. 7); *community* – “because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that might prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (p. 7). Nationalism “is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness, it *invents* nations where they do not exist” (p. 6).

^{viii} Anderson (1991) starts his argument from a critique of the Marxist position, among others, as far as the concept of “nation” and phenomena such as “nationalism”. He states: “It would be more exact to say that nationalism has proved to be an uncomfortable *anomaly* for Marxist theory and precisely for that reason, has largely been elided than confronted” (p. 3).

^{ix} Appadurai (1993) argues on the same page “the nation-state is by no means the only game in town as far as translocal loyalties are concerned” (p. 10).

^x Furthermore, Habermas (2001) defines “globalization” more in-depth. He says: “I use the concept of ‘globalization’ here to describe a process, not an end-state. It characterizes the increasing scope and intensity of commercial, communicative and exchange relations beyond national borders” (pp. 65-66). I agree with his use of the term.

^{xi} Full quote on page 4.

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Appendix

LEONARDO
DAVINCI

QUESTIONS OF ART AND SCIENCE
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

QUESTIONS-RÉPONSES

1- Qu'est-ce que le Centre Leonardo da Vinci ?

Depuis plusieurs années, la communauté italienne, qui compte plus de 250 000 membres, cherche à se doter d'un centre multifonctionnel à caractère culturel, sportif et socio-communautaire. C'est de ce projet qu'est issu le **Centre Leonardo da Vinci** en hommage à l'un des plus célèbres personnages de la renaissance italienne.

Actuellement en cours de construction, le Centre Leonardo da Vinci sera érigé à Saint-Léonard à l'angle du boulevard Lacordaire et de la rue des Galets. Ce Centre s'intégrera d'ailleurs au cœur d'une cité administrative où se voient déjà l'Hôtel de ville de Saint-Léonard, la bibliothèque municipale, l'aréna, la polyvalente et des espaces verts.

Le Centre Leonardo da Vinci sera un espace vibrant à l'image de la communauté italienne où se côtoieront activités sportives, culturelles et socio-communautaires.

2- Le Centre Leonardo da Vinci desservira-t-il exclusivement la communauté italienne ?

Non. Le Centre Leonardo da Vinci se veut d'abord et avant tout l'un des foyers les plus vibrants de la culture et de la communauté italienne ouvert à toute la communauté du grand Montréal qui désire participer aux activités offertes par le Centre ou célébrer la culture et la langue italienne.

3- Qu'apporte le Centre Leonardo da Vinci à la communauté italienne et à la communauté du grand Montréal ?

Le Centre Leonardo da Vinci offrira de nouveaux services accessibles non seulement à la communauté italienne mais aussi à toute la population du grand Montréal. Ce Centre multifonctionnel plaira aux petits et aux grands avec une panoplie d'activités et de programmes variés. D'une superficie de 125 000 pieds carrés répartis sur quatre étages, le Centre Leonardo da Vinci offrira notamment :

- La « **piazza** », située au cœur du Centre, lieu d'accueil avec bistro à l'italienne;
- Le **théâtre**, conçu selon la forme de La Scala de Milan, comportera 550 places et pourra servir à la présentation tant du théâtre, du chant lyrique, des orchestres, des spectacles d'humoristes et de chanteurs de même qu'à y projeter des films italiens;
- Le **boulodrome**, permettra la pratique du jeu de « bocce », l'un des sports préférés des italiens;
- Un **centre communautaire et culturel**, comportant des salles polyvalentes pour des rencontres, conférences, vernissages, cours de langue, etc.
- Un **club sportif** doté d'équipements et d'installations modernes et d'un gymnase pour la pratique de soccer;
- Un **Centre des jeunes** et une **salle de jeux et d'activités informatiques** pour le divertissement des enfants et des adolescents;
- Une **halte-garderie**, offrant diverses activités et programmes de développement de l'enfant pour divertir les plus jeunes, et liée à une institution d'enseignement pour y offrir des stages à des étudiants en éducation;
- La **chapelle**, lieu d'expression de la foi catholique à laquelle demeure fortement attachée la communauté italienne, servira notamment à la préparation des sacrements, aux rencontres et aux besoins de la paroisse Notre-Dame-de-Pompéi;
- Un **centre administratif** qui offrira des bureaux et équipements aux organismes à but non lucratif oeuvrant au service de la communauté;
- La **Cour municipale** de Saint-Léonard y sera localisée, conformément à un bail convenu avec la Ville de Saint-Léonard.

4- Quelle est l'engagement de la Fondation Communautaire Canadienne-Italienne du Québec dans la réalisation du projet du Centre Leonardo da Vinci ?

Créée en 1975, la Fondation Communautaire Canadienne-Italienne du Québec a pour mission première de recueillir des fonds et de les redistribuer à des organismes intervenant auprès de la communauté italienne.

La Fondation Communautaire Canadienne-Italienne du Québec œuvre à réaliser ce projet depuis plus de cinq (5) ans et représente donc le maître d'œuvre du projet du Centre Leonardo da Vinci. Suite à sa construction, une corporation sans but lucratif verra à la gestion des opérations du Centre et pourra continuer à compter sur le soutien financier de la Fondation.

5- Pourquoi une campagne de financement ?

La construction du Centre Leonardo da Vinci coûtera près de 14 200 000 \$ dont 6 500 000 \$ proviennent des Gouvernements du Canada et du Québec suivant le programme « **Travaux d'infrastructures Canada-Québec** ». La Fondation et ses Gouverneurs contribuent par une mise de fonds de 700 000 \$. Le solde de 7 millions de dollars doit maintenant être recueilli auprès de la communauté italienne, de la population et de la communauté d'affaires montréalaise.

6- Quel est l'objectif financier de la campagne ?

L'objectif de cette campagne majeure est fixé à 7 000 000 \$, dont une partie sera recueillie en engagements étalés sur une période pouvant aller jusqu'à cinq (5) ans.

7- Pourquoi participer à la campagne majeure de financement du Centre Leonardo da Vinci ?

Le Centre Leonardo da Vinci fera état, tangiblement, de la présence italienne au Québec. L'insertion de la communauté dans la société canadienne, son dynamisme, ses valeurs et sa richesse collective seront affichés avec fierté et amitié. Le Centre aidera à préserver l'héritage italo-montréalais et à promouvoir les communications interculturelles.

La campagne majeure de financement qui permettra la réalisation du Centre doit être appuyée par tous les italo-philes, peu importe leur origine, leur milieu socio-économique, leur langue, leur âge. Le projet est hors du commun, sa portée est sociale et son influence s'étendra sur de nombreuses décennies à venir.

8- Une reconnaissance est-elle prévue pour les donateurs à la campagne de financement du Centre Leonardo da Vinci ?

Oui. Un **Programme de reconnaissance des donateurs** a été adopté par le comité de campagne et prévoit diverses formes de reconnaissance pour les donateurs, notamment la dédicace d'un endroit du Centre au nom choisi par le donateur (Dons de 15 000 \$ et plus), l'inscription au Tableau d'honneur des donateurs (Dons de 10 000 \$ et plus) et l'attribution symbolique d'un siège du théâtre identifié sur le siège et au Tableau du théâtre (Dons de 500 \$, 1 000 \$, 1 500 \$, 3 000 \$, 5 000 \$ et 10 000 \$).

9- L'héritage italien se retrouve-t-il dans le patrimoine multiculturel de Montréal ?

Évoquer la place de la communauté italienne dans la société québécoise, c'est citer un bel exemple d'intégration sociale et économique : souvent gens de métiers ou agriculteurs, les immigrants italiens installés à Montréal ont enrichi leur collectivité et ont contribué à la croissance et à la prospérité économique de la région métropolitaine.

Pour la communauté italo-montréalaise, le Centre Leonardo da Vinci permettra entre autres de mettre en valeur et de diffuser l'héritage socioculturel unique des Italiens. Le Centre servira de « **Pont des Cultures** » dans le Montréal cosmopolite du 21^e siècle.

10- De quelles valeurs le Centre Leonardo da Vinci fera-t-il la promotion ?

Le Centre constituera un projet rassembleur réunissant les générations de familles italiennes qui ont émigré à Montréal et qui s'y sont établies au cours des 19^e et 20^e siècles.

Les Gouverneurs de la Fondation veulent promouvoir la participation familiale, accueillir tous les groupes d'âge et véhiculer l'harmonie et la tolérance entre les générations dans la collectivité.

11- En quoi le Centre est-il un projet pour les jeunes... et les moins jeunes ?

Le Centre Leonardo da Vinci fera une large place aux jeunes. Par sa programmation et les valeurs entre autres familiales qu'il véhiculera, il leur permettra de vivre des expériences constructives de travail et de leadership; par l'interaction des générations, le Centre favorisera de plus l'échange et la transmission des connaissances entre les jeunes et les moins jeunes.

12- Quels avantages concrets la communauté tirera-t-elle du Centre Leonardo da Vinci ?

Par l'accès à des programmes variés et peu coûteux, la participation de la population aux activités du Centre sera facilitée. Pour les organismes sans but lucratif (OSBL) et les groupes communautaires, des services et des locaux à prix abordables seront disponibles.

13- Qui est invité à souscrire à la campagne ?

La Fondation Communautaire Canadienne-Italienne du Québec sollicite l'appui de ses Gouverneurs, de ses amis, de la communauté italienne, de la communauté du grand Montréal, des entreprises locales, provinciales et nationales, des gens d'affaires, des communautés religieuses, des fondations privées et de toute personne qui désire participer à l'épanouissement de la culture et de la langue italienne de même que doter la communauté d'un centre multifonctionnel incomparable.

14- Les dons sont-ils déductibles d'impôt ?

Oui. En échange de toute contribution financière de 25 \$ et plus, un reçu officiel vous sera émis par la Fondation pour usage fiscal tant au provincial qu'au fédéral. Pour les contributions inférieures à 25 \$, un reçu d'impôt sera émis sur demande. Par ailleurs, un donateur peut déduire un don d'un montant n'excédant pas 75 % de son revenu net pour l'année en cours.

Exemple d'impact fiscal d'un don annuel versé au Centre Leonardo Da Vinci par un particulier en 1999 :

Donateur du Québec		
Don annuel total	Crédit d'impôt	Don net annuel après impôt
5 000 \$	2 576 \$	2 424 \$
2 500 \$	1 276 \$	1 224 \$
1 000 \$	496 \$	504 \$
750 \$	366 \$	384 \$
600 \$	288 \$	312 \$
500 \$	236 \$	264 \$

N.B. Le tableau ci-haut est approximatif et ne constitue aucunement un engagement qu'un donateur potentiel obtiendra exactement la déduction fiscale mentionnée ci-haut.

15- Comment peut-on contribuer ?

Nous recherchons surtout des dons en argent. De plus, le Centre Leonardo da Vinci accepte des biens ou des valeurs mobilières ou immobilières, des legs testamentaires et des polices d'assurance.

16- Peut-on étaler sa contribution sur plusieurs années ?

Oui. Bien que l'obtention de dons immédiats permettra au Centre Leonardo da Vinci d'éviter de verser des sommes en intérêts sur le financement obtenu pour la construction du Centre, les donateurs de 50 000 \$ ou plus peuvent, s'ils le désirent, étaler leur contribution sur une période pouvant aller jusqu'à cinq ans. Les donateurs de 1 500 \$ à 50 000 \$ peuvent étaler leur contribution sur une période pouvant aller jusqu'à trois ans alors que les donateurs de moins de 1 500 \$ sont invités à verser leur don en un versement. De plus, les engagements de versements peuvent être effectués sur une base mensuelle, semestrielle ou annuelle.

17- Comment peut-on obtenir d'autres informations sur la campagne de financement et sur le Centre Leonardo da Vinci ?

Pour plus d'informations, n'hésitez pas à communiquer avec le Centre Leonardo da Vinci :

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. What is the Leonardo da Vinci Centre?

For a number of years now, the Italian community (with more than 250,000 members) has sought to equip itself with a multi-purpose cultural, sports and socio-community centre. These efforts have given rise to the Leonardo da Vinci Centre, in honour of one of the most celebrated figures of the Italian Renaissance.

The Leonardo da Vinci Centre is currently under construction in St. Leonard, on the corner of Lacordaire Blvd. and Des Galets St. The Centre will be incorporated into the core of an administrative campus which borders on St. Leonard's city hall, the municipal library, the arena, the comprehensive high school, and green spaces.

The Leonardo da Vinci Centre will be a vibrant place reflecting the values of the Italian community, offering a varied mix of sports, cultural and socio-community activities.

2. Will the Leonardo da Vinci Centre serve only the Italian community?

No. The Leonardo da Vinci Centre is above all designed to be a dynamic centre of Italian culture and community activities, open to everyone in the Greater Montreal area who is interested in using the services provided by the Centre and who wishes to celebrate Italian language and culture.

3. What does the Leonardo da Vinci Centre have to offer the Italian community and the Greater Montreal community?

The Leonardo da Vinci Centre will provide new affordable services not only for the Italian community but for the entire population of Greater Montreal. This multi-purpose centre will please both the younger and older crowd with a panoply of activities and varied programs. With a surface area of 125,000 square feet distributed over 4 floors, the Leonardo da Vinci Centre will notably offer:

- a piazza, located at the very heart of the Centre - a welcoming area with an Italian-style bistro;
- a theatre, whose footprint is designed in the shape of La Scala in Milan, with 550 seats for theatre, lyrical song, orchestra, comedy, and musical performances as well as film screenings;
- a bocciodromo, to play one of Italian-Canadians' favorite sports - "bocce";
- a community and cultural centre with multi-purpose rooms for meetings, conferences, exhibits, language courses, etc.;
- a sports club equipped with modern facilities and a gymnasium for soccer;
- a youth centre and a room for games and computer activities designed for children and adolescents;
- a daycare centre with various activities and child development programs to keep younger children occupied, which will be associated with an educational institution to offer practical teacher training to education students;
- a chapel, an expression of the Catholic faith that remains an integral part of the Italian community, which will be used for preparation of the sacraments, gatherings, and to meet the needs of Our Lady of Pompei parish;
- an administrative centre providing offices and meeting facilities for non-profit groups that serve the community;
- the municipal court of St. Leonard, which will be located there under a lease signed with the City of St. Leonard.

4. How involved is the Italian-Canadian Community Foundation of Quebec in making the Leonardo da Vinci Centre project a reality?

The main mission of the Italian-Canadian Community Foundation of Quebec (which was created in 1975) is to raise funds and redistribute them to organizations that work with the Italian community.

As promoter of the project, the Italian-Canadian Community Foundation of Quebec has been working to make it a reality for more than five years. Once the Centre is built, a non-profit corporation will oversee its operations and will be able to count on the Foundation's on-going financial support.

5. Why a fund raising campaign?

Construction of the Leonardo da Vinci Centre will cost approximately \$14,200,000. The Canadian and Quebec governments will contribute \$6,500,000 under the Travaux d'infra-

structures **Canada-Québec program**. The Foundation and its Governors will contribute to the project through a capital outlay of \$700,000. The remaining balance of \$7 million now has to be raised from the Italian community, the general public, and the Montreal business community.

6. What is the financial objective for the campaign?

The objective for this capital fund raising campaign is set at \$7,000,000, part of which will be raised in pledges that are staggered over a period of up to 5 years.

7. Why should I take part in this capital fund raising campaign for the Leonardo da Vinci Centre?

The Leonardo da Vinci Centre will tangibly convey the Italian presence in Quebec. The community's entry into Canadian society, its dynamism and its values and collective wealth, will be displayed in a spirit of pride and friendship. The Centre will help preserve the Italian heritage in the Greater Montreal area and promote intercultural communication.

This capital fund raising campaign will bring the Centre to fruition, and we are seeking the support of all **Italophiles**, whatever their language, age, background, and socio-economic status. The project is unique - it is societal in scope and impact, and its influence will be felt for many decades to come.

8. Are donors given some form of recognition in the Leonardo da Vinci Centre fund-raising campaign?

Yes, a Donor Recognition Program has been adopted by the campaign committee, with various forms of recognition for donors. These include dedicating an area in the Centre to a person chosen by the donor (for gifts of \$15,000 or more), displaying donors' names on the Honorary Donors' Roll (for gifts of \$10,000 or more), and assigning an identifying plaque to a seat in the theatre (for gifts of \$500, \$1,000, \$1,500, \$3,000, \$5,000, and \$10,000).

9. Does the Italian heritage tie in with the multicultural heritage of Montreal?

To evoke the place held by the Italian community in Quebec society is to cite a successful example of social and economic integration. Italian immigrants who were often tradespeople or agricultural workers settled in Montreal and enriched their communities, contributing to the growth and economic prosperity of the metropolitan region.

The Leonardo da Vinci Centre will allow the Montreal-Italian community's unique socio-cultural heritage to be highlighted and shared among a greater audience. The Centre will serve as an "intercultural bridge" in 21st-century cosmopolitan Montreal.

10. What values will the Leonardo da Vinci Centre be promoting?

The Centre will constitute a unifying project, bringing together many generations of Italian families that immigrated to and settled in Montreal in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The Governors of the Foundation wish to promote family participation and welcome all age groups, fostering harmony and tolerance among people of all ages in the community.

11. In what way is the Centre a project for young people... and for the not-so-young?

The Leonardo da Vinci Centre will have a sizeable place for young people. Through its programming and family-oriented values, it will offer them the chance to participate in constructive work experiences and develop leadership skills. By encouraging interaction between generations, the Centre will foster a greater exchange of ideas and knowledge between young people and the not-so-young.

12. What tangible benefits will the community reap from the Leonardo da Vinci Centre?

Varied and affordable programs will make it easy for the population to participate in the Centre's

activities. For non-profit organizations and community groups, there will be offices with shared services for the tenants and meeting facilities available at affordable prices for the community at large.

13. Who is being invited to contribute to the campaign?

Aside from the contribution made by its Governors, the Italian-Canadian Community Foundation of Quebec is soliciting support from its friends: the Italian community; the Greater Montreal community, local, provincial and national firms; business people; religious communities; private foundations; and any person who wishes to participate in the unfolding of Italian culture and language and endow the community with a multi-purpose centre that is beyond compare.

14. Are donations tax deductible?

Yes. For any financial contribution of \$25 or more, the **Foundation** will issue an official tax receipt that can be used for both provincial and federal tax returns. For contributions of less than \$25, a tax receipt will be issued upon request. Furthermore, a donor is allowed to deduct a gift insofar as the amount doesn't exceed 75% of his or her net earnings for the current fiscal year.

15. How can I contribute?

We are seeking gifts of money primarily. The Leonardo da Vinci Centre also accepts moveable property and real estate, inheritances, and insurance policies.

16. Can I stagger my contribution over a number of years?

Yes, if you contribute \$1,500 or more. Although gifts that are immediately attainable allow the Leonardo da Vinci Centre to avoid paying interest on the financing it obtained for the construction of the Centre, donors who give \$50,000 or more can stagger their contribution over a period of up to five years, if they wish. Donors who give \$1,500 to \$50,000 can stagger their contribution over a period of up to three years. In addition, pledges of payments may be made on a monthly, semi-annual, or annual basis. Donors who give less than \$1,500 are invited to make their gift in one payment.

Example of the tax impact of an annual gift made to the Leonardo da Vinci Centre by a private individual in 1999:

Total annual gift	Quebec donor Tax credit	Net annual gift after taxes
\$ 5,000	\$ 2,576	\$ 2,424
\$ 2,500	\$ 1,276	\$ 1,224
\$ 1,000	\$ 496	\$ 504
\$ 750	\$ 366	\$ 384
\$ 600	\$ 288	\$ 312
\$ 500	\$ 236	\$ 264

N.B. This table contains approximate figures and in no way guarantees that a potential donor will obtain exactly the same tax deductions mentioned above.

17. How can I obtain more information about the fund raising campaign?

For more information, please don't hesitate to contact the Leonardo da Vinci Centre:

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