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RECENT ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS
IN BROOKLYN:
THEIR SOCIAL WORLDS

BY

Nancy Cheryl Hutchens

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
Doctor of Philosophy

THESIS DIRECTOR'S SIGNATURE:

Edward Norbeck

Houston, Texas
May, 1977
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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODS

The Scope of the Problem

For the past century Italian migration has exerted profound influence on the nature of Italian and American society. A large body of writings in the social sciences in both English and Italian has been devoted to many aspects of the phenomenon. However, recent Italian emigration to the United States has generally been ignored as a subject of study. Post-war American studies of Italian communities in the United States have neglected to consider the first or immigrating generation (Gans, 1962; Lopresto, 1970: 19). Consideration of the Italian-born has been confined to turn-of-the-century immigrants who did not fully participate in the life of the communities in which they lived. Reference to the culture of Southern Italy is limited to a superficial review of its recent history. This treatment cannot, of course, accurately portray the contemporary American community of recent Italian immigrants, the culture of whom is a variant of Southern Italian culture. Knowledge of the immigrants' culture is not only incomplete but also inaccurate since it lacks reference to the tradition from which it emanates. Post-war changes in Southern Italy have significantly altered the relationship of immigrants to their native culture. Previous generations of
immigrants found such disparity between their experiences in Southern Italy and the United States that profound conflict was inevitable. A rejection of the former was instrumental in the immigrant's adjustment to the latter. The modernization of Southern Italy after World War II has enabled modern immigrants willingly to retain their Italian identity.

This dissertation describes and interprets the social world of the recent immigrants of a community of Brooklyn, New York, which is hereafter identified by the pseudonym Jamesville. Ethnographic research was conducted in Jamesville from February to November, 1974. In addition, related research was conducted from August, 1970 to June, 1971 on the effects of emigration on a Southern Italian village, a community in Molise from which many people emigrated to Northern Italy, the United States and Canada. Although the data from this research are not directly incorporated in this study, the experience in Italy provided an irreplaceable foundation for understanding immigrant culture in Jamesville. Other anthropologists have observed how the study of communities of immigrants is facilitated by first-hand experience in the immigrants' native culture (Salisbury and Salisbury, 1972). My field research in Italy helped me avoid the common tendency of viewing the cultures of migrants solely from the perspective of the "receiving" society.

In the past, relations between social systems in contact have been studied in terms of acculturation. Some discussion of how these systems adjust to one another resulted, but little consideration has been given to the attributes
of the discrete systems (Pitkin, 1959: 14-15). Knowledge of the context in which social systems of migrants have developed allows the observer to identify traditional traits of culture which have been maintained in modified form in the new environment and leads to a fuller understanding of the relationships among the component elements of the culture.

From 1965 to 1975 Italian immigration to the United States constituted only about one-tenth of the volume of the peak decade of 1901-1910. Nevertheless, over 200,000 Italians have legally immigrated to this country since 1965. These immigrants, who differ from previous generations of Italian immigrants in many respects, follow the same residential pattern as their forerunners; that is, they gravitate towards the northeast, particularly the Greater New York area. By 1972, the "Italian foreign stock" (the Italian-born and their children) of New York City exceeded over 700,000 persons (CIAO, 1975: 7). Of the five boroughs of New York City, Brooklyn has both the highest concentration and largest number of residents born in Italy. Three and one-half per cent of the population of Brooklyn in 1970 was born in Italy (CIAO, 1975: 7). Census data for 1970 show that 55,000 of the Italians residing in Brooklyn live in areas where over 50 per cent of the population is Italian foreign stock. Thirty-five census tracts in Brooklyn, with populations of about 4,000 persons each, have such proportions of Italians, and twenty of these are within Jamesville.

Aside from the magnitude of its Italian population, Jamesville differs from other Italian areas of the city in
having a larger proportion of Italians from middle class backgrounds in Italy. Other areas of Brooklyn containing a large concentration of Italian immigrants tend to be poor, but Jamesville has an atmosphere of vitality and an appearance of comfort that are not generally associated with immigrant communities. Jamesville was selected from the several Italian communities in New York City as the location of this study because of its high density of the Italian-born people and also because of the presence there of immigrants of both lower and middle class backgrounds.

Jamesville, which encompasses an area of about one and one-half square miles and has a population of 120,000 people, has had a large proportion of Italians since the 1920s (New York City Planning Commission, 1969: 122). Jews were also well-represented in the community until the 1960s, when they joined the exodus of the white middle class to Queens and suburban Long Island. The new influx of Italian immigrants which resulted from the liberalization of United States immigration laws in 1965 coincided with the availability of housing in Jamesville. The established reputation of Jamesville as an Italian American section in addition to the fact that many recent immigrants had relatives or paesani (persons from the same Italian village) living there led to its growth as a community composed largely of Italian immigrants.

Jamesville still includes a variety of other ethnic subgroups, however, the Jewish remaining residents belong to the less affluent and older segment of their ethnic group and live in one-family homes in an area far removed from the
residences of most of the Italian immigrants. They are sometimes neighbors of Italian Americans and, occasionally, of Italian immigrants of middle class. Temples, kosher delicatessens and several Chinese restaurants patronized primarily by Jews are the most readily visible reminders of the continued Jewish presence in Jamesville.

Residents of Italian origin may be categorized in five subgroups: Italian Americans of first, second, and third generations and Italian immigrants of middle class and of lower class. Each of these groups is described briefly below.

FIRST GENERATION ITALIAN AMERICANS. Most of these people came to the United States before restrictions were placed on immigration in 1924. Only a small number entered the United States between 1924 and World War II. Although immigrants, they have been classified as Italian American because they have American citizenship and have lived in the United States for many years. Mainly as a result of their lack of fluency in both English and Italian, first generation Italian Americans limit their participation in community life. They are now elderly and often live with their middle-aged children. Social contacts of the first generation are almost exclusively confined to immediate family members and neighbors who are also elderly immigrants. They are viewed by their children and grandchildren as well as recent immigrants as being unable to understand or contribute to the world beyond their primary groups.

SECOND GENERATION ITALIAN AMERICANS. This subgroup is
the largest and most influential in the total population of Jamesville and is the only subgroup which has extensive contact with the recent immigrants from Italy. Therefore, when the term "Italian American" is used in this account it refers primarily to this generation. For the most part, people of the second generation have high school educations and own their own homes. They own or are employed in the many small businesses in Jamesville or are skilled blue-collar workers. Although incomes of over $20,000 are not uncommon, the levels of education and ways of life are those of the working class (Gans, 1962: 244). Most second generation Italian Americans can speak to some degree, the native Italian dialect of their parents. Adherence to traditional Southern Italian customs and values varies greatly among them. Nevertheless, almost all are highly conscious of their identity as Italian Americans and are actively participating members of the local Italian community. The members of this subgroup are the offspring of the elderly first generation. Although the American-born children of recent immigrants, most of whom are less than ten years of age, are technically also second generation Italian Americans, because of their youth they are included in one of the subgroups of their parents.

THIRD GENERATION ITALIAN AMERICANS. This subgroup consists of the young adult offspring of the second generation who have remained in Jamesville after marriage. Many have attended college or had other formal training after finishing high school. This generation is considerably less conscious of Italian ethnicity than the other subgroups are. They do
not speak Italian and, unlike their parents, tend to identify themselves with the larger American society rather than with Italians of Jamesville. Their power within the community is restricted to influence upon their parents since they do not form a cohesive body nor occupy an influential position in the economic structure of Jamesville. The contact of this group with recent immigrants is confined principally to association with Italian relatives within their extended families who speak English.

LOWER CLASS ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS. Of the one and one-half square miles of Jamesville, this subgroup is concentrated in an area approximately ten blocks long and five blocks wide. The vast majority of these immigrants, who entered the United States after 1965, have limited education and speak little English. As a result of these handicaps, they generally depend upon other Italians for employment and housing. Although literate, they are rarely educated beyond junior high school. They are employed in a variety of unskilled and semi-skilled industrial occupations. The number of adult males in this group is much higher than that of adult females as a result of the tendency of the husbands to migrate first and be joined later by their families.

The term "lower class" as used here needs explanation, since it is generally used with reference to an industrial economy. The immigrants in question here are in the transitional state between what Foster (1967: 7) has called "post-peasant" and "urban proletariat." As families, their position in the Italian economy was complex since the adult
males were employed in blue-collar, industrial occupations in Northern Italian cities whereas their wives remained in the Southern Italian village and performed various agricultural tasks. Thus, two economic identifications were included within one family. Their culture is traditional in many aspects but of low status in Italy, and for this reason I have called them "lower class."

MIDDLE CLASS ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS. Although these people have also immigrated since 1965, they reflect a new trend in the history of Italian immigration to the United States in being well-educated, holding employment in white-collar occupations and having incomes ranging from $12,000 to $17,000. They consider themselves middle class and are so considered by both Italian immigrants of lower class and Italian Americans. In their native society they occupied a relatively high socio-economic position but were unable financially to support the middle class standards of living to which they aspired. These migrants are young couples with small children who immigrated as families and are larger in number than the lower class immigrants. They rent small houses in the better areas of the immigrant and Italian American sections. As a result of their facility with the English language, occupational skills and middle class values and behavior, they adjust to Jamesville with minimal assistance from other subgroups.

The heart of the immigrant community of Jamesville is approximately a ten-block length of Main Street, which ironically, was the main landing point for British troops in
the Revolutionary War. This area is the site of a collection of Italian mercantile establishments, including pastry shops, boutiques and record and magazine shops. Groceries with aluminum and glass exteriors offer salami, cheeses, mineral water, Italian coffees, sweets and similar foods. A theater shows Italian films several times a week. The regular clientele of three coffee bars chat at sidewalk tables in warm weather. Old women in mourning stroll arm-in-arm with their grand-daughters, who are clad in blue jeans and platform shoes. Male immigrants, their fitted Italian shirts unbuttoned to expose gold crosses, lean against the buildings observing the procession of females. Although Main Street is not a square with trees, benches, and precise boundaries, its social functions are similar to those of the piazza in the immigrants' native villages.

The side streets crossing Main Street are residential. Small apartment buildings are situated between one- and two-family houses of brick which are immaculately maintained. In the summer, the small gardens for which the Italian neighborhoods of New York are famous give a refreshing, almost a provincial quality to these streets. Apartments and houses near Main Street are less desirable than those farther removed from this busy street. Single male immigrants often live in tiny apartments above the stores or in small corner dwellings on or near Main Street. Rents for these quarters are low and the renters like being in the center of the constant activity of the street.

The density of the immigrant population in Jamesville
permits a lifestyle similar to that of the Southern Italian village. As the preceding description has suggested, Italian movies, newspapers, magazines, foodstuffs, and clothing are readily available and are perhaps more easily accessible than their American counterparts. Noted Italian entertainers frequently perform in New York City for immigrant audiences. Italian newspapers are published in New York containing world news as well as local news of Southern Italian cities and the New York area. Two radio stations are exclusively Italian; an additional radio station and television UHF channel broadcast in Italian many hours weekly. Italian values and norms are affirmed in social interaction with fellow Italians within the community and are given additional support by the news media.

Quantitative data are unavailable on the length of time Italian immigrants living in various Italian communities in New York City have been in the United States. However, conversations with knowledgeable persons have confirmed the author's impression that, among such communities, Jamesville has an unusually high percentage of recent immigrants. As previously noted, Jamesville also appears clearly to be more prosperous and more markedly middle class than Brooklyn communities which were settled during previous phases of Italian immigration. These circumstances appear to reflect the traits of the recent immigrants to Jamesville, who brought with them to New York ways of life learned in Italy that were modern rather than backward as compared with Italian American culture. Unlike their predecessors, the recent migrants thus
need to make less drastic adjustments to their new surroundings, and their circumstances foster continued identity with Italian culture.

Southern Italy has only recently begun to emerge from the poverty and backwardness that had long characterized it. The millions of Italians who came to the United States before World War I were ill-equipped for life in an urban, industrial culture. They were the illiterate, malnourished bearers of a tradition differing sharply from that of the Yankee Americans. They were subjected to discrimination and prejudice of an intensity which ranks among the most severe ever inflicted upon any ethnic group in the history of the United States. A combination of three factors—the great wars, Mussolini's restrictive emigration policy, and the institution of the first American quota system in the 1920s—stopped the trend of massive emigration from Italy. Approximately 700,000 Italians entered the United States from 1920 to 1950 but 70 per cent of these came before 1930.

Although contemporary immigrants are motivated by economic considerations, they are otherwise far different from the pre-1930 immigrants. The latter were tied to Italy primarily through the family. By means of emigration they were able to escape poverty and their subordinate position in a feudal social structure. Since World War II, Southern Italy, the Mezzogiorno,\(^1\) has undergone much social and political

\(^1\)The most common Italian term for Southern Italy which literally means "land of the noonday sun."
transformation. As a result, Jamesville immigrants are proud of their native country. They believe it offers a more humane environment for the individual than the United States does. As the preceding statements imply the conceptions of Italy and the complexes of values and attitudes regarding cultural identity as Italians held by recent and earlier immigrants differ strikingly in ways that lead to some degree of conflict between recent arrivals and Italian Americans. Recent immigrants have positive views of Italy and of themselves as Italians, but Italian Americans do not share these views. The ways in which this conflict is manifested is possibly the most notable issue in social relationships in Jamesville.
The Dynamic Process Model: A Synchronic and Diachronic Approach

This study has two related goals. The first is to describe the characteristics of social structure existing among the recent Italian immigrants of Jamesville. The second is to explore this social structure in terms of its internal dynamics and development on the basis of patterns found in traditional and transitional cultures of Southern Italy. In order to satisfy these goals, two basic conceptual approaches were used in the research design, the dynamic-process model (Blok, 1974:xxx) and network analysis. The use of these approaches permitted the incorporation of both synchronic and diachronic data.

The dynamic-process model of a social system provides an alternative to a static equilibrium model (Blok, 1974:xxx; Leach, 1964:xii-xiii). Factors outside the boundaries of the system being studied may be integrated in the analysis. The social system is thus not viewed as an organic whole existing at a single point in time, which is characteristic of the traditional functionalist interpretation. Instead, it is conceived as a dynamic result of the interplay between contemporary cultural conditions and developmental processes.

The intent of this research was to interpret the social worlds of recent Italian immigrants, a goal which cannot be accomplished without considerable reference to Southern Italy and, to a lesser degree, the culture history of the Italian community in New York City. The class antagonisms within the Italian population in Jamesville are a reflection of the
juxtaposition of modern and traditional elements in contemporary Southern Italian society. The behavior of recent lower class immigrants continues to be more traditional than modern. Italian American culture, having turn-of-the-century origins, has also evolved in part from traditional Southern Italian culture. This partially explains the satisfactory relations between second generation Italian Americans and lower class immigrants in Jamesville.

Chapter II discusses the traditional culture of Southern Italy and its historical and economic foundations. The post-war development of the economy and the accompanying social conditions are discussed in Chapter III. Modernization in post-war times has produced in Southern Italy a middle class with predominantly non-traditional values. Recent middle class immigrants to New York have considerable conflict with recent immigrants of lower class and with second generation Italian Americans, the only group of Italian Americans with whom they have extensive contact. Thus, a consideration of Southern Italian culture is included in this research for the following two reasons: (1) certain characteristics of the system must be viewed from a longitudinal perspective in order fully to grasp their significance and, (2) the link between the culture of recent immigrants in Jamesville and Southern Italian culture has a strong impact on the immigrant social system. 2 Chapter IV, which reviews the American

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2 Leach points out that "...there is no intrinsic reason why the significant frontiers of social systems should always coincide with cultural frontiers (1964: 17)." Where
experience of the old first generation Italians and their children, completes the presentation of diachronic material.

The synchronic data collected in Jamesville are in Chapters V, VI and VII, which describe the social worlds of immigrant couples of middle class, immigrant couples of lower class, and single immigrants of lower class. Chapter VIII presents a summary of the field research and offers conclusions drawn from it.

Network Analysis

Network analysis presents an alternative means of conceptualizing social structure more suitable than the traditional group approach to the situation studied. Network analysis also permits the formulation of generalizations regarding the nature of social relations from the perspectives of individual members of a social group (see, especially, Barnes, 1954; Boissevain, 1968; and Bott, 1971). In certain social systems human interaction occurs most persistently among individuals outside groups. An individual interacts with persons who may or may not know one another. If the constituent members of a network do know one another the nature of their respective relationships to the individual at the center of the network may

Footnote 2 continued/
masses of people with a common cultural background have immigrated to a distant territory, they can no longer plan an active role in the parent system. Initially, at least, the cultures characterizing the two divergent systems may be so similar they can be considered as one. A number of factors would determine the persistence of a shared culture. On the basis of data from Jamesville, the most important appear to be: exchange of personnel between the systems, maintenance of close communication between the two groups and development of a positive attitude on the part of the immigrants towards participation in the native culture.
be significantly different. Furthermore, their relationship to one another may present still other variations. Networks do not exhibit the sense of identity, interdependent roles, and common aims generally attributed to groups. They do not form well-defined units with precise boundaries. A network consists of those persons with whom an individual interacts with at least limited regularity. Highly impersonal and/or transitory contacts are not considered a part of the individual's network (Bott, 1971: 292).

Network analysis developed when anthropologists were confronted with field situations where interaction occurred predominantly outside of groups. Although Bott (1971: 317) stresses the view that all societies have networks of social relationships, the concept of networks and associated methodology have been especially helpful to anthropologists studying urban societies.

Anthropology's principal methodological technique, participant-observation, was developed in the course of studying small-scale primitive cultures. Participant-observation was found to be an equally effective technique in the post-war trend toward the study of peasant cultures at the village level. Numerous brilliant ethnographies of peasant cultures were produced using data so obtained. A still more recent trend of anthropological study, now still in its early stages, has been the study of urban communities. Earlier, participant-observation had been used in relatively small societies with limited territorial boundaries. Urban societies, which were generally much more complex than societies previously studied,
presented intrinsically new conditions for field research. In most urban societies, where relations outside of the nuclear family are primarily in the context of networks rather than groups, a departure from the traditional form of participant-observation is required. Since anthropologists cannot participate in the full life of the community they must restrict themselves to certain segments. Frequently, this has been achieved by relying upon the family as the unit observed (Gans, 1962; Lewis, 1961). Although the family is a corporate group, it is not, as such, the only unit of study. As Bott (1971: 326-327) points out, however, the family rarely interacts with external groups as a whole unit, but, rather, as individual members. Through participant-observation and interviewing, data on relationships outside the family may be determined by gathering from family members information on individual networks of association beyond the family circle. Thus, the use of the family as a unit of study enables the anthropologist to obtain data on networks while retaining the research benefits of participant-observation.

Elsewhere, Bott (1971: 292) notes the difficulty of obtaining by participant-observation sufficient data to determine networks. Network links which reflect ego's relationship to another individual are dyadic. It is not realistic for the anthropologist to follow an informant as he performs his daily routine. In an urban context this is probably the only way a network could be determined from observation. At the best, the amount of time required to determine networks by participant-observation would seriously limit the size of the sample.
Network analysis was considered the most appropriate conceptual and methodological approach for this study because of the well-documented lack of importance of groups outside of the nuclear family among Southern Italians. (For example, see: Foerster, 1969: 433; Moss and Cappannari, 1962, 298; and Schneider, 1971: 6-10.) The integration of the individual into society is restricted principally to his participation in the nuclear family. It is for this reason Southern Italian culture is often referred as "individualistic," meaning that the individual does not identify with groups beyond the nuclear family, does not participate in such groups for the purpose of achieving common goals, and does not behave in accordance with values or standards established by such groups. Adult males, who are the most individualistic members of society, are effectively isolated from strong emotional ties with all persons but their mother, a subject which will later be discussed in greater detail. They constitute the largest and most visible segment of the immigrant population of Jamesville. It was expected, then that the Southern Italian opposition to forming social groups other than the family would, in Jamesville, foster the growth of the general urban tendency toward formation of individual networks.

Data on the personnel of individual networks were obtained by interviews, but the dynamics of the social relationships involved were derived from personal observation. An unstructured interview format was found to be more effective in eliciting information on networks than structured interviews. Nevertheless, it was necessary to use structured
interviews to fill in specific gaps in the data when either the author or informant was pressed for time or when rapport could not be established with a particular informant.

A major problem in the use of directed interviews was that informants were preoccupied with the thought that their behavior did not conform with that of other informants. An informant might repeatedly interrupt the interviewer to ask such questions as whether or not husbands of other women were out of the house as frequently as her own or if other families spent approximately the same amount of money as the informant's family for a wedding. If the response was negative, the informant was visibly disturbed. This concern was interpreted by the author as a reflection of the individual's lack of confidence in his knowledge of community norms.

The social networks of 30 persons were investigated in detail. Included were eight married couples, of whom three were middle class. The five remaining couples were of peasant backgrounds in Southern Italy and are lower class by American standards. Two of the lower class husbands work in construction; two operate small luncheonettes and one is employed in a salumeria, an Italian specialty grocery store. Four married males with families in Italy, eight single males and two single females complete the group of persons whose social networks were investigated. Twelve of these were lower class immigrants who were manual laborers in a variety of industrial and service occupations. The two remaining individuals were a single male who owned a clothing store, and a bi-lingual secretary. Both may be identified as middle class.
The average age of the total sample was 31.2 years. The male spouses of the eight couples were the oldest subgroup with an average age of 35.8 years. Their wives were on the average 31.2 years old. The married men with families remaining in Italy averaged 33.5 years and single male informants averaged 26.4 years. The range in informants' ages, from 23 to 38 years, was thus not very great, but it appeared to reflect the age distribution of recent immigrants. Half of the informants (fifteen) were from Apulia; nearly half (fourteen) were Sicilians, and one informant was from Naples. Detailed data on the socio-economic characteristics of informants is presented in the appendix.

The network interview format was organized to elicit information as described below:

1. Personal characteristics of the informant:
   Age; formal education; marital status;
   number of children; occupation; social class in Italy and the United States;
   immigrant status; province of origin in Italy; assessment of ability to communicate in English.

2. Description of informant's interpersonal relationships outside the context of the nuclear family:
   Identity of other parties; place of occurrence; nature of the relationship; the frequency of contacts by letter, telephone or
personal visits with persons in Italy.

3. Variables thought to affect networks:
   Informant's history of geographic mobility; whether or not the informant intends to remain in the United States permanently.

4. Assessment of the conjugal relationship of the eight couples.
   Description of the informant's responsibility in the family with respect to housework, care and discipline of the children, finances, kinship duties outside of the nuclear family.

5. Kin residing within close physical proximity of the informant:
   Number of consanguineal kin residing within ten blocks of the informant; relationship of kin who were born in Italy.

6. Exposure to news media:
   Information on contact with Italian and English television, radio, movies, newspapers, and magazines.

7. Contacts with Italian Americans:
   Reason for the contacts (work, kin, or leisure); informant's evaluation of the intimacy of the tie; the type of
assistance available to the informant in vertical alliances with Italian Americans; whether the alliance is between kin or non-kin.

**Participant-Observation**

I conducted extensive participant-observation in Jamesville from February to November, 1974 which added essential depth and vitality to the network data collected in interviews. Without observing and participating in interaction situations, an understanding of the nature of relationships could not have been attained. Participant-observation was especially important in determining the type of conflict which existed between Italian Americans and Italians of lower and middle class, as well as the dynamics of relationships among the single immigrants. The absence of the nuclear family among a substantial part of the immigrants led mostly to participant-observation in a variety of situations other than familiar social contexts. However, the limited participant-observation of three nuclear families was possible.

*Entrée* into the lives of Italians living in Jamesville was remarkably smooth and rapid. In comparison with my previous experience of establishing a household in a Molisano village in 1971, Jamesville Italians were considerably less suspicious, hostile and curious. Half of my informants in Jamesville were Sicilians, who are generally considered the
most reserved of all Southerners, whereas the people of the
Molise have a reputation for being friendlier than their
countrymen farther south. Thus, the ease of my acceptance
in Jamesville is attributable to factors other than the native
disposition of informants.

One of these circumstances is that I was not moving
into an isolated village as a foreigner. The decision of
whether or not to interact with me on an open, responsive
basis was initially made by the individual rather than the
community. Individuals could enjoy a highly supportive friend-
ship without risking their reputation within a tightly-knit
community.

My familiarity with Southern Italy also helped provide
an immediate foundation for trust. I had visited the remote,
native villages of many informants and knew the local points
of interest, specialities in food and wine and, in a few
cases, had mutual acquaintances. This knowledge was of
inestimable value in establishing my reputation and facilitat-
ing my research. Frequently, it was assumed I knew more
about Southern Italy than was actually the case. On numerous
occasions confidences or revelations were prefaced by such
statements as:

As you know signorina, we Barese are a
people with pride. You saw how deeply
offended I was when that puzzone (skunk)
brought up the subject of my sister's
mother-in-law. I brushed it off because
you were here, but I'll take care of
him later.
In this instance I had not noticed his offense, but the speaker assumed I had and felt obliged to explain his behavior. What followed was an account of family disgrace which the informant had previously been too ashamed to reveal.

Another advantage was that I was one of the few Americans with whom most informants had had extensive contact who was not of Italian descent. They were extremely pleased that "real" American society, of which I was the embodiment, was concerned about their welfare and interested in their customs. Frustration exists among the new immigrants because they are rarely allowed to speak for themselves. Italian Americans assume the role of spokesmen for the entire Italian community in New York City, but most migrants do not completely identify with them and see themselves as a distinct group. Furthermore, the fact that as a "true" American I was obviously more interested in Italians than Italian Americans was a source of considerable pride.

We are becoming increasingly aware of the extent to which the participatory role the anthropologist plays in the course of conducting research affects the outcome of his work. The degree and nature of the influence depends in part upon situational factors, not the least of which are the personal qualities of the anthropologist. I have no doubt that a male anthropologist would have had experiences in Jamesville different from my own. The disproportionately
large number of single adult males in the population studied and the well-known Mediterranean complex of male values and attitudes towards the role of women and sexuality made the sex of the researcher especially relevant in this study. Due to my sex I was constrained in certain ways, but for the most part, I believe that being female facilitated the research. In retrospect, I am certain that I could have exhibited a greater latitude in behavior than I did without incurring criticism. Yet, the fear of over-stepping boundaries which I only partially understood necessitated a conservative approach. For my informants as well as for myself, the boundaries of acceptable behavior were defined as situations arose, since I represented a category which they had not previously encountered. Thus, my informants were as ignorant as I regarding what standards should apply to my behavior. Their exposure to non-Italian women was limited principally to the Jewish and Irish females in Jamesville, with whom the immigrants did not have personal contacts. These women were viewed by the immigrants as being somewhat dishonorable because of their uninhibited behavior, which the immigrants could not condone although they knew it reflected different standards.

My status was not comparable with that of other non-Italian women for several reasons: I lived alone and my family was hundreds of miles away, a state which is common
among males of Jamesville but rare or unknown among females. Although my midwestern farm background was unfamiliar to the immigrants, it was not considered strange or undesirable. My social position based upon education and income was considerably higher than that of most informants, but I made an effort to camouflage this fact since it was incongruous with my role as a woman.

I was permitted to do things no Italian woman was permitted to do, such as enter the coffee bars, local restaurants and attend movies alone. I could engage in animated conversation with several men or have a thoughtful dialogue with one, although eyes were always on me. So long as I remained an anthropologist with regard to the male informants, the boundary was never breached. In the ten months of field work, I was never alone with a male informant in a private dwelling for more than a few moments. Both male and female informants frequently commented that my behavior was tolerated only because I was not Italian. My personal safety was of great concern to some informants. Since Jamesville has one of the lowest rates of street crime in New York City, I viewed this expression of concern as an indirect effort to curtail my freedom.

As is always the case, some informants were more sensitive and articulate than others. I sacrificed more intense contact with those males who were the better informants to preserve an image of equal interest in all, which I believed to be essential for the maintenance of my reputation and, hence, ultimate success. Being female was advantageous
in that it facilitated my access to a great variety of informants and was not threatening to them. A male in a comparable situation would probably have encountered more reticence and skepticism. Immigrants do not believe that a woman could have direct access to power which, from the informant's perspective, meant that I could not injure him. As a result, illegal or quasi-legal information was casually given to me or revealed in my presence.

I lived in an apartment building purchased some months earlier by a 38-year-old Sicilian who had lived in the United States for ten years. He and his family were in the building frequently, although they lived in the adjacent block. The storefront of the building was rented to a family of recent immigrants from Sicily, who lived in the rear and operated a luncheonette-pizzeria in the front. The customers of this establishment, "Carlini's Pizza", were among the poorest immigrants I encountered in Jamesville. Some were illegal aliens, whose families remained in Italy. They lived in the same apartment building as I did or in the adjacent one and, like myself, took meals with the Carlinis. However, I was the only patron if I did not eat between 6:00 and 7:00 P.M., the immigrants' dinner hour. I also made use of another luncheonette, "Il Piccolo Bari", that was more elaborate than Carlini's Pizza. Il Piccolo Bari was owned and run by a Barese family whose members had immigrated in stages. The last of this family of eight to arrive was a 16-year-old son, who had been in Brooklyn a month at the time my research began. Il Piccolo Bari was a tavola calda, selling homemade
food that is prepared well in advance of sale and then displayed under glass on a counter, and heated when it is ordered. This luncheonette had been newly renovated and was clean and comfortable. The tables could be easily moved to join several together, which frequently happened as large parties ate together. Several visible but private nooks provided a respectable area for a female anthropologist to have a confidential conversation with male informants. The clientele of Il Piccolo Bari consisted predominantly of male immigrants who lived alone or with a roommate and came to Il Piccolo Bari, for homecooked peasant dishes that, unlike elegant restaurant fare, tasted like the foods their wives or mothers had prepared. These men sought companionship. Although male companionship was available in the coffee bars and circoli (social clubs) of Jamesville, it was the family-generated warmth, the lure of the hearth, that drew patrons to the luncheonette.

A key informant, Gennaro Socco, owned a small but thriving men's clothing store on Main Street. Gennaro made two annual trips to Italy to purchase clothing for his Italian customers in Jamesville. Much Italian clothing is made for export, principally for the American market. Only very expensive, high-fashion items which are geared to an international market are sold in both Italian and American shops. The immigrants, who are now financially capable of dressing in accordance with the prevailing standards of taste in Italy, find the kinds of clothes they like and want in Gennaro's International Boutique. The clothing sold by Gennaro
is a luxury for the immigrant who earns little money. In 1974, shirts ranged in price from $15 to $30 and light sport coats from $50 to $80. Gennaro's success reflects the great value placed upon dressing appropriately (fare una bella figura) among these men. Most of the male immigrants in Jamesville were Gennaro's clients. Buying clothes was a jubilant occasion, and, when shopping, the men were often accompanied by family and friends.

Fittings or alterations of clothing were done in a back room of the store which was furnished with two sofas, chairs, a sewing machine, and ironing and cutting boards. During the evening until the shop closed at 9:00 P.M., it was common for two or three friends or relatives of Gennaro's to drop in to visit in the back room. Gennaro recognized what an ideal location his store was for my research. He suggested I work for him part-time and use the store in any way that would facilitate research. For a period of three months, I spent several evenings a week and Saturdays as a clerk in Gennaro's International Boutique.

Conflict between middle class Italians and Italian Americans was recognized after the research had progressed a couple of months. More participant-observation data than was being obtained was necessary to ascertain the basis of this conflict. An opportunity emerged to fill this gap when a young Italian-born lawyer who had left Sicily at the age of two ran for political office. The Italian American and Italian communities jointly supported him. Although most of his campaign workers were Italian Americans, a number of Italians
also were volunteers. As a campaign worker giving service to promoting this man's candidacy, I was often able to observe the development of relationships between Italian Americans and Italians.

Leisure activities were also important occasions for participant-observation. These consisted principally of the following: chatting with informants over espresso in the bars on Main Street, attending Italian movies on Sunday afternoons, attending dances on Friday nights, evening visits with married informants in their homes, and excursions with informants to parks and tourist attractions in the city.

In many urban environments participant-observation is handicapped by the limited amount of time informants spend in public areas. Although the anthropologist may gain access to the home of informants by personal contacts, he is generally dependent upon public acceptance to develop an adequate sample. Most of the interaction observed in Jamesville occurred in public areas, such as the coffee bars and luncheonettes. In addition, Gennaro's fitting room, which was a semi-private area attached to a public area, was an important site for research. In Jamesville as in the Southern Italian village, the individual's living quarters were extremely private and a large portion of his time was spent in public places. Interaction which occurred in public ranged from impersonal to personal and provided an opportunity to observe easily a variety of relationships. Thus, the use of participant-observation in this study was facilitated by the quasi-traditional character of the community.
CHAPTER II

THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE
OF SOUTHERN ITALY

The Origins

Italy's South nurtured the great majority of the five million Italians who came to the United States seeking economic security in the last 150 years. The South consists of the continental regions of the Molise, Campania, Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria, which lie below Rome, and the insular regions of Sicily and Sardinia. This land, famous as an exporter of human labor, is one of the poorest and most primitive in the Western world. The South has occupied this wretched position since Roman times. In the last twenty years social change brought it into the twentieth century. Characteristics associated with underdevelopment have been profoundly altered, but modernity is still the primary goal. The South bridges two worlds and two centuries. It is neither a wholly modern, industrial society, nor a traditional peasant society. Elements of the latter have been retained as the South approaches the threshold of industrialization.

After the demise of Mussolini and the institution of the Republic of Italy, it was officially recognized that long-term political stability and economic prosperity were dependent
upon the modernization of the South. A comprehensive program of government intervention, known as the "politica meridionalistica" resulted.\footnote{Politica Meridionalistica is translated as Southern politics.} The initial goal of the politica meridionalistica was to close the economic gap between Northern and Southern Italy. However, the economic disparity between the "two Italies" was merely one manifestation of the differences in two separate socio-cultural systems. The North is culturally European, and the South, Mediterranean. Geographically, the North is securely nestled among the European nations. The nineteenth century upheavals on the Continent had a formidable influence on the political and intellectual leaders of Northern Italian society. In contrast, the South lies in the center of the Mediterranean isolated from Europe and less than one hundred miles from Africa.

The natural resources, cultural values and economy of the North enabled it to participate in the secondary stages of European industrialization. At the time of the Unification of Italy in 1861, 92.8 per cent of railroad mileage was in the North. The North had over seven times as many business corporations as the South, with paid-in capital amounting to over fourteen times the amount in Southern corporations. Any number of economic indicators would reflect the miniscule portion of the nation's financial resources found in the South. However, 41 per cent of the land and 37 per cent of the population of Italy were south of Rome (Clough, 1964: 163-168).
In the century between Unification and World War II, economic progress in the South was retarded. The dire conditions of poverty existing in 1950 are evident from the 1951 census statistics (SVIMEZ, 1961). One-half of all dwellings in the South had no drinking water from either a well or main supply. Forty per cent of all Southern dwellings had no sanitary facilities of any type, compared with 16 per cent in the North. Nine hundred thousand Southerners of a population of 18 million were living in huts, caves, and cellars. Almost one-fourth of the population of the South over six years of age was illiterate. Fifty-seven per cent of the total labor force was engaged in agriculture. In some Southern regions, the figure rose to 80 per cent. The net income per household was almost two and one-half times greater in the North than the South (Mountjoy, 1973: 8-9).

A combination of geo-historical and social forces coalesced in such a way that progress was effectively retarded until after the end of World War II. The tragic irony of the South lies in the fact that although its economy is almost entirely dependent upon agriculture, its agricultural resources are impoverished. Rossi-Doria, the most highly regarded authority on Southern Italian agriculture, referred to the two predominant types of terrain as the "flesh" and the "bones" of the South (1958). The "flesh" is the coastal plains of Apulia, Sicily, and Campania. The "bones" are the interior hills and mountains. Ten of the twelve million hectares of land in Southern Italy are considered hills and mountains. The coastal

\[ 1 \text{ hectare} = 2.47 \text{ acres} \]
plains account for only two million hectares (Schachter, 1965: 41). Thus, 56 per cent of the cultivated land in the South lies on slopes greater than 15 degrees, and forty-nine per cent of the area classified as mountainous is cultivated.

The geology of the South introduces a host of additional problems. The hills of conglomerates and young sandstone are stripped of vegetative cover and marked by deeply eroded gullies. Deforestation is thought to have begun as early as Roman times. The other surfaces are composed of various types of limestone. The "extensive limestone" does not permit surface drainage, and the "hard dolomitic limestone" bears thin topsoil.

The total annual rainfall is small, but a more serious problem is its uneven seasonal distribution. Rainfall is very heavy in the winter months and light in the summer during the growing season. Due to the absence of alternative water supplies, agricultural development is severely hampered. The heavy winter rains fall on naked topsoil, resulting in the erosion common throughout the South.

Agriculture is not the only victim of the harsh terrain. The inaccessibility of much of the South has created serious obstacles to industrialization. The primitive and inadequate transportation system has discouraged businesses from locating in areas which are remote from markets. The lack of local resources requires the importation of raw materials. Perhaps, the most severe problem resulting from the ruggedness of the landscape is cultural isolation. Remote mountain villages had been cut off from civilization for centuries before the massive introduction of television in the 1960s. The dialect
spoken in a village was often incomprehensible to residents of surrounding villages. Campanilismo, (Moss and Cappanari, 1960: 25) distrust of anyone who lived beyond the sound of the village church bell, was prevalent in Southern villages.

Conditions promoted by the poverty of natural resources were worsened by the region's unfortunate history. Before Unification, the South had not experienced political independence. Southern Italy entered the Modern Period of European history under the domination of the most repressive nation in Western Europe, Spain.

Since Roman times, the South had been overrun by a seemingly endless stream of foreign invaders. The Saracens came first, followed by the Normans, Germans, Spanish and French. All were motivated by the sole desire to drain the South of the most revenue possible with no consideration of the long-term economic impact. Limited agricultural resources were depleted by highly exploitative practices. Burdensome taxation, the tyranny of local feudal barons, increasing population growth on decreasingly productive land were some of the major reasons for the poverty which ensued.

The most detrimental results of the Spanish domination, which began in the sixteenth century, were absentee landlordism and the alienation and demoralization of the populace. To prevent a coalition of peasants and local elites, the Spanish granted the nobility special status before the law, thus creating a class resentment which persisted for centuries. The landed aristocracy was encouraged to denigrate manual labor and focus their attention beyond the rural society upon urban centers.
Although feudalism was officially abolished at the end of the nineteenth century, the village class structure showed little, if any, transformation for another fifty years. In the traditional village, land was owned by the nobility and the Church. Lawyers constituted the only significant power group in the village. A very small number of artisans and merchants were somewhat more affluent than the masses. The peasantry included most of the population. The vast majority were landless and subsisted in varying degrees of destitution.

It is now generally accepted that government policy favored the North in the first hundred years after Unification. A superior infrastructure was built in the North; incipient Southern industry was unprotected from the more competitive industries in the North; and the Italian government engaged in a tariff war with France which had disastrous effects on the South's economy (Hildebrand, 1965: 305). However, the South was more the victim of neglect in this period than overt mistreatment.

Beginning in 1874, Italy entered a depression that, aside from periodic improvement, lasted almost twenty years. This depression had the most serious repercussions in the agricultural sector. During this time a protectionist policy against foreign competitors, especially France, was instituted. France retaliated by boycotting Italian goods, primarily foodstuffs produced in the South. As a result, prices generally rose in the South at the time the market for Southern goods had collapsed. This economic disaster resulted in a massive exodus from the land. Transoceanic emigration increased from
20,671. in 1874 to 130,302 in 1887. In 1888 a total of 209,264 Southerners emigrated.

From this time, emigration came to be the enduring solution, on both an individual and national level, to the economic plight of Southern Italy.

The Fascist government was instituted in 1922. Two of its policies were especially deleterious to conditions in the South. The first was a restrictive approach to internal migration. The pressure of population growth on the land and economy had been restrained for the previous one hundred years by American emigration. In the 1920s, this emigration to the United States was severely cut by the institution of an American quota system. To compensate, the expanding industry of the North was beginning to attract a growing number of Southerners. However, Mussolini decreed internal migration illegal. An individual was not even permitted to move to a larger town within his own province. This restriction became known as the "Battle Against Urbanization" (Lopreato, 1967: 31).

Secondly, Mussolini introduced the cultivation of wheat on a massive scale in the South. From both an agricultural and economic perspective, wheat cultivation was poorly suited to Southern needs, where climate and terrain were not well-adapted to this cereal. Wheat did not necessarily stimulate the economy through encouraging processing or other types of industry associated with its production. Furthermore, wheat is a capital intensive crop. With the reduction of emigration, labor intensive crops were necessary to employ the vast numbers of peasants locked within Southern villages. The restrictive
impact of Fascist policies on development in the South is apparent in the fact that the portion of the population employed in agriculture rose by 17 per cent from 1930 to 1950.

The Traditional Agricultural Economy

As previously noted, the South's economy before World War II was firmly based in agriculture. In 1950, only 20 per cent of the labor force was employed in industry and 57 per cent in agriculture. Five agrarian zones could be distinguished in the intricately tangled network of land tenure arrangements (Dickinson, 1955: 58–66). They were divided into two major forms of land tenure. The first, "diversified peasant agriculture" was characterized by peasant landowners who intensively cultivated several crops on small, widely-dispersed plots. It was generally found in the mountainous regions of the Molise, Lucania and Calabria, the "bones" of the South. The second, latifundia, consisted of large estates managed by powerful overseers where land was parceled out to peasant renters in a variety of short-term contracts. Latifundia crops were usually those requiring extensive cultivation, such as cereal. Latifundia was found in the "flesh" of the South, the plains of Sicily, Apulia and the Salerno Valley.

In intensively cultivated areas, land was divided into very small plots which had boundaries that were readily changed. Inheritance laws encouraged fragmentation since each offspring received equal amounts of property. Frequently, a portion of each plot was granted to heirs to insure equal distribution of quality.
Fragmentation and decentralization occurred with regard to both the organization of holdings and the cultivator's activity on the land. Ownership, sharecropping, rental (tenancy) and hired labor were all common. Rental was usually associated with a fixed payment. Occasionally, the landowner made nominal contributions towards expenses. Sharecropping involved a division of agricultural goods between landowner and cultivator (Silverman, 1968: 11). Tenancy and sharecropping showed the widest range of variation in contractual terms. Thus, on one plot peasants might be under sharecropping contracts on all crops. On another, they might work as hired labor for the harvest of wheat. On yet another, they might have ownership rights to grapes. All of these plots were unrelated geographically and could easily be several miles apart. Each contract was short-term and might last for as short a period as the growing season of one crop. Contracts rarely lasted longer than one cycle of rotation (two to four years) (Silverman, 1968: 11).

Contracts were competitive. The landowner with an available contract held out for the highest bidder or, as Silverman (1968: 12) says, "...sees what the market will bear." The class-based priorities of the legal apparatus in the South prevented the standardization and regulation of contracts. Tremendous overpopulation created pressure on the land, which was the only source of livelihood. Those who owned land viewed those forced to do manual labor with scorn and contempt. The landlord rarely regarded the peasant in a sympathetic, humanistic vein.
The competitive nature of agricultural contracts had far-reaching impact on the South's social structure. It was the basic reason for the isolation of the individual and his withdrawal into the nuclear family. Stable horizontal ties were discouraged. The individual would not establish friendly relationships with his competitors for the same basic resources of land. Durable vertical ties between landlord and peasant were impractical. The landlord could not be encumbered with diffuse, long-term obligations and, simultaneously, maximize his material interests by selling contracts for the most profitable offer. Short-term contracts, which were not standardized to terminate concurrently further complicated the system of land tenure. Thus, the peasant was continuously engaged in battle with his landlord.

The organization of labor reinforced the divisive tendencies inherent in other aspects of the agricultural system. Agricultural production did not require cooperative forms of labor. Plots of land were so small that only on rare occasions did the peasant need a labor supply larger than his nuclear family.

The distinction between those forced to do manual labor and those freed from it was the foundation of the stratification system of the South. The lowest form of manual labor was work on the land. As one peasant said, "We hoe the earth, if you will forgive the expression, like beasts (Friedmann, 1967: 326)." In view of the Southerner's admiration for urban values and the disdain and shame his
agricultural labors earned him, it is not surprising the peasant saw his world as one of "la miseria" (Friedmann, 1967). Redfield (1965: 65–66) was confused by the peasants of Southern Italy, who so conspicuously lacked a "mystical attachment to the soil," his notion of the basic value of peasant society.

As it was the goal of peasants to become landlords, the goal of landlords was to establish residence outside the village. Wealthy landlords owned second homes in Rome, Naples, or Palermo. Those who were less wealthy spent most of their time in the provincial capitals. Although they did not have the prestige of the larger cities, the provincial capitals were still considered far superior to the villages.

Absentee landlordism was facilitated by the concentration of land holdings in large estates. Before land reform in 1950 abolished much of the inequity, 4.5 million hectares were divided into 25,000 estates owned by 13,000 landlords. Two and a half million peasants owned 443,810 hectares in plots smaller than one-half hectare. Although large estates could be found in areas of intensive cultivation, they were characteristic of the extensively cultivated latifunda.

Huge agro-towns were located in latifunda districts to house the peasantry. Although these towns often had populations exceeding 40,000, they were simple, overgrown villages. The peasant population of agro-towns formed an agricultural proletariat. In 1951, 43 per cent of the Apulian agricultural population was landless (King, 1973: 119).
These people were employed as day laborers, braccianti, on the latifunda. The competition for work was cut-throat since the row crops grown on latifunda did not require a significant labor input. Long before daybreak in the piazzas of agro-towns, mobs of peasants awaited middle-men from the estates who contracted labor on a daily basis. The presence of the latifunda in Sicily and Apulia partially accounts for the extremely high emigration rate from those regions.

The Traditional Social Structure of Southern Italy

The social universe of the Southern Italian was largely restricted to kin, the famiglia. The famiglia consisted of all affinal and consanguineal relatives up to the third or fourth degree. However, the degree of intimacy and obligation was dependent upon convenience and the closeness of the relationship. Typically, the first cousin was the most distant relative included in a pattern of obligation and responsibility.

For most individuals, the only significant arena of social interaction was the nuclear family. As a result of the harsh reality of Southern Italian existence and the individual's attitude towards it, he saw himself and family as being constantly vulnerable. The world outside the nuclear family was viewed as being hostile and devoid of principle (Parsons, 1969: 16). The conception of morality was applied largely within the boundaries of the nuclear family. This characteristic of Southern Italian culture has been called amoral familism by Banfield (1958). The amoral familist
behaved as if he were following this rule: "Maximize the material, shortrun advantage of the nuclear family; assume that all others will do likewise (1958: 83)." A lack of functioning social units above the family, scarcity of common-interest groups, and absence of operational and conceptual definitions of "community" resulted.

In spite of the great value placed upon the family, relationships within the family were not particularly warm and emotionally satisfying for the individual. An examination of traditional relationships suggests that the true nature of Southern culture was individualistic, not familial.

The nuclear family was father-dominated, but mother-centered. Although the father was the absolute authority within the family, family life revolved around the mother. The husband-wife relationship was marked by the high degree of conjugal role segregation typical of peasant societies. Their marriage was a pragmatic link between two families. The home was the terrain of the wife in which the husband spent little time. During busy seasons, the peasant slept in his fields for days or weeks at a time. What little leisure time the peasant had, was passed in the village piazza.

The agricultural system encouraged intense father-son rivalry as it did rivalry between other males. The fatherson relationship was rarely close and was often overtly hostile. The father-daughter relationship was inhibited by the Mediterranean complex of sexual values which emphasized female shame. The father's primary responsibility towards his
daughter was to protect her sexual purity. The brother-sister relationship was similar, but greater tension existed because of the brother's tendency to employ his authority arbitrarily. During the father's absence, the brother assumed many of his responsibilities. The mother's relationship to her sons and daughters was the only highly affective relationship existing in the family. However, the daughter was not exclusively dependent upon the mother for satisfaction of emotional needs. She would be tied to her own children one day in an even more intense emotional relationship.

With the exception of his mother, the adult male was emotionally isolated. Male rivalry pitted him against his sons, father and brothers. His daughter's potential sexuality created a barrier to intimacy. His conjugal relationship was not based upon understanding and mutual support, but the wife's submission to male authority.

Nonetheless, the male was tied to his wife and children by very strong bonds of responsibility. As Raymond Firth and Philip Garigue observed of Italians living in London, "... kinship is less an instrument of social expression as in English kinship than a formal tie implying right and obligation (1957: 79)." The household head's status as an honorable man was founded upon his fulfillment of two principal obligations: (1) adequately supporting his family, and, (2) protecting the purity of female family members, which was the repository of the family's collective honor (Boissevain, 1975: 9).

Interpersonal relations outside the family were fraught
with suspicion and mistrust. The only major exceptions were
the friendly relationships women had with other women when
they performed household chores outside the house. However,
restrictions which kept them in the house, discouraged in-
formal house-to-house visiting among non-kin.

The Italian word "amico" does not reflect the allegiance,
concern, and affection conveyed in the English, friend.
Amico is a term of address appropriate for any social equal.
Friendship was almost exclusively instrumental, that is
among persons who associate with one another to achieve a
practical goal. Such relationships were always secondary
to kin relationships. Boissevain observed that in Sicily,
the only emotional friendships he encountered were between
cousins. In these relationships, the term of address was
"cugino" (cousin) rather than amico. Thus the emotional
content of the relationship was based upon the foundation
of kinship.

The male's relationships outside the family were ver-
tical or horizontal alliances initiated for the purpose of
exchange of goods or services. Horizontal alliances which
involved the exchange of the same type of goods were rela-
tively unimportant since such needs were satisfied by rela-
tives of the male.

Different types of resources were exchanged in vertical
alliances which were based on the patron-client model. As
noted earlier, the agricultural system did not offer a model
from which enduring personal patronage ties could be devel-
oped. Patronage tended to be based on one completed act--
a favor for a favor. Nevertheless, the power of the traditional elite was largely based on its role as mediator between the peasant and the greater society. The peasant was incapable of dealing directly with a government bureaucracy. The patron had access to types of power unavailable to the peasant as a result of his participation in the complex patronage network that linked the village to regional and national seats of power. A patron gave the peasant greater security by having resources other than his own at his disposal. However, this avenue to power was severely limited by the meager resources the peasant could offer in exchange for a favor.

Poverty was clearly a causative factor in Southern Italian emigration. However, a comparable level of poverty exists in many parts of the world where it is not accompanied by widespread emigration. Emigration is facilitated by a low level of social integration. Alienation was the fundamental reason for the propensity of the Southern Italian to emigrate. The social organization of agriculture isolated the peasant from the means of production. Cultural values encouraged shame rather than pride in his occupation. The hostility, suspicion and instrumental nature of extrakin relations made the family the only unit which integrated the individual into society. Despite the importance of the family of procreation, the male remained emotionally alienated. He was tied to them by obligation rather than emotional satisfaction. The mother-son relationship, the foundation
of the Southern Italian family, which stifled any threat to its sanctity, was the dominant source of affect for both male and female. Thus, the male's relationship to his family encouraged his decision to emigrate alone. The desire to improve his family's (and, by extension, his own) social position and the lack of need for them in his daily life provided the motivation and emotional independence required to emigrate.
CHAPTER III

THE TRANSITION FROM TRADITIONAL TO MODERN:
SOUTHERN ITALY FROM 1950-1975

The Impact of Emigration, Improved Communication and Government Programs

A profound transformation in the traditional culture of Southern Italy occurred in the 1960s, initiated by the Northern Italian prosperity of the post-war era and the long-range effects of emigration. With the expansion of the Northern Italian economy, Italy was accorded full status as a European economic power. Without substantial improvement in the South, the disparity in the two regions would have created an intolerable strain on the nation's socio-economic and political structures. Resources were available to finance a comprehensive government program designed to reduce the economic gap between the "two Italies." Although the effort did not accomplish this goal, it provided a framework to support and direct modernization; and some improvement was made in the South's relative status. The growth of Northern industry permitted the temporary migration of Southern males to the industrial Triangle--Milan, Genoa, and Turin--for factory jobs. In turn, internal migration lead to an increased flow of cash into the Southern economy.
Growing national affluence encouraged the expansion of all forms of media. Ready cash enhanced the South's position as a new market for advertisers. Television, radio and films became available to most of the population which did much to foster modernization of the South.

A hundred years after Unification, television aided by compulsory education made the language of Dante a living reality throughout the South. In this period, the isolation which had gripped Southern villages for centuries was shattered. The advent of television introduced a new language as well as a different image of life. The eight years of compulsory education instituted in 1963 supported the impact of television. Most of the population can understand standard Italian (which I shall hereafter call "Italian") because of the influence of television; and, Southerners under twenty five years-of-age can speak and understand it as a result of both exposure to news media and education.

The use of Italian has become a national status symbol. Dialect usage is associated with an antiquated peasant mentality. Yet, local dialects continue to be widely spoken in certain contexts. In general, the dialect is used in personal conversation and Italian is reserved for technical, bureaucratic communication. The dialect conveys a warmth and intimacy difficult for a Southerner to achieve in Italian. The superiority of the dialect as a vehicle for expressing emotions is a major reason for its tenacity. The persistence of the dialect in the South symbolizes the fundamental
differences which divide the North and South. In many respects, the Southerner's knowledge of Italian is the single most important step he takes towards incorporation into national life and the South takes towards cultural unification with the North.

The peasant's conception of the world is no longer restricted to the horizons of the village. Television brought him in immediate contact with places, people, ideas and pleasures unimagined previously. The effect of television was reinforced by the phenomenon of migration. Past generations of migrants had returned or written home telling of the marvels of far-away places. These stories were fantasies to the peasant who was locked in his remote village. However, internal migration brought a constant stream of laborers who had experienced first-hand what the peasant had vicariously experienced through television. Furthermore, visits with relatives working as migrants in the North exposed the peasant to other segments of Italian society.

The impact of emigration on village socio-economic structure has been immense. Before emigration, the village was encapsulated. The agricultural economy could not support the local population. The very few landlords at the top of the social pyramid lived in comfort, if not opulence. The few professionals, artisans and merchants, who stood below the landlords but far above the peasants, were the only segment of village society not attached to agriculture. Although their wealth varied, members of this class were consistently
accorded high status because of their education and employment in non-manual occupations. Peasants, who constituted the remainder of the village, ranged from small proprietors to braccianti, from the poor to the destitute. Class position tended in effect to be hereditary. Marriage across class boundaries was rare.

Emigration offered economic possibilities to the peasant that were unavailable in the traditional economy. In the agricultural village, emigration was analogous with industrialization in the urban center (Lopreato, 1967: 138). Emigration opened the system of stratification by presenting an economic alternative based upon achieved rather than ascribed criteria. From 1880 to 1930, emigrants left Southern villages to work abroad, and sent most of their income to their families remaining in the villages. After 1950, migrants working in Northern Italy and Europe followed the same pattern. This influx of cash was converted within the village economy to property, homes, education for children, fashionable dress and other luxuries.

Emigration and other factors radically transformed the traditional class structure of the village. The ability of peasants to imitate the lifestyle of the upper classes, associated with their newly found independence, led to considerable strife between classes. Increased opportunities for the upper classes to make economic gains outside the village and the expropriation by the government of their large estates encouraged the traditional elite to permanently relocate in urban centers. As a result large amounts of property became
available within the village. The cash reserves of emigrant families enabled them, as a class, to make large-scale investments in this land. Others invested in stores and small businesses. A sizeable middle class emerged that was economically based upon land and the tertiary sector of the economy.

Loprete notes (1967: 195) that the main criteria of class are wealth, occupation, education and lineage. The affluent migrant and his wife may have occupied a marginal class position because of their peasant manners and ignorance, but, their educated, respectably employed children are fully accepted in the village middle class. Now that the migrants' children have gained status comparable with that of the traditional upper classes in wealth, occupation, and income, the upper classes have begun to place emphasis on lineage. However, on a long-term basis, wealth determines position in the village system of stratification.

The system of stratification was opened by the demise of the landed upper classes and the growth of wealth among the peasantry; therefore, an increasing tendency toward egalitarian behavior between the classes developed. The development of a greater variety of occupations than formerly existed was accelerated by growth in the non-agricultural sector of the local economy as well as by emigration. These new occupations and sources of income do not fit into the traditional status hierarchy. Thus, in contrast with the rigid system of stratifying occupations in the past, the class positions of
individuals in new occupations is not readily ascertained. Class distinctions became less pronounced as ambivalence regarding class position increased.

The upper class of a village consists of about 2.5 per cent of the total population, the former signori (gentlemen), their offspring, and professionals (Lopreato, 1967: 196). In some cases, the signori have modernized and have assumed roles of leadership. More often, they have withdrawn from village society and live on income produced by the remainder of their estates or investments. Their children frequently marry members of families of professional or middle class, the group which dominates the political and economic structure and provides most of the village leaders. The contemporary middle class represents about 52 per cent of the population and consists of people of middle class ancestry as well as the children and grandchildren of emigrants to the United States and recent migrants to Northern Italy. They are storeowners, highly skilled artisans, and agriculturalists owning between 15 and 40 acres of land (Lopreato, 1967: 175). The remaining 45.5 per cent of the village is lower class, composed of wage-earners or agriculturalists with small holdings and their families (Lopreato, 1967: 196).

The government program to improve economic conditions in the South was directed towards agriculture and industry. The Cassa per il Mezzogiorno, the Fund for the South, was established in March, 1950 as an executive body to coordinate the efforts of the several governmental ministries involved. The Cassa was initially designed to deal with large problems
which were beyond the scope of the existing government apparatus. It was given extensive powers, including the authority to seek outside investments and loans. In the Cassa's first phase, from 1951 to 1957, $2 billion was spent on the development of an infrastructure. The prevailing philosophy of this period was that industry would be attracted to the South if the infrastructure—transportation, communication, hospitals, schools and water facilities—was comparable with that of the North. Furthermore, the agricultural economy would benefit from the improvements in the infrastructure. Greater agricultural production would provide increased income for the population before industrialization began.

The major focus of the agricultural program in the immediate post-war period was an extensive agrarian reform covered by three separate laws passed in 1950. The reform was carried out in a somewhat piecemeal fashion. In general, agrarian reform involved the expropriation of land from large landowners, payment for the land, and its distribution to landless peasants and small proprietors.

Latifunda areas were most strongly affected by the agrarian reform. About 800,000 hectares were expropriated and passed to 90,000 families. The most obvious inequities on the social landscape appeared to be resolved by the land reform. In much of Apulia and Sicily, individual holdings of over a thousand hectares disappeared. Large cereal-producing and sheep-grazing estates were converted to the intensive production of varied crops. This change required considerable money, which was provided by the Cassa.
It was recognized from the beginning that agrarian reform would not institute a modern agra-business structure in the South. It was expected, however, to provide a more or less immediate solution to some of the most pressing problems. Latifunda areas in Apulia accounted for half of the unemployment in Southern Italy in 1951 (King, 1973: 119). By substituting labor intensive crops the agricultural system provided maximal employment.

The most important result of agrarian reform was the destruction of the power base of the large landowners. Politically, socially, and economically the large absentee landlord no longer dominates. The presence of the state as a new source of power and the realignment of the village stratification system have worked together to create a more modern social structure throughout the South. The power of the traditional elite was largely derived from its role as mediator between the peasantry and all levels of government in a vast patronage network. However, an integration of the citizen into government bureaucracy has occurred. State agencies have opened offices within villages and directly provide services to the local population. Although, the traditional mediator has been eliminated, patronage continues in Southern government. Power has been transferred from the landed upper class to politicians and government administrators, where it is more diffuse than in the past (Saraceno, 1970: 92; and, Silverman, 1967: 279-286).

Realization that further solution of Southern problems could not be found in agriculture but must be sought in
industrialization came in the early 1960s. Industrialization in the South required more directed efforts than had so far been planned. Although the first phase of the Cassa's program to spur industrialization demonstrated immediate results, they fell short of expectations. The South did not yet offer enough to attract Northern firms. The Cassa's program identified certain areas with industrial potential and concentrated on the development of infrastructure in these areas. Two of the target areas were the Apulian and Sicilian coastal plains. In the 1960s enormous capital investments were made in the form of state-controlled iron and steel, oil and gas, and mechanical engineering plants in the Bari-Brindisi-Taranto Triangle and in Sicily. In all, $34.2 billion has been invested in the South through the Cassa (Lamont, 1973: 20).

Figures which compare the North and South do not give an accurate interpretation of the transformation which has occurred in much of the South. Only recently has the goal of bringing the South to the same level as the North been shelved. Although the income per capita in the South in 1970 was .2 per cent lower than that for Italy as a whole, the per capita income in the South rose 78.7 per cent from 1963 to 1970. In 1963, the per capita income in the South was $534 and in 1970, $931 (Tagliacarne, 1972: 13, 69). The current view is to see success relative to the South's past, rather than by comparison with the North (Saraceno, 1970: 82).
A More Specific Look at the Native Environments of Jamesville Immigrants

Bari and Palermo, the provinces of origin of all but a few Jamesville immigrants, are two of the most heavily industrialized areas in the South. Although they are dissimilar with regard to many cultural characteristics, they share important structural features emanating from a similar economy. These shared features work together to encourage emigration in certain segments of the society.

Bari and Palermo are provinces where extensive latifunda forms of agriculture predominated. The social organization associated with latifunda, described in chapter II, was characteristic of both provinces. Since the earliest stages of Italian emigration within the nation and to foreign countries, Bari and Palermo have had very high rates of emigration. However, overseas emigration has been the most prevalent. The very large proportion of wage laborers in the peasant population, extreme under-employment and overpopulation, and absentee landlordism, are some of the causes of the acute economic depression common to both areas. A profound sense of fatalism and the tendency to view problems in strictly individual terms is said to have inhibited the type of social action necessary to effect change (Banfield, 1958: 36, 83).

The estrangement of the individual engendered by the competitive agricultural economy was reinforced by the fact that the only important bonds were with members of one's nuclear family. No forces integrating the individual into society intervened when emigration emerged as a solution to urgent economic problems.
Bari and Palermo were key areas of agrarian reform but agrarian reform had considerably less impact in Sicily than in Apulia. The old landed aristocracy disintegrated in Bari because of the expropriation of estates and emigration. The traditional system of stratification in Sicilian villages was modified as a result of the introduction of cash earned by emigrants. However, protection by the mafia enabled the traditional elite to maintain a monopoly of power there. In addition to the traditional source of wealth derived from ownership of land, added wealth derived from illegal involvement in government-sponsored projects on the island expanded the power base of the traditional elite (King, 1973: 212).

An additional problem with agrarian reform in Sicily was that much of its land was unsuitable for small-scale, intensive cultivation, the only type permitted under reform laws (Mountjoy, 1973: 33).

Bari and Palermo were identified by the Cassa as sites with high industrialization potential. Fiat established an automobile factory in Palermo. An oil refinery, and a large plant producing engineering products were established in Bari. Both cities are fairly important ports which have undergone recent improvements. From 1951 to 1961, the number of males employed in industry increased 6.7 per cent in Bari, and those in services increased 4.9 per cent. Eleven and one half per cent of the male labor force moved out of agriculture (Unione Italiana Delle Camera di Commercio Industria e Agricoltura, 1966: 44).
The following statistics give an indication of the general conditions prevailing in Bari in the 1960s (SVIMEZ, 1961; Unione Italiana Delle Camera di Commercio, Industria e Agricoltura, 1966). Unfortunately, comparable data were not obtainable for Sicily. Production of electrical energy increased in Apulia from 128 million kilowatt hours in 1958 to 2,843 by 1965. In 1951, one-fourth of the population in Apulia was illiterate. By 1961, the figure had dropped to 13.5 per cent (8.1 per cent for the province of Bari alone). Population density in Bari decreased from 2.25 persons per room of dwellings to 1.52. In Palermo, the figure dropped from 1.79 in 1951 to 1.48 in 1961. In the decade from 1951 to 1961, nearly 60 per cent of Barese overseas emigrants were employed in non-agricultural occupations.

Conditions have changed sufficiently to lead Clough (1964: 139-140) and Mountjoy (1973: 44) to the conclusion that continued emigration during the current phase of development is detrimental to the industrialization of the South. According to their view, emigration drains one of the most valuable segments of the population, the young and active who have demonstrated initiative and ambition by their decision to emigrate. Furthermore, today's emigrants have better general educations than previous generations of emigrants and are more likely to have skilled occupations useful in industry. Nearly half (46 per cent) of all Southerners who emigrated overseas from 1951 to 1961 had been trained in non-agricultural jobs (Unione Italiana Della Camera di Commercio,
Southern society suffers from their departure in two respects. Educated and raised to maturity at considerable cost to the state, the emigrants are an economic drain since they are lost when they reach their productive years. The skills and energy they possess are precisely what is needed in the home society to sustain economic growth, but these traits cannot be so handsomely rewarded at home as in a developed economy.

The reasons for the continued emigration of substantial numbers of people vary according to the positions of the emigrants in village society. The findings of Galtung (1971) in a study of three villages in western Sicily correspond with those of the author in Jamesville. Galtung found the highest incidence of emigration to be among the poor of the new middle class, especially those employed in government, business and service occupations. The second highest incidence was among the lowest stratum in the society, the wage laborers. Although the reasons are different, both the poor members of the middle class and the wage laborers are extremely alienated from other sectors of the local society.

The middle class has experienced considerable upward social movement. Most members are of peasant backgrounds, two or three generations removed. They are well-educated and respected. For a considerable part of this group, the village economy cannot provide financial support consistent with their class position.

The most important symbols of status in Southern Italy are those which are centered upon the individual rather than
his home. Since few persons outside the family are admitted to the home, wealth converted to status symbols for use in the home is not visible enough to achieve the desired goal. Three of the most important symbols are food, dress, and the ability to speak correct Italian, of which only food is not readily visible to others. Consuming large quantities of meat confers status, and people who do so attempt to make their practices public (Dolci, 1964; and, Lopreato, 1967: 186, 189).  

Dress is the most prevalent form of conspicuous consumption for both men and women (Anfossi, et al., 1959). An individual will subsist on the barest necessities in order to purchase an expensive piece of jewelry or garment. A common pattern observed among the middle class was to buy a fashionable ensemble far beyond the individual's means at the beginning of a season and wear it nearly every day. The purchase of a number of less expensive items is not considered an acceptable alternative.

The individual's command of Italian is an indirect indication of wealth. Standard Italian is commonly understood and spoken on formal occasions by most Southerns under thirty years-of-age. However, fluency and habitual use are largely restricted to the well-educated who, excluding those who enter the priesthood, are also the most affluent. Fashionable

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1 During fieldwork in a Molise village, the author's landlady bought meat only when the butcher shop was filled with customers. If no one was in the shop during a normally busy hour, she would return later in hopes of finding an audience.
dress and other symbols of status are as available to new emigrants, who were formerly wage laborers, as they are to people of middle class, but the use of standard Italian is generally confined to the latter.

Practices of displaying wealth as an indication of social class have grown more common as money for such use has become available. Poor members of the middle class are caught in a bind. Considerable sacrifice is required to maintain even a minimal standard of display and the inaccessibility of economic symbols clearly associated with the middle class places the individual's status in jeopardy. His financial condition cannot be indefinitely hidden in the personalized social world of the village. Interaction with people who may not grant him the status he believes he merits is anxious and awkward (Goffman, 1967: 5-23). The person so troubled avoids unnecessary contact with his neighbors to alleviate his discomfort. Since he cannot meet the standards of the middle class and be fully accepted as a part of it, he rejects it and justifies his behavior by calling his neighbors provincial. He believes he has a right to greater security and economic rewards than are available to him, but he has achieved as much as he can within the village, where occupations which would satisfy his needs and for which he is qualified are not available. Extensive contact with the world outside the village exposes him to the potentials elsewhere. His participation in village life is minimal, and his values, attitudes and goals are largely defined by the larger society as presented in the news media, television, and personal
contacts in cities. The ambivalent status in the village and the knowledge of the outside lead to a desire to escape. Galtung stresses the view that such individuals engage in anticipatory migration (1971: 241). They are physically imprisoned in the village, but meaningful reality exists in the greater society. When migration finally occurs, considerable pressure to achieve success accompanies it. Although members of the middle class are more likely to succeed in the new environment than the wage laborers, failure represents an ultimate defeat since there is no going home.

Familism is found in all classes, but it is not necessarily correlated with a desire for emigration. However, the most familistic segment of the population, wage laborers, express a strong hope to emigrate. The wage laborers are the least powerful category within the village. Protection offered within the nuclear family is the only source of security consistently available to them. Like the poor members of the middle class, the wage laborers are not well integrated into village life. Their participation in and identification with the village are minimal. Whereas the former escape by increasing their participation in the larger society, wage laborers withdraw into the family. If their desire to provide more for their family economically necessitates leaving the village, there is nothing to restrain them from doing so. The aspirations of the wage laborers with regard to social mobility are defined by the village social structure. Their goal is to attain a higher position in the village. They may emigrate without their families. In any case, the new environment is viewed—as at least initially—as being temporary. In
the new environment, the wage laborer does not feel pressure to improve his social position. Emigration is strictly utilitarian, a means of fulfilling goals upon return to the village, since success in the village is the highest aspiration.

The choice of emigration as a means of improving the life circumstances of the poor members of the middle class and the wage laborers may be partially attributed to the migratory history of both groups. The earlier emigration of members of one's family is frequently a stimulus to do likewise (Galtung, 1971: 232; Jansen, 1968: 70-71; and Fin, 1964: 79-102). The current status of being a middle class member of village society is often the result of the successful emigration of fathers and grandfathers. The Jamesville immigrants, who come from these two sectors of Italian village society, entered the United States under the Fifth Preference of the 1965 Amendment to the Immigration Act, which gives preference to the immediate relatives of American citizens. The successful earlier emigration of one's family members may thus evoke the desire to emigrate and, since American laws favor this class of people as immigrants, it also makes it easier to do so.

The contrast between the traditional and modern elements of contemporary Southern Italian society is manifest in the different class backgrounds of the wage laborer and the middle class. The wage laborer who emigrates has more in common with earlier generations of emigrants than with the middle class emigrants. The middle class emigrant has no historical precedent; that is, earlier migrants were not of middle social
class. However, the position of the wage laborer in the village social structure has been relatively unaffected by the post-war realignment of social classes. The attitudes, behavior, and values of the wage laborers are probably the most traditional in Southern Italy today. It is principally because of a shared class background that the wage laborer emigrant of the 1970s is similar to the turn-of-the-century emigrant.

The wage laborer, nevertheless, has been affected by other types of socio-cultural change. The wage laborer may not have the superior education and experience in dealing with the outside world of the middle class, but he is no longer constrained by a fatalistic world view that prohibits him from setting and achieving goals. The vicious cycle which perpetuated la miseria for centuries was finally broken when the traditional economic structure disintegrated. Traces of la miseria linger, but is is no longer a central theme of the culture.

Southern Italy, as a whole, has not developed to a level comparable with that of modern industrial nations. However, the depths of poverty, disorganization and misery that earlier generations of emigrants associate with the South have disappeared. With specific reference to the native provinces of Jamesville immigrants, the historical contrast is even greater. Pasquale Saraceno, president of SVIMEZ (the Association for the Industrial Development of the Mezzogiorno) observes:
The Mezzogiorno cannot be represented today as a vast, underdeveloped area. The Mezzogiorno is presently an aggregate of sub-areas of income levels, capital endowments, development possibilities and varied assets of the labor force. Consistently improved perspectives are open to the population remaining in the town of origin... improvement in the human condition and a vast and superior system of human incentives has emerged (1970: 89, 121).

An important consequence of the quasi-modern socio-economic structures referred to by Saraceno is that the contemporary immigrant has some frame of reference essential in making an assessment of the new environment. The greater self-confidence and self-respect he has gained from more positive experience in his native culture permit him to see the relative merits of both cultures from a more realistic perspective than was possible in the past.
CHAPTER IV

THE ATTITUDE OF THE SECOND GENERATION

ITALIAN AMERICAN TOWARDS

THE ITALIAN IMMIGRANT

The Early Stages of Italian
Immigration to America

Few Italians came to the United States before 1880. From 1820 to 1880 approximately 80,000 Italian immigrants were admitted.¹ In the following decade the figure increased to 300,000. The pre-1880 Italian immigrant differed from the Italians who followed. The early Italians were primarily painters and sculptors, highly skilled artisans and political refugees. These individuals were almost exclusively from Northern Italy. They were well-educated Europeans. America readily accepted them.

Beginning in 1880, Southern Italian agricultural laborers abandoned their native peasant villages for American shores. These immigrants contrasted profoundly with their predecessors. The American public could hardly believe both were Italian. This phase of Italian immigration to the United States lasted until the institution of a strict quota system in 1924. Public

¹The United States government first began collecting data on persons entering the country in 1820.
indignation over open immigration led to demands for literacy and other entrance requirements. Official response to this furor was a quota system which effectively closed American ports to the type of immigrant the typical Southern Italian exemplified. Italian immigration was, in fact, the foremost target of the quota system.

The sheer volume of Italian immigration in the years from 1880 to 1924 was sufficient to constitute a formidable threat to Americans of Northern European origin, and it was compounded by additional negative elements. Anti-Italianism in the United States had become very strong by 1890. The basis of this anti-Italianism lay in demographic factors, the physical and cultural characteristics of immigrants, the prevailing philosophy of the period and the state of the economy.

An immense number of Southern Italians came to the United States in a short period of time and settled together in highly concentrated communities in New York City, Boston, and other large eastern cities. Approximately 11 per cent or five and one-quarter million of all immigrants to the United States from 1820 to 1974 were Italian. Four and one-half million of all Italian immigrants entered during a forty-year span from 1890 to 1930. The peak was 1901 to 1910, when over two million Italians immigrated to the United States.

The size of a minority group relative to that of the dominant population, the rapidity of its influx and the degree of its residential concentration are all important factors in determining the likelihood of intergroup conflict (Williams, 1947: 57). With regard to each of these factors, Italian
immigration to the United States was highly conducive to conflict. Demographic factors alone encouraged prejudice and discrimination, but the situation was exacerbated by the "barbaric" culture of the Southern Italian and his swarthy, foreign appearance. The Italian was stereotyped as stupid because of his illiteracy, lack of command of English and strange customs. The level of illiteracy among the Southern Italian immigrants was exceedingly high. Southern Italians were the first immigrants who came to the United States without the intention of remaining and becoming American citizens. The immigrant's intention to return home eliminated the need to learn English. The lack of motivation to adopt American culture and the lack of education, compounded by the linguistic problems arising from the variety of native dialects, made Italians among the slowest ethnic groups to achieve fluency in English (Lopreato, 1970: 56).

At the time of the height of anti-Italian prejudice, Italians were commonly viewed in the United States as being racially distinct from Northern Europeans, and the widespread acceptance of social Darwinism in intellectual circles of the United States is said to have provided a framework supporting attitudes of racism (LaGumina, 1973: 15). The negative evaluation of the Southern Italian was partially based upon physical characteristics. Short stature, a dark skin and a high incidence of physical and mental defects such as physical deformities, dwarfism, and mental retardation, made them distinctly unappealing to Americans, who valued tallness, blond hair, blue eyes and physical perfection. Thalassemia major,
a disfiguring hereditary disease found among Mediterranean peoples, was sufficiently common to corroborate the impression of genetic inferiority (Johnston and Krogman, 1964). At certain points in American history the Southern Italian was accorded a lower social status than the negro (LaGumina, 1973: 11).

Overall, the American economy was in an expanding state at the time of the massive immigration of Italians. Yet, Americans were incensed at the idea of foreigners accumulating American wealth and returning home with it. Depressions occurred in 1893 and 1907, which placed the newly-arrived Italian in competition for employment with more established groups. Hostility resulting from competition in construction and on railroads was particularly acute between the Irish and Italians.

Specific cultural patterns found among the Italians which were especially offensive to the native population were political apathy, association with criminality and the padrone system.

Italian immigration came in one of the most violent periods in the history of American labor. The Italian, who was grateful for any job, considered strikes foolish. He did not possess the cultural apparatus to participate in an organized movement with long-range political goals. He did not believe that the individual was capable of effecting social change. Furthermore, he did not expect an improvement in conditions would benefit him since he planned to return to his native society. Thus, Italian immigrants were strike-breakers
and, as a result, tremendous hostility was directed towards the group as a whole.

The association of *Italianità* and criminality emerged in the earliest phases of Italian immigration and has been ineradicable. The question of the validity of this criminal stereotype is beyond the scope of the present discussion. However, the common view that Italians are associated with criminality has had a profound impact on the Italian American community for nearly a hundred years and has been the predominant justification for anti-Italian sentiment since 1890 (LaGumina, 1973: 87-113). From the beginning the stereotype has been based upon two categories of criminals: the petty thief, who was caricatured as a stiletto-bearing pickpocket, and mysterious criminal organizations. These included the Sicilian *mafia*, the Napolitan *camorra* and the American Black Hand.

A firm conviction existed in the public mind that a large portion of Italian immigrants were convicted criminals. In the early part of the century it was commonly believed the Italian government paid the passage to the United States of known criminals as an incentive for them to emigrate. Individual *mafiusi* or *camorristi* may have emigrated to the United States with private funds, but they were numerically insignificant (Ianni, 1973: 58).

The Italians were among the first immigrants who entered the United States in large numbers with a concept of morality different from that prevailing in the nation, which was derived from Northern Europe. The connection between *Italianità*
and criminality was an extreme manifestation of a fundamental belief that Italians were lacking in the American values of honesty and truth. A deep sense of distrust of Italians resulted.

The padrone system was tantamount to slavery in the eyes of most Americans, who saw only its most sordid aspects. Padroni were labor contractors of Italian origin who scouted villages of Southern Italy for prospective clients. Jobs in the United States were promised to emigrants and their passage was paid. After the padrone’s fee had been paid, the remainder of the immigrants’ income was inadequate to cover their needs. Often immigrants were perpetually in debt to the padrone. Although abuses of the padrone system were rife, the most serious involved a reputed link between padroni and the Black Hand for the purpose of exploiting immigrants. Nevertheless, the padroni provided a number of important services to the immigrant which he would have had difficulty obtaining elsewhere. The benefits the immigrant gained from his affiliation with a padrone were not recognized outside the Italian community (Iorizzo and Mondello, 1971: 140). The padrone was stereotyped as a vicious figure flagrantly taking advantage of his countrymen, who were incapable of protecting themselves.

As a result of these various conditions, the Italian immigrant encountered extreme prejudice. In certain periods, anti-Italianism verged on hysteria. Anti-Italian sentiment was rampant until World War I, at which time it subsided slightly. Prohibition and the Great Depression brought a resurgence of hostility. It was not until the second
generation of Italians reached young adulthood, approximately the time of World War II, that a perceptible increase in the acceptability of Italians occurred.

The individualism of the immigrant and his negative experience in the old society worked to minimize the tendency common among most minority groups to glorify their cultural past (Allport, 1958: 230). A deep sense of resentment for humiliations endured there was easily transformed into hate. Southern Italian culture was denigrated and it served as a common rationalization for the individual's lack of success. The individual had stepped out of an archaic system of social stratification in which he was denied self-esteem into a world where he gradually came to regard himself more highly. His adjustment to American culture was not encumbered by a strong identification with the old society, and the new society gave free reign to his tendency towards individualism. The obvious contrast between his woeful life in Italy and his new circumstances of living enhanced the exhilaration the immigrant experienced as a result of his freedom.

The Italian immigrant community was highly fragmented. Regional factions were sub-divided into groups of paesani (persons from the same village). Each group had its circolo, mutual aid society, and celebrated its own religious festivals. Relations between the various factions of the community were tense and competitive. Hostility repeatedly erupted. Such an environment was not conducive to the unified acceptance of specific cultural elements as symbols of Italianità.

The immigrant's most profound and positive ties to Italy
were personal. In large measure, identification with Italy was maintained through identification with family members remaining in Southern Italian villages. The immigrant's immediate goal was to earn money and return home for a life of relative comfort. After recognition that this goal was not realistic, it was replaced with plans to bring his family to the United States. The immigrant rarely expressed regret that he was unable to return to Italy if he could arrange passage for his family to join him.

The negative view of the old society was not accompanied by an unrealistically positive attitude towards the United States. To the contrary, the immigrant suffered severely, and was keenly aware of his suffering. He was the subject of strong discrimination, stereotyped as undesirable, and he worked long, hard hours for minimal remuneration. In short, he found America harsh and competitive, but he had developed personal ties, and, often, financial obligations that kept him in the new land. The pragmatist who had emigrated remembered that the economic rewards here, while hardly fulfilling the prophecy of having "streets paved with gold", were superior to those at home.

The Attitude of the Second Generation Towards Its Italian Cultural Background

The immigrant's predominantly hostile attitudes toward Italy were diluted by occasional forays into romanticism and nostalgia. However, the second generation's regard for Italian culture was predominantly negative. No significant forces mitigated the anti-Italian sentiment of the immigrant's children.
Undoubtedly, the low esteem accorded to Italians in urban American society had a far greater impact on the second generation than on the first. The first generation was somewhat protected by the defenses it had acquired within the native culture. The peasant had moved from a low status in one social system to a comparable position in another. Due to the fact his experience was largely restricted to the immigrant community, he was little exposed to the venom often incited by his presence in the greater society.

The response of Italian Americans to prejudice directed toward them appears to be typical of persons in victimized minority groups. Allport makes a distinction between those situations where the victim "...pretends to agree with his 'betters' and actually does agree with them, and sees his own group through their eyes (1958: 147)." The Italian American child could not look to his immigrant parents to provide a positive foundation for his Italian identity. To the contrary, his parents reinforced the negative image that arose from participation in American culture. The child was, thus, consistently denied a foundation which would support pride in or respect for his Italian heritage. The result was profound self-hate (Child, 1943).

From an early age the Italian American child was thrust into contact with American culture through the school system (Covello, 1967). He saw the striking contrast between his parents, his lifestyle and the American ideal projected by the school system. For the first time, he became acutely conscious of his ethnic identity.
Immigrant parents came to represent an obstacle to acceptance as an American. Their dress and faulty English were a source of great embarrassment to the child. This attitude was expressed by one of my second generation informants, an articulate and well-educated man 48 years-of-age, who expressed high regard for the value of anthropological research. However, he refused to introduce me to his Sicilian parents on the following grounds:

I would be humiliated for you to meet them. You don't understand. They are old-fashioned and have different ideas. I know you could no longer respect me if you saw my parents.

Feelings of inferiority were common among second generation Italian Americans as a result of their acceptance of the view that Italians were inherently inferior to other Americans (Covello, 1967: 337). The child's psychological problems in this regard were compounded by the authority of the father within the home. The child, who loathed the Italianità of his parents, was inhibited from manifesting any hostility towards them. The immigrant parents responded to their child's criticism with tales of deprivation and suffering experienced in Italy. The child was reminded that he was spared this difficult existence by their sacrifices. Hatred of Italy was reinforced by such discussions. The anger of the second generation turned inward into self-hate, or outward to become rebellion against the home.

Denial of Italian ethnic identity was not uncommon among youths. This would often take the form of pretending to be unable to speak Italian or asserting that grandparents
rather than parents were born in Italy. A 41-year-old, second generation informant whose parents came from Bari, stated:

When I was about sixteen, I loved to go to Irish dances and pretend to be Irish. I usually got away with it, too. Once I ran into another guy from my school. I almost died from fear. This girl I was dancing with saw me looking at him. She said she knew him, (I almost got sick right there!) and he lived in the same part of Brooklyn as I did. His name was Carl Carpenter. How I laughed: it was Carlo Palegname! He was doing the same thing I was. But, you know, we ignored each other. That was over twenty years ago and to this day I never mentioned it to him. I don't know why, I mean it was funny, wasn't it.

The Italian American developed a pattern of behavior for the home and another for use outside the home. Within the home he was Italian. Outside, he was as American as he was capable of being in a particular situation. Having accepted the prevailing cultural attitude towards Italianità, his "American" self was the locus of any positive self-evaluation. As a participant in both cultures, he was not accorded high status in either. The greater society never let him forget he was Italian and his parents chastized him for becoming Americanized.

Bott (1971: 256) expresses skepticism of Gans' (1962: 47) observation that both the affinal and consanguineal immigrant parents of the Italian Americans he studied were unimportant in the social network of their children. Bott's doubt arises from the fact that urban working class females are generally very closely tied to their mothers. This relationship has also been found between the first and second
The warmth of the mother-child relationship in traditional
Southern Italian culture, and the pattern found among other
working class subcultures lead one to expect the Italian
American daughter to be dependent upon her mother after
marriage. Yet, intimate and frequent contact between the two
generations was absent. In Jamesville, a very strong mother-
married daughter relationship re-emerged between the second
and third generations. Its absence among first and second
generation Italian Americans cannot be attributed to either
traditional Italian culture per se, or the general impact of
immigration. The explanation lies in the Italian Americans'
need to disassociate themselves from the first generation.

The second generation in Jamesville tended to be ex-
tremely conservative politically, and very nationalistic.
Intolerance of ethnic groups of low social status, namely
Blacks and Puerto Ricans, was also found. Lopreato attributes
this particular complex of attitudes to a "cult of gratitude"
towards American society (1970: 175). Glazer and Moynihan
(1963: 214-215) ascribe it to status insecurity. Gratitude
to a society in which they have experienced success and the
insecurity common in persons occupying culturally marginal
positions are certainly factors in the rejection of Italianità
and the concomitant high esteem placed upon American culture.
The Italian American enhances his status by favorably contrast-
ing himself with those who occupy a lower status and, at the
same time, are less American than himself. Furthermore, he
adheres to an ideology which maintains that success is firmly
within the individual's control. Such a stance enables him to obtain maximum satisfaction from his own relative success.

Allport stresses, "One of the facts of which we are most certain is that people who reject one outgroup will tend to reject other outgroups (1958: 66)." The Italian American over-identification with American culture, a pattern of bigotry towards members of less-American minority groups of low status, and extreme negativism towards Italian culture insure a high degree of conflict between the recently immigrated and the second generation.

The second generation is disinterested in and has no knowledge of the contemporary culture of Italy. When encouraged to reveal their impressions of Italian life, a caricature of turn-of-the-century conditions emerges. This misconception cannot be attributed to a lack of exposure since many individuals who interact frequently with recent immigrants also held similar opinions. A second generation Sicilian of 50 years-of-age, whose nephew and cousin were particularly sophisticated immigrants, described Italy in the following way:

When I think of Italy, I think immediately of the poverty. The people are so very poor and ignorant. They have nothing. They live in houses with dirt floors and sleep with their donkeys. When they do get something, the Church takes it. The Church is not like it is here. If I drove into my father's village, they would think I was a millionaire. I know those villages are like dungeons.

Italian Americans did not attain a comfortable position with regard to financial status and respectability until the 1950s. The early years in this country were filled with
deprivation and sacrifice. During those years the first
generation was sustained by a belief, which was transmitted
to the second generation, that coming to America was the right
decision. The knowledge that many of their relatives who re-
mained in Italy have also been upwardly mobile seems to dilute
their pleasure in their own success (Pestor, 1967: 307; and

The Origins of the Patron-Client
Model in Italian American
and Immigrant Relations

Traditional inhibitions, competitive regionalism and
dialectic differences were barriers to higher forms of co-
operation within the Italian community in Jamesville. Al-
though mutual aid societies proliferated, they did not fully
satisfy the immigrant's needs. Foerster (1967: 393) states
that such mutual aid societies in the United States numbered
1,116 in 1910. However, Glazer and Moynihan (1963: 194) cite
2,000 in the same year for New York alone. The disparity be-
tween the two figures is, no doubt, a reflection of the struc-
ture of the organizations, which were founded on the basis of
regional and village ties. Many were known only in the locale
where immigrants from a specific village resided.

Observers of American ethnic groups have remarked that
Italians did not form charitable organizations to facilitate
the adjustment of later waves of immigrants (for example,
Ross, 1914: 294) In contrast, the Jews, Irish, Germans and
Scandinavians had highly developed programs to aid their needy
countrymen.
Italians were very skeptical of assistance offered outside the context of an exchange relationship. Excluding the few charities maintained by the Church, public assistance was a phenomenon which had little precedent in traditional Italian culture. The acceptance of welfare was considered a personal disgrace. Most Italians who qualified for assistance would not accept it because of the stigma attached. Poerster (1967: 406) remarked that at the turn-of-the-century very few Italians were receiving public assistance despite their needy circumstances. A CIAO publication in 1975 indicates that this trend continues.

Although they both furnish assistance to the immigrant, vertical alliances differ in a multitude of ways from charitable associations. The assistance provided by associations is highly defined. The particular needs of an individual are satisfied only if they fall within the domain of the association. However, those needs are habitually met if he satisfies the established criteria. Associations tend to specialize with regard to the type of services offered to the individual.

Vertical alliances can satisfy a great variety of needs ranging from financial aid to the resolution of personal conflicts. Some vertical alliances, such as the _padrone_-immigrant, were established primarily to deal with specific types of problems. In the new society, the _padrone_ provided these essential services to his client: translation; banking facilities, including lending; sending remittances to Italy; help in finding jobs and housing; offering advice and counsel; and legal assistance. The absence of alternative sources of
help made it probable that the immigrant would turn to his padrone when a new need arose. Rather than develop a new alliance, the scope of the existing alliance was expanded. The decision as to whether or not a client's need would be satisfied was made as the need emerged.

An alliance terminated when the immigrant fulfilled outstanding obligations to his padrone and made no more requests for assistance. However, the immigrant was often unable to terminate an alliance with a padrone because of the threat of Black Hand reprisal. The abuses of the padrone system blinded the public and scholars alike to its useful functions.

The padrone was known to resort to violence when his position was in jeopardy. The following excerpt from Blok's study of the mafia in a Sicilian village is applicable to a greater or lesser degree to many of the New York padrone at the turn-of-the-century (Ianni, 1973: 58):

Mafiosi distinguish themselves from other intermediaries in at least two different respects. First, they exploit the gaps in communication between the peasant village and the larger society rather than closing or destroying them: they thrive upon these interstices and prevent others from making their own connections. Second, mafiosi ensure and buttress their intermediate position through the systematic threat and practice of physical violence (1974: 8). Viewed externally, the negative features of the padrone system clearly outweighed the positive and further served to retard the immigrant's assimilation. Yet, the immigrant felt comfortable in this relationship. He understood the reciprocal pattern of obligation and privilege.
In the traditional world of the village, the peasant looked to the local elite to handle matters involving the greater society, where he was powerless and ignorant of the expected forms. The local elite simultaneously participated in both worlds. Their power was derived, in large measure, from this all-important societal function. A transplanted Southern Italian utilized a mediator to intervene between himself and the urban American environment. It is likely that the peasant was no more capable of directly dealing with Southern Italian society outside the village than with American society outside the immigrant community. The peasant's low status, inability to speak the language and unfamiliarity with procedures were equally present in both environments.

The American mediator was also an individual who participated in both the worlds of the local community, in this case composed of immigrants, and the outside. He controlled urban, industrial wealth and employment. His power in the greater society was derived from the pool of human resources at his disposal. He served as a middle-man bringing together those who needed jobs, housing, etc., and those who needed labor and renters. The immigrant was ignorant of what resources were directly available. The immigrant's difficulty in directly confronting his new environment gave him little alternative to the patron-client relationship he established with a padrone.

The contemporary second generation Italian American does not anticipate patron-client relationships with immigrants such as those existing before World War I. Nevertheless,
this model has lingered, encouraging the Italian American to approach the immigrant from a dominant position. It is derived from the historical precedent described above and contemporary factors emanating from the cultural marginality of the Italian American.

The Italian American accepts Americanization as a goal and assumes the recent immigrant does the same. He presumes superiority by virtue of birth in the United States. The new arrival is placed in the same lower status category as the immigrant parents because of the import the Italian American attaches to their shared status factor, birth in Italy. In the course of interaction with the immigrants, the second generation over-identifies with American society and accords a lower status to those born in Italy. He is, thus, able to distinguish between himself and the immigrant. The Italian American's identity as an American is threatened by the immigrant, who painfully reminds him he is part Italian. He feels most comfortable in highly structured relations in which he plays a dominant role and which permit him to maintain distance. Furthermore, his Americanness is mutually agreed upon and demonstrated by the superior position he is permitted to fill.

From its own perspective, the second generation fulfills the two most important criteria of the patron's role: control of the job and housing market in the immigrant community and participation in both the worlds of immigrants and of the general society. A lack of acceptance of the fact that recent immigrants differ from those of the past and a persistent view of immigrants as being incapable of directly
confronting the world beyond the immigrant social system support the second generation's tendency to act as if the patron-client model were still functional. The problems resulting from the second generation's effort to direct interaction with new immigrants to conform with their expectations and the new immigrant's reaction will be discussed in the following pages.
CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF MIDDLE CLASS ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS

Recent Trends in Italian Immigration to the United States

American immigration policy currently is guided by two goals: to unite the families of American citizens and to admit individuals with skills useful in the American labor market. It is weighted to favor the relatives of earlier immigrants and educated individuals with professional or skilled training and special employment experience. Although the middle class immigrant from Italy contradicts the immigrant stereotype held by the American public, he typifies these two trends in contemporary American immigration.

The existing immigration law facilitates Italian immigration. Countries of the Eastern Hemisphere are allocated 170,000 admissions. However, no single country can admit more than 20,000 individuals. Since the number of Italians who are qualified and would like to emigrate to the United States is greater than this quota, those who best meet the qualifications as set by law are selected (United States Department of Labor, 1974: 8). The great majority of Italians who emigrate to the United States do so under the Fifth Preference provision of the 1965 Amendments to the Immigration Law. The
Fifth Preference accords a special status to certain relatives of American citizens, brothers, sisters, spouses, and spouse's children. Italy consistently ranks among the top four nations with Fifth Preference admissions and is the highest among the countries in the Eastern Hemisphere.

An indication of the imbalanced nature of Italian immigration is shown in the 1970 figures. The Fifth Preference accounted for 30.5 per cent of all admissions. Twenty-two per cent of Fifth Preference admissions were Italian. The remaining 69.5 per cent of American immigrants were admitted because they possess occupational skills needed in the American labor market. Of these only 0.4 per cent were from Italy (United States Department of Labor, 1974: 28). Whereas class is a selection factor in occupational admissions, it has little impact on Fifth Preference admissions. The presence of a large middle class among Italian immigrants cannot be attributed to the American immigration policy of granting preference to the highly skilled, but is instead a reflection of changing social conditions in Italy.

The following table shows the occupational distribution of Italian immigrants who entered the United States in 1974, the year research was conducted in Jamesville. Eighty-nine per cent of these immigrants were admitted under the Fifth Preference provision. A class position was assigned on the basis of occupation.
OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL CLASS OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS OF 1974 WHO WILL ENTER THE LABOR FORCE*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>PER CENT</th>
<th>CLASS</th>
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</table>
| Professional          | 11%      | Upper; Upper-
|                       |          | Middle             |
| Sales, Clerical       | 5%       | Middle             |
| Skilled Artisans      | 30%      | Middle             |
| Skilled Blue Collar   | 18%      | Middle; Lower-
|                       |          | Middle             |
| Unskilled Blue Collar | 21%      | Lower              |
| Service               | 13%      | Lower              |

* Excludes housewives, children and the non-occupied.

N=15,884. (Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1974: 38)

As these data indicate, only one-third of those who entered were unskilled workers and two-thirds ranged from skilled to professional occupations. Over one-third of all immigrants would be considered middle class by either Italian or American standards on the basis of occupation. These two social classes are characterized by different patterns of social networks, lifestyles, goals and values. Although its proportions are not the same as those for the entire nation, the recent immigrant population of Jamesville reflects the general division of recent Italian immigrants into two principal subcultures which are coterminous with social class.
The Middle Class Italians

The middle class population of Jamesville is fairly large, but it does not include as great a proportion of the total population as is shown in the above table. People of middle class do not cluster in immigrant communities to the degree characteristic of members of the lower class, and after a short period of residence in such communities, they often move to non-Italian areas. The middle class is less visible than the lower class, and participates less in formal community life and informal street socializing. For these reasons, the middle class appears to be smaller than it is.

The immigrant middle class is characterized by a respectable education, white-collar jobs, comfortable incomes and a pattern of consumption corresponding to its social position. All middle class males (of the four upon whom relevant specific data were gathered) have completed some type of specialized training after the compulsory eight years of education. Two are graduates of the liceo, which is the equivalent of two years at an American university. The four middle class women have at least graduated from the scuola media (eight years) and have taken additional instruction in English. Male incomes range from $12,000 to $17,000. One wife is employed in a real estate office. Her income, combined with that of her husband, has placed the household income of this childless couple well above that of the other families. The three middle class husbands work in Manhattan, two for Italian firms and one as a clothing designer.
The middle class immigrants were employed in a variety of tertiary occupations in Italy, as merchants, artisans and office workers. At the time of emigration most resided in the same village or city in which one or the other or both spouses were born. These individuals had traveled frequently to other parts of Italy. Two males had previously worked outside their native province. For others, exposure to parts of the country other than their own communities had come through education, military experience and vacation trips.

The decision to emigrate was based upon a belief that the possibility of finding a secure, financially rewarding position in the native society was negligible. Incomes which did not meet the individual's expectations were the immediate stimulus to emigrate.

The parents of these middle class immigrants had sacrificed to provide them with good educations, which were seen as being instrumental, that is, a means of securing stable, lucrative jobs. If such employment were not available, the sacrifice was, of course, futile unless the children emigrated. Education was a major foundation for the individual's belief that he was capable of and deserved a better position. These motivating factors were given additional strength by the fact that at least one parent or grandparent of every middle class immigrant had temporarily emigrated.

The decision to emigrate was made jointly by both husbands and wives and, seemingly, with little reluctance. It was not unusual to find a disparity between husbands and wives in their expressed degree of satisfaction with the
United States, but none expressed regret for having emigrated. This contrasts with circumstances among lower class couples, where wives frequently lamented having emigrated. The unified stance of the middle class couple might be attributed to the rather lengthy waiting time between the decision to emigrate and the move. During the wait, disagreement could have been effectively resolved. However, lower class couples experienced comparable waiting periods. The agreement of the middle class couple appears to be principally a manifestation of the closeness and mutual accord of their conjugal relationship, a circumstance which developed in the United States.

As we have earlier noted, a pattern of family migration exists among the members of the middle class. The entire nuclear family characteristically moved together, making a clean break with the old society. This pattern represents a radical deviation from the general trend of Italian emigration where the male emigrates first and later is joined by his family. The commitment entailed by migration of entire families provides an indication of the degree of dissatisfaction with life in the village among migrants of middle class. In a practical sense, joint migration may be seen as a result of the affluence of the middle class in Italy, which had money to pay for movement of the whole family. Among poorer immigrants the male had to work in the United States to finance the move of his family. Joint movement of middle class families is also favored by the youth of the spouses and the small size of their families. Most middle class couples are in their early
thirties and have no more than two children. Since their families are smaller than those of lower class immigrants and their children are younger, the economic burdens of middle class migrants are less heavy.

Upon arrival in the United States, middle class immigrants were firmly committed to making new homes on American soil. The prevalent attitude was overwhelmingly optimistic, tempered by a fear of the new and unknown. They were convinced the major barrier to fulfillment of their aspirations would be eliminated. Economic success would enable them to participate in the middle class life they had come to know in Italy. Middle class immigrants reported having feelings of tremendous exhilaration after employment was obtained, even though the employment was not always fully satisfactory. Initial trepidations gave way to a profound sense of freedom from the past. As time passed the immigrants' English improved, enabling them to deal with their new environment more effectively.

The people whose lives are described in the preceding statements have been in the United States from two to five years. Their overall appraisal of their new life is that it is quite unlike what they had anticipated, that a considerable number of problems exist for them, but that conditions are much more satisfying than they had been in Italy.
Relationships Within the Middle Class Immigrant Family

The relationship between the middle class husbands and wives is considerably closer than that of lower class couples. Emotionally dependent upon one another, husbands and wives have social networks that are very congruous. They interact with the same individuals and present themselves as couples in their social relationships. The emotional support they provide one another and the unity of their social relationships suggests that the middle class couple is guided by an egalitarian conception of the conjugal relationship. This, however, is not the case. The traditional Southern Italian definition of the conjugal relationship continues to influence middle class marriages.

This conception gives to males dominance but not absolute authority and includes the belief that males are inherently superior to females. The wife is the emotional center of the family; the husband provides a rational balance. In the ideal relationship the two cooperate, restrain and encourage one another, but the male always has precedence over the female.

Although the behavior that the Jamesville husband expects from his wife conforms with the Italian-defined ideal, the wife's expectations regarding her husband's behavior deviate from the traditional mode. In descriptions stated to me of the ideal husband, no emotional component was mentioned by either spouse. However, the immigrant wife makes great emotional demands upon her husband. These are not overtly
expressed, but husbands appear to feel some pressure from such demands on the part of their wives. Because of the lingering influence of the old conception of male and female roles, however, emotional independence on the part of wives would probably also lead to stress. The rational aspect of the wife's role, which is clearly defined, is overshadowed by the emotional aspect. Conflict between the dependent and independent components of the wife's role are resolved by allowing her the option of independence. Nevertheless, she demands an emotional commitment from her husband which he has not been culturally prepared to give.

The value of male dominance within the home was expressed by every couple. The husband-wife behavior of Americans within the home is forcefully and frequently presented as a model by means of television, but the American pattern of shared authority and roles is vehemently criticized. The high value placed upon modern ideas should make the immigrant especially receptive to the American pattern of conjugal relationships, and the negative reaction to the American model appears to be an indication of the degree of threat to security it represents.

Some tendency towards the sharing of roles was evident and appears to be the result of emotional dependency associated with the social isolation imposed by the new surroundings. Bott maintains (1971: 92-95) that the absence of close external relationships with kin leads to emotional dependence between the couple and the mutual participation in household tasks. The lack of other sources of assistance to the wife
necessitates the husband's help. Among the three couples on whom detailed data were collected, two had close relatives, one had none. However, relationships of all three couples were characterized by a high degree of jointness, suggesting that among these middle class couples factors other than the absence of kin play an important role in bringing unity.

A close relationship between married sisters, which existed in two instances, does not appear to lead to the intimacy or mutual aid one might expect. The strength of the bond between husband and wife assumes a higher priority. Even in the relationship with the sister, the wife places definite limits on intimacy out of a sense of loyalty to her husband. As previously stated, she and her husband present themselves as a couple in all external relationships. An extremely close relationship with the sister would have destroyed the image of conjugal unity. The relationship with a sister is very close, but not so important as the conjugal tie. Thus the wife makes demands upon the husband rather than upon her sister. His willingness to satisfy these demands reinforces her behavior. The wife would probably seek support from her sister had the husband been incapable or unwilling to satisfy her emotional needs and provide aid within the house.

The preeminence of the affinal over the consanguineal relationship reflects a major transition in Italian family structure. Traditionally, consanguineal ties remained more important to the individual than affinal ties even after marriage (Parsons, 1969: 16, 48, 52). Galtung observed such
a transition in loyalty in western Sicily (1971: 226). The geographical mobility and anticipated social mobility of these couples forces them to see the nuclear family as the only dependable source of emotional gratification.

The wife reciprocates her husband's interest in the home by exhibiting great concern about the demands made by his professional life. In fact, wives are interested in their husbands' work to the point of vicarious participation.

Non-working wives have exclusive responsibility for housework, care of the children and cooking. The husband helps with certain types of house tasks in special situations or when he feels like it. It was stressed that it is always the husband's choice to assist the wife. Personal observation suggests that the emphasis placed upon the option of the husband is a means of reconciling normative behavior with a conflicting value. By stressing the fact that the husband acts out of choice rather than duty, male dominance is not threatened. Since the house is the domain of the wife, the husband's performance of household tasks as a result of expectation would place him in a subordinate role. He retains a dominant role by acting as decision-maker with regard to his participation.

With certain chores, however, his option rarely applies. Examples of such chores which the husband more or less consistently performs are taking out the garbage, feeding the children, drying dishes or removing them from a dishwasher, and helping with heavy cleaning. Husbands denied performing tasks that are more "dirty", such as changing the diapers of
infants; however, such behavior was observed.

Middle class husbands are not handy around the house. The Italian view that manual labor is demeaning has been retained by the middle class in Jamesville, where, as in Italy, the home is not very important as a symbol of status. If he comes to see his home as a reflection of social status, as might be expected in the United States, the high cost of skilled labor will probably force him to perform more of the household tasks. This transition is occurring among those immigrants who have been in the United States longest. Currently, only essential repairs of the house are undertaken. Yardwork and major repairs or renovations are performed by hired labor.

Any type of chores which necessitates leaving the home falls into a grey area of responsibility. All couples own automobiles, but none of the wives drive. The care of children also ties the wife to the house. Children are rarely entrusted to babysitters and relatives do not ordinarily serve as sitters for one another.

For different reasons, neither the middle class nor the lower class wife habitually travels beyond the immediate shopping area. The movements of the middle class wife are a matter of personal convenience; that is, they are not restrictions set by her husband. Among the members of the middle class less emphasis is placed upon the danger of being victimized by strangers. The husband's concern for the safety of his wife is presented as a warning rather than a justification to prohibit her mobility. The attitude of the middle
class husband toward his wife’s ventures outside the home is supportive. He realizes that her periodic excursions are helpful departures from routine that would otherwise be monotonous. He perceives her acts as an indication of her desire to become more familiar with America. His attitude is devoid of suspicion; middle class males never intimated that their wives could not be trusted. This trusting attitude contrasts sharply with the highly suspicious attitude of the lower class husband. The middle class husband sees his wife's faithfulness as an outgrowth of her love for him. She is expected to be faithful, but the husband recognizes that he cannot force her to be so. Middle class couples take pride in their mutual trust and view it as a reflection of their modernity. The lack of trust among the lower class is mentioned frequently as an indication of a peasant mentality. A 30-year-old married man who is employed in a bank expressed this attitude in the following words:

These contadini (peasants) give a bad name to Italians. If their wife goes out to buy sausage, they think she has eyes for the butcher. They go crazy. They can't help it. It's an ancient mentality they didn't create, but to civilized people it is stupid. An American at work said to me once, "Aren't you worried about your wife being home all day alone?" My answer was, "Of course not. Are you?"

Only one of the middle class wives, Maria Olivieri, is employed outside the home. This couple is childless, although they plan a family. Maria would not consider working after she has a child. The Olivieri's come much closer to openly accepting the egalitarian conception of the conjugal relationship than other middle class couples. Their only reference
to male dominance occurred in response to a specific question. If a disagreement on a major issue arose, Maria admits she would acquiesce to her husband because of his superior judgment. When Maria has children, the Olivieri's are likely to conform more closely to the pattern exhibited among the other couples. However, in their current situation a high degree of the sharing of roles occurs.

The Olivieri's jointly allocate housework and related jobs. The decision is made on the basis of which individual can more conveniently and capably handle the task. However, performance of these tasks is still regarded as being properly the function of either the husband or the wife, and the crossing of sex roles is seen as the result of special circumstances. Although Maria normally does the housework and cooking, Arnoldo is willing on occasion to perform almost any task in the house. Maria does not drive, but she is much more independent and active than the other wives. She travels by public transportation all over the city to shop, visit museums and attend a class in English. Maria, who does most of the shopping, says it is easier for her than it is for Arnoldo since she works near the house. Arnoldo, who had some training as an accountant in the Italian army, is responsible for household finances.

Maria's working is strictly instrumental, a means of reducing the time until the Olivieri's can afford a house and family. In no sense does she see herself as a career woman. Arnoldo provides assistance with housework only because Maria works. Both stressed the view that a non-working wife has no
right to expect her husband to perform her household duties.

Among all middle class couples, decision-making is divided. When a disagreement regarding an important issue occurs, the wives state that they ultimately give in to their husbands. Both husbands and wives emphasized that a great effort would be made to compromise. In general, decisions fall within the domains of either the husband or the wife. Joint decisions are not seen as an ideal pattern. One wife said that if many decisions are made jointly the possibility of conflict would increase. She handles certain issues and her husband others. Day-to-day household finances are the wife's responsibility. The husband handles finances which involve dealing with outside institutions, such as banks or insurance agencies. This division of responsibility does generate conflict.

The middle class husband places greater emphasis upon the acquisition of status symbols than does the wife. This appears to result from two factors; the husband's greater contact with society, and his need to see concrete manifestations of his ability to provide for his family. The wife is customarily very thrifty in operating the house, but it is not unusual for the husband injudiciously to spend large sums of money on non-essentials. Such conflict as results is not over spending priorities but concerns the detrimental effect of the husband's behavior on the wife's ability to carry out any important part of her role.

Producing and rearing children is viewed as the ultimate purpose of the family. Childlessness is looked upon as a great tragedy which inevitably blights happiness. Children
are also considered the individual's paramount responsibility in life. An occasional lapse by the husband or wife in their obligations to one another is tolerated, but any form of neglect of children is unforgivable. Goals and decisions regarding the future are oriented toward the children, who are thus an important source of cohesiveness and stability for the family. The experience of immigration encourages dependence upon those aspects of the individual's social and emotional existence which are continuous and stable. Children provide direction for the family and a focus for the husband and wife relationship.

Discussion with couples who have children, of the marital relationship before the birth of their children, and information given by the childless couple indicate that the birth of children initiates a greater segregation of the roles of husbands and wives. Middle class couples look upon the period before their children were born as a romantic time when their relations were relatively egalitarian. In contrast, a lower class wife observed that her husband was very domineering immediately after their marriage. Her husband said that the husband who does not have authority over a young wife will not have authority over an old wife.

Mothering is undoubtedly the essence of the familial role of the woman and the ultimate symbol of her femininity. The only comparable aspect of the male role is that of provider. Reproduction is proof of virility, but fathering does not appear to be as important an aspect of the male image as does being a satisfactory economic provider.
The extremely close mother-child relationship typical of Italy persists in the middle class family of Jamesville. However, the father-child relationship is also relatively intimate. The father performs tasks of caring for children, especially in providing instruction and entertainment. The father reads to his children, takes them to movies and plays games with them.

The mother scolds and shows disapproval of her children in several ways, but punishment is left to the father. It would be very difficult for the mother to perform this role since the traditional association of mother with love and father with respect persists in diluted form. Although harsh discipline is rare, parents are not indulgent towards misbehavior.

Both parents are relatively demonstrative toward their children. In the presence of other adults, children are expected to be polite and obedient. Any behavior that disrupts adult conversation is not tolerated.

Concern is often expressed for conflict the child might experience as a result of his bi-cultural background when he enters school. Parents are extremely fearful the child will be drawn to an anti-adult peer group, at which time they could no longer influence his behavior.

Most leisure activities involve the whole family. Couples do not feel comfortable leaving children with a babysitter. The desire to include children in socializing tends to hamper friendships with Americans. Visiting with Italian relatives living in Jamesville is encouraged because of the
ease of including children.

Parents are conscious of their children's lack of the large network of relatives with which they grew up in Italy. They attempt to fill the gap by extending the child's participation in their world.

**Social Networks of Middle Class Immigrants**

A social world consisting of discrete rather than overlapping relationships such as that of the middle class Italian immigrant, produces loose-knit social networks, which include persons who do not know each other but only know ego, the person who is the point of reference. Bott maintains (1971: 265-267) that discontinuous social experience resulting from either geographical or social mobility tends to produce loose-knit networks. Among the Italian middle class, loose-knit networks were the result of both types of mobility. However, the results of this research suggest that when lower class individuals from a non-industrial society who are oriented towards the local rather than the national society emigrate, they form close-knit networks in the new environment. Bott's contention applies primarily to middle class nationally-oriented immigrants whether they are from industrial or non-industrial societies.

Geographical mobility has a different impact on network connectedness than social mobility. The immigrant left an extensive network of school friends, neighbors and relatives behind in his native village. This network developed over years, possibly generations. The acquaintances he makes in
the new urban environment do not occur in such a broad context. They most likely will be attached to a specific social niche, and they are the result of his participation in a multitude of unrelated social situations.

The social networks of the Italian migrants in Jamesville have been affected by their desire for upward social movement as well as by their geographic movement. In Jamesville, the isolation of the nuclear family is encouraged by the fact that the families do not see the community as a permanent home. They perceive themselves as being superior to the lower class and refrain from involvement in social activities of a communal nature, such as membership in block associations and sidewalk gossip groups, and participation in parish functions of the Church.

Relationships with non-kin whom they accept as social equals are initiated partially for instrumental reasons, the most typical of which is to solidify a professional contact. However, common interests, enjoyment of each other's company and mutual respect determine whether or not the relationship will continue.

The social networks of the middle class are strongly affected by the presence of Italian-speaking relatives in the nearby vicinity. The Olivieri's have relatives on Long Island, which is about forty-five minutes away by car. However, they have no relatives in Jamesville. Elena Amico's married sister lives only three blocks away and Chiara Maione's brother and his family are within a short walk.

The networks of middle class couples are sparse and
consist mostly of relations with kin. The Olivieris, whose network is the most limited, have no relatives in Jamesville. The facts that Maria is employed and that they are childless further isolate the couple. The only outside relationships either of the Olivieris have as individuals are through work. At work, Arnoldo established a friendship with an American man whose wife had studied Italian. A couple of times a month Arnoldo and Maria visit the Americans, a pattern which was often encountered among other couples. Associations related to one's work are the only social contacts which systematically exclude one of the marriage partners. When these relationships extend beyond the office, however, the other partner is usually included. Maria's work relationships are superficial as compared with Arnoldo's. In her words, she does not share a "common sentiment" with the Italian American women with whom she works.

Monthly or more often, the Olivieris travel to Long Island for Sunday dinner with Arnoldo's uncle and aunt, their principal contact with the relatives. Periodically, either Arnoldo or Maria involve themselves in special activities. At the time research was conducted, Maria was taking an advanced English course in a Manhattan university. Arnoldo was a volunteer worker for a political candidate. Thus far, such activities have not produced friendships. Leisure activities are principally dining out and seeing movies. They cited the difficulty of making friends as one of their greatest sources of dissatisfaction with American life.

The social networks of the Amicos and Maiones differ
from those of the Olivieri. Both Elena Amico and Chiara Malone have frequent contact with their kin. Elena is considerably closer to her sister than Chiara is to her sister-in-law. Both women stated with emphasis that one important factor in their happiness in Jamesville is the presence of a female relative. The women visit their sisters once or twice a week, but contact by phone is much more frequent. No visiting occurs among females after their husbands return from work. Female visiting is informal, but less informal than that of lower class women. The middle class women do not drop in without earlier notice, and before a visitor comes an effort is made to straighten the house and to have necessary tasks done so that the women may be free to sit and talk.

It does not appear that marital conflicts or other intimate nuclear family problems are revealed in these relationships. Privacy and propriety are very important to the middle class. One woman said she could not expect her sister to keep a secret from her husband and she would be ashamed in front of her brother-in-law if he knew the intimate details of her life. In addition, her husband would lose face in front of his brother-in-law. Men are not supposed to know such things of one another. Although she sometimes feels it would be desirable to talk about her deep feelings, she loves her husband too much to hurt him for what she considers a "triviality." Consequently, she keeps her feelings to herself.

Family visiting in the evening is uncommon. Sunday afternoon is normally devoted to a family dinner. The use
of Sundays for family visiting is also a custom of the lower class. However, the Sunday dinner of the middle class is small and a less firmly established custom. Among lower class immigrants, Sunday has a nearly sacred status as a family day. If a middle class family makes plans for a Sunday which do not include relatives, no conflict results. Often the family group consists of only two related couples and their children rather than the larger group of the Sunday dinners of the lower class.

Saturday night is ordinarily the only occasion on which non-family entertainment occurs. The husband and wife might then go out to a restaurant with or without the children, or alone to a movie. A few times annually other couples may be invited for formal dinners and these couples reciprocate. Guests are mainly middle class Italians or Americans met through work. Such friendships do not seem to be important to the couples. It appears that the ties are maintained to enlarge the husband's range of professional contacts.

Although visiting among the middle class does not generally break into sex groups, such segregation sometimes occurs among groups of relatives, especially when the women have close bonds with one another. The formality of contacts with non-kin tends to encourage the joint socializing of both sexes. Furthermore, husbands and wives seem to feel a responsibility to help their spouses enjoy themselves. During the course of interaction with another couple, they are mutually supportive and complementary. For example, as a subject of conversation a wife will introduce an interesting experience
of her husband, which he then proceeds to relate. Most people appear to feel more comfortable when their partners are present.

As we have previously stated, socializing involves both mates. The tendency for an individual to develop friendships with people of the same sex as his own is inhibited by the proportionately small number of middle class Italians in Jamesville. Unlike lower class women, women of the middle class are not inhibited from participation in neighborhood social life by a lack of command of English. They speak very respectable English. However, most of their neighbors are Italian Americans or lower class Italians. Middle class women have ample opportunity to develop friendships with other women through children, but they do not consider such friendships desirable.

The husbands who work in Manhattan have limited opportunity to make friendships with other males. Unlike lower class males, they immigrated with their families and they do not have the friendships which lower class men establish before their families arrive in Jamesville. Since the middle class male does not do yardwork or home repairs he has few contacts with neighbors.

**Relations Between Middle Class and Lower Class Italian Immigrants**

The primary reason for the social isolation of the middle class couple is the awkwardness of their relationships with both Italian Americans and lower class Italians, the dominant groups in Jamesville.

In the Southern Italian village, contact between the
agricultural lower class and the non-agricultural middle class is small (Galtung, 1973: 243-244). No formal basis for such a relationship exists. Their relative positions in the village hierarchy is acknowledged when interaction occurs but there is no institutionalized necessity for inter-class contact.

After they emigrated to the United States both groups continued to define social class by Italian criteria. However, adoption of the American definition of social class would not have affected their status relative to one another. By both American and Italian standards the middle class individual has a higher social position than the lower class individual. Italian culture places a great emphasis upon hierarchic distinctions by class, and an egalitarian relationship is impossible because of the social distance between the two classes, of which both are acutely aware.

The recognition of middle class superiority does not imply a positive mutual regard. To the contrary, relations between the classes are marked by considerable antagonism. The middle class is resentful of the lower class for creating a negative image of Italians that Americans indiscriminately apply to all Italians. The person of middle class frequently experiences humiliation because of the American stereotype of Italians and feels anger at lower class behavior which perpetuates the stereotype. The middle class makes no effort to conceal the low esteem it holds for lower class people, whom they regard as brutish and ignorant. Criticism of the way in which members of the lower class adapt to American
society is added to the traditional list of complaints. Lower class Italians do not speak English (or Standard Italian) and lose additional status by playing a subordinate role in relations with Italian Americans, whom the middle class does not respect. From the middle class perspective, the lower class immigrant worsens his own problems of adjustment by living in isolated communities. The reputed involvement of the lower class in the American mafia is also a source of constant irritation to the middle class.

The lower class feels a certain ambivalence towards the social position of the middle class. Occasionally, the belief is expressed that their status is attached to village society and is a thing of the past. The fact that greater American society frequently categorizes the lower and middle class together as Italian immigrants encourages ambivalence among the lower class regarding social superiority of the middle class. One construction worker expresses this view:

They came here for jobs just like we did. In Italy they made us feel like dirt under their feet, and I guess we were in Italy. But here it is different. We are equal. We live as well as they do and are as respectable as they are.

These complications result in the avoidance of social relationships between middle and lower class immigrants. The two classes live next door to each other in Jamesville as they did in the Southern Italian village, but the gulf separating them continues to be as wide as it was in the village.

**Relations Between Middle Class Immigrants and Italian Americans**

For the middle class Italian, one of the most distressing
aspects of life in Jamesville stems from their poor relations with Italian Americans. Middle class Italians necessarily have contact with Italian Americans as neighbors, at work and within the extended family. Because of their comparable financial positions they live side-by-side and shop in the same stores. Although undesired and usually avoided when possible, contact between members of the two groups is, therefore, extensive. The inability of these two segments of the population to communicate with one another is a major reason for the withdrawal of the middle class into the nuclear family. The Italian Americans with whom the middle class has most contact are second generation. Middle class Italians are extremely conscious of their social position, and satisfactory interaction between the two groups is hindered by the Italian Americans' negativism toward Italian culture in general, and their attempt to assume a dominant role in the relationship. The situation is further complicated by conflicting assessments of social statuses. In effect, both groups believe they have higher status than the other because they are using different standards of evaluation.

The inability of these immigrants to fulfill the economic expectations associated with the middle class in Italy contributed to a lowering of their overall status in the old society. The immigrants view their personal dissatisfaction as a product of the economic constraints upon their standard of living. The influence of financial circumstances upon social status is acknowledged by them but is not emphasized. Middle class individuals believed that through emigration they
would be able to live by the standards they desired. Raising
their economic positions to conform with other status factors
would naturally lead to an overall improvement in their social
position. However, they erred in assuming that no other factors
would influence their status.

Immigrants expected conditions of life in the United
States to be different from those of Italy. While they re-
mained in the village, however, it was impossible to know pre-
cisely what the differences would be. They were confident
that they would be largely due to the modern character of
American society. Since they took pride in viewing themselves
as modernists, they foresaw no special problems of adjustment
and welcomed acquaintance with the new culture.

The middle class immigrants knew that other Italian
immigrants had been subjected to discrimination and prejudice
in the United States. However, those immigrants were Southern
peasants, who had been treated in Italy with hostility as
great as or greater than that they had experienced in the
United States. The middle class immigrants understood and
often agreed with the negative appraisal of Italian peasants
and never believed that they might be included in the same
stereotype. Middle class immigrants are mystified by the
fact that Italian Americans are more discriminatory in their
behavior toward them than native Americans are. They can
partially excuse Americans for stereotyping them, because of
their ignorance of Italian culture, but they can find no ex-
planation for the conduct of Italian Americans other than
malice.
The middle class immigrants did not realize the importance to their own welfare of maintaining good relations with the Italian Americans. They felt that they should be satisfied with life in the United States. The move from Italy had brought some suffering to everyone involved, and after making the move and living in America, return to the backward village was impossible. Since Italian Americans are the dominant segment of the community avoidance of contact with them severely inhibits the social life of the middle class immigrants.

The most serious problems of relations with Italian Americans are within the extended family. Italian Americans are included among the extended family of all the middle class Italians studied. Minimal participation of the middle class immigrants in activities of the extended family results from their efforts to avoid contact with Italian Americans. The immigrant maintains that the social situations he avoids are of little importance to him. His family and few friends provide a gratifying social life. However, tension results from the conscious avoidance of Italian Americans. Partially to resolve this problem all immigrants plan eventually to move to a non-Italian neighborhood.

Little conformity exists between the two ethnic subgroups' definition of factors conferring social status. Italian Americans place little, if any, value upon the nature of the individual's employment since job status is generally contingent upon remuneration. Jobs which require manual labor are more desirable than white-collar jobs if the salary is greater. Manual labor per se is thus not a negative factor
according to Italian American values. In contrast, middle class Italians retain the traditional aversion to manual labor. They grant higher status to an individual who works as a bank clerk than to a bricklayer in spite of the bricklayer's higher salary.

A breach also exists between middle class immigrants and Italian Americans in a variety of other matters. One of these is aesthetic sensibility. Italian artistic sensitivity is world-renowned. This sensitivity is manifest among middle class immigrants in their great concern for taste and fashion, which conforms with the middle class ideal of Italy. The middle class has a precise understanding of design, color and texture, particularly when applied to furniture and clothing. Exposure to news media explains much of their seemingly intuitive sensibility. Although Italian Americans are also concerned with fashion and taste, the taste of the second generation in Jamesville tends to be gaudy. Italian taste emphasizes simple elegance, and Italian American taste is a cluttered imitation of baroque. Middle class Italians cannot understand why Italian Americans are unaware of the image of bad taste they project.

The middle class Italian places a value upon speaking a language properly. The importance of speaking proper Italian in Italy has influenced him to be conscious of his English. The immigrant makes considerable effort to achieve fluency in English. Most second generation Italian Americans have the unprestigious accent characteristic of the Italian population of Brooklyn. The middle class Italian is appalled
at the English of the Italian American, but his reaction is even stronger when the second generation speaks what it considers to be Italian. The parents of these people spoke local dialects as they existed fifty years ago. American corruption of the dialects, plus the fact that they are only used to communicate with parents, have produced an Italian American language incomprehensible to Italian speakers.

Food functions as a symbol of ethnic identity important for both subgroups; as with taste, it varies for each group. The Italian American's favorite Italian dishes are foreign to the middle class immigrants. Italian American cuisine almost exclusively uses tomato-based sauces which are cooked for long periods as heavy ragout. In native Italian cooking, tomato sauces are light, cooked briefly and never use tomato paste. In America, pasta is overcooked and served in huge portions as a main dish, but it is always a second course eaten at lunch in Italy. To the American, spaghetti and meatballs are the epitome of Italian cooking, yet this dish is unknown in Italy.¹ The incredible variety of pasta dishes the middle class housewife prepares--delicate cream sauces and pasta-vegetable combinations--are unknown in the Italian American kitchen. A middle class housewife said that one of

¹At the opening of his new and elegant Italian restaurant in downtown Manhattan, one second generation informant, Vito, confessed that he did not know what most of the dishes were. His Roman chef had devised the menu and, to Vito's consternation, insisted spaghetti and meatballs be omitted. Vito wondered what kind of Italian restaurant he was running.
the most delightful things about Italian culture was its
cuisine, and even this the Italian Americans had bastardized.

As discussed in Chapter IV, the relations of Italian
Americans and lower class immigrants often follow a patron-
client model. This type of vertical alliance cannot exist with
middle class Italians who are capable of dealing directly with
American society without the intervention of patrons or any
other kind of assistance. In many cases, the middle class
immigrant is more cosmopolitan than the Italian American, and
has qualifications which permit him access to more desirable
positions outside the confines of the Italian ethnic commu-
nity.

Middle class Italians have extremely negative attitudes
toward relationships of patronage, which they view as one of
the greatest obstacles to modernization in Italy and to their
personal success. By the 1960s the power of the traditional
elite in Italy had eroded and they were replaced by a new
elite with power based on politics. However, the individual
was still required to rely upon patronage by the new elite
as a means of obtaining jobs and other desired positions.
In Southern Italy today the individual needs a powerful patron
in order to achieve professional goals which he believes him-
self to be qualified for by impersonal standards (Boissevain,
1966). In the United States impersonal standards are the
normal means of social placement and the middle class Italian
is indignant that the Italian American seeks to destroy his
new independence. The power of the Italian American is de-
rived from control of employment, local politics and real
estate. Much of this power is supported by the threat of organized crime.

Enterprises, types of employment, and facilities which are dominated by Italian Americans are either directly available to middle class Italians as a result of their participation in the greater society or are of no importance to them. Italian American domination of employment is predominantly in the building trades, private garbage collection, some food industries and local businesses. White-collar or professional positions in these enterprises are very few and blue-collar jobs are of no interest to the middle class immigrant. Administrators and personnel for other high-ranking positions in these businesses are recruited within the organization on the basis of personal criteria, which eliminates the immigrants. They find employment in enterprises operating on a national rather than a local scale, and where employment is on the basis of objective criteria of qualifications.

Housing is no greater a problem for the middle class immigrant than for any American because of the Italian's relative affluence, knowledge of English and capacity to deal with urban situations.

The immigrant is generally oblivious of local politics and his participation in communal activities is negligible. Lack of involvement in and knowledge of the power structure spares the immigrant contact with illicit sources of power.

Middle class immigrants who own businesses in Jamesville are an exception to the above statement. They are forced to
participate in the local power structure, which involves them in its illicit aspects. Unfortunately only limited data were collected on this subject. However, the data which are available indicate that businessmen are the only middle class immigrants who are involved in a relationship of patronage with Italian Americans. The factors discussed above regarding the relations of Italian Americans and middle class Italians also apply to these businessmen. The hostility directed towards Italian Americans is much greater among immigrant businessmen than among other immigrants because of the compulsory and illegal nature of the patronage relationship.

The relationship appears to be as described below. A middle class Italian store owner has a patron who is an influential Italian American businessman. The store owner pays a protection fee to his patron, and he may be required to purchase certain goods or services through his patron. If the store owner encounters financial difficulties or problems with his landlord or the police, he can expect some form of assistance from his patron.

It is not suggested here that all Italian Americans desire a patron-client relationship with immigrants. However, this relationship serves as the characteristic model for interaction with the middle class immigrants and defines the relationship hierarchically. One middle class woman expressed her frustration caused by this tendency of Italian Americans

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2 These data were not directly elicited. They were primarily obtained from conversations conducted in Italian or dialect in the author's presence.
in this way:

I really cannot tell you exactly why, but every time I’m around my relatives who were born here (parenti di qua), I feel very awkward, as if they were waiting for me to say or do something stupid. My sisters-in-law are so damned solicitous. From a man I might expect it, but they are imbeciles. I have lived here four years now and they ask me if I have trouble shopping, do the children manage with English in school. Don’t think it’s because they care so much. I really feel they hate me. Madonna, who knows why?

When Italian Americans and middle class Italians meet for the first time, status juggling occurs. Middle class immigrants take a defensive position, presenting positive facts about themselves in what they believe is a discreet manner. Italian Americans systematically withhold approval. They are most likely to cast doubt overtly on the validity of a statement made by an immigrant if it pertains to his past in Italy. In one instance, an immigrant mentioned in the context of a conversation on Italian politics that a relative of his was a legal advisor to the President, Giovanni Leone. This information represented a status factor of such magnitude that the only means by which the Italian American could maintain his position was to accuse the speaker of lying by laughing and remarking that when Italians leave Italy they all become barons.

Factors with less influence upon social status may be dealt with by Italian Americans in one of two ways: failure to respond, or attempts to reduce their value. An incident that I observed is an example of the latter course of action. An immigrant said that he was employed by Olivetti as a sales
representative. The Italian American response was, "Oh, yes. I've heard the Italian companies always try to hire new people. I suppose they don't have to pay them much."

The only resolution that people of middle class can see to the problem of interacting with Italian Americans is to leave Jamesville. In the meantime, as we have noted, a conscious effort is made to avoid situations of contact. As we have also noted, the difficulties of developing satisfying relationships outside the family have resulted in making the nuclear family nearly the exclusive source of rewarding social experiences. Members of the middle class feel tremendous pressure to succeed in the United States and their response to the first denigrating experiences with Italian Americans is one of profound disappointment. The solution adopted is to look to the family as a stable source of security.

This type of familism differs from the "amoral familism" described by Banfield (1967). Relations within the family are warm and loving, and the individual is fully integrated into the group. Thus, it is a "true" familism, not a camouflage for individualism. As a consequence, the father has a deep emotional attachment to the children, who provide the ultimate justification for the relationship between the parents.

However, the family is not the only unit of social organization with which the individual identifies. The middle class immigrant has a strong national identification with Italy and, to a lesser degree, the United States. Work is another source of identification for the male. Profession is
a major component in the male self-image. Although the individual feels a great commitment to the family, it is not exclusive.

There is no indication the individual's attachment to the family stems only or primarily from a sense of obligation. The entire external world is not viewed as intrinsically hostile, filled with threats to the security and well-being of the family. To the contrary, most people exhibit a considerable amount of receptiveness towards American society.

In response to the new demands being made upon it, the conjugal relationship has changed markedly. As earlier discussion has shown, the Italian definition of the ideal relationship still lingers, causing some personal conflict. However, as the husband and wife have become more dependent upon one another, the American behavior presented by the media appears to become regarded more and more as a "natural" way of interrelating. In effect, the middle class couple is drawn into an egalitarian conjugal relationship notwithstanding a lack of early preparation for it. If the current trend towards a heavy exposure to the American new media continues, the final acceptance of American values to support the associated behavior patterns which have emerged seems likely.
CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF LOWER CLASS IMMIGRANT COUPLES

Before they emigrated, the lower class immigrants discussed in this chapter were wage laborers occupying such a low position in the native village that nothing was risked by their leaving. Previous efforts to escape poverty had been unsuccessful. Since these people had experienced the humiliation of poverty, a further sacrifice of pride in the new society was a small price to pay for the fervently desired goal of financial security. The immigrant's sole objective in migrating was to secure a well-paying job and thereby provide a good livelihood for his family. The importance the middle class attached to its social position in Jamesville was not felt by people of the lower class, although the desire to improve social positions in the village did have importance in the decision to emigrate. Although return to the village was inconceivable to middle class immigrants, those of the lower class often had fantasies or plans of returning to savor the status of peers with their previous superiors. Unlike the earlier immigrants, the recent arrivals realized return was unlikely, if they were successful in the new society. Nevertheless, the village society remained the lower class immigrant's frame of reference for
evaluating his achievement and guiding his behavior.

In years of life, the lower class husbands are the oldest segment of the population of recent immigrants studied. Their average age was almost 36 years. None had lived with their families in Jamesville for less than five years. All had come to the United States alone and later brought their families to Jamesville or had earlier immigrated to Italian cities or to cities in other European nations. In three cases, the husbands had worked in Brooklyn for several years before the arrival of their families or had returned to Italy to marry. In the other two cases, the husbands had worked in Northern Italy or in a northern European country. They were in Jamesville just long enough to arrange for their family's move, which was within a year of their arrival.

No instance was encountered of a lower class immigrant's going directly from a village in Italy to Jamesville accompanied by his entire family. Such joint immigration is unlikely to occur for three reasons. The day laborer cannot acquire enough money on his own to finance the move so he is forced to borrow. Borrowing from relatives already in the United States is not uncommon, but it generally occurs only after the husband has established himself in the new society. The risk involved in immigration of the whole family is great. If the immigrant is unable to find work, the family has no means of support. Alone, he can manage the initial hardships. Another reason for the husband's migrating first is that wives are not anxious to leave their relatives and their lives in the village. Husbands must have
a solid indication that the new life represents an improvement over the old before wives are willing to join them.

All of the five lower class couples are literate. One woman had completed only two years of formal education, but everyone else had finished the *scuola elementare* (five years). Two males had attended the *scuola media*. Two husbands worked in construction; another is employed at the meat counter of a *salumeria*. Two couples jointly operate luncheonette-pizzerias. The other three wives have never worked outside the home, and the two women who work with their husbands had never previously been employed.

Incomes ranged from $6,000 to $12,000. Data could not be obtained from the luncheonette operators because the informal nature of the operations permits under-reporting to the Internal Revenue Service. When questions regarding income were introduced into conversation with them silence immediately followed. However, the lifestyle of one family suggests it had an income of perhaps $7,000. The more successful luncheonette operator nets approximately $12,000.

The number of children ranges from two to six per family and averages 3.6. The larger families and lower incomes of the lower class couples results in a more austere lifestyle than that of the middle class. Although they are spotlessly clean, the living quarters of all the lower class immigrants are sparsely furnished. The two families with luncheonettes live in the rear of the store and the other families rent small apartments. Babies usually sleep in the same bedroom as their parents and the other children sleep in the living
room. Only one couple, the Dorsos, own an automobile. However, all families have television sets. Expenditure on clothing is minimal. The family often receives second-hand clothing from American relatives.

Despite the austerity of their present existence, all immigrants believe the economic aspect of life in the United States is far superior to that of Italy. They live decently, save some money and, occasionally, enjoy a small luxury. Furthermore, they have confidence that with more experience in America they will be able to take advantage of the opportunities it offers.

These immigrants do not have the negative attitude toward Italy of the earlier immigrants. Nearly every conversation I had with them included a nostalgic reference to Italian life. The quality of the air, the natural, healthy food, and the pleasure found in simple things are fondly recalled. One woman summed up this feeling in these words: "The Americans know the secret of making money, but not the secret of life."

Relationships Within the Lower Class Immigrant Family

The roles of lower class husbands and wives are sharply distinct, a circumstance which, for convenience, I shall hereafter refer to by the stereotyped phrase, "segregated conjugal roles". Such segregation exists in Southern Italy as it does in other Mediterranean peasant societies. However, most of the five couples had experienced role segregation of an extreme kind as a result of the husbands' prolonged
absences from their homes. Only the Dorsos have never experienced a long separation during their marriage. Ugo Dorso initially came to Jamesville as a bachelor and returned to Sicily to find a wife.

As a result of their separation, husbands and wives have different conceptions of the ideal marital relationship. The husband's conception conforms closely with traditional ideals, but the wife's view has changed with regard to the division of authority within the family.

The husband is unwilling to relinquish absolute authority. In traditional Southern Italian culture, the authority of the husband is derived from his position as the dominant male, economically and physically, within the nuclear family. When the father reached his middle years, his sons superceded him in power (Covello, 1967: 194-195). The position of the female is very strong after she becomes a mother, and with old age she reaches a position of near veneration. Nevertheless, she is always subject to the authority of the dominant male. As an old woman, she may, in fact, have more real power within the family than her dominant sons, but she publicly acquiesces to their authority. Thus, the authority of the husband is not truly inherent in his role but depends upon his ability to achieve and maintain dominance.

A number of factors encourage the lower class wife to view the home as a domain where she exercises authority even though traditionally woman were barred from any formal or recognized statuses of authority. However, the idea of male
superiority has become diluted in most of the South today (Barberis, 1960: 13 and Alberoni, 1970: 311-316) and femininity is no longer an insurmountable barrier to achieving a position of authority.

Lower class women regard authority within the family as being divided between husband and wife. Early in their married life, lower class wives are forced to assume responsibility for the family in their husband's absence. Although the husband is fulfilling his traditional role as provider by emigrating, the wife is also performing economic duties while he is away. The wife commonly did farm work with the help of children. However, she regarded the responsibility for performance of those tasks which lie outside her normal role as being temporary. The traditional power in familial matters of the Southern Italian woman, coupled with the demands of her new situation were the most important factors which encouraged the lower class immigrant wife to come to view her role as one of authority (Alberoni, 1970: 312-313; and Brogger, 1971: 77-78).

The wife believes that she should have authority over matters which pertain to the home. These include the behavior of the children while at home and, at times, of the husband, the performance of household tasks and the management of money for operating the household. After the family was reunited, this view became a source of considerable antagonism. Although the husband maintains that he has absolute authority in actuality he leaves issues within the home to be managed by his wife. Conflicts over specific issues are
resolved without the husband's overtly "giving in", which, in reality, the wife neither expects nor wants. Although she believes she has the right to conduct her home as she wants, she still clings to a fundamental belief in the propriety of male dominance. Arguments are often left in an unresolved state, after displays of verbal or physical hostility have occurred. The wife then proceeds to handle matters as she desires. In effect, the wife is the decision-maker within the home, but the husband makes all decisions which involve the external world. Among most couples the wife's opinion is sought in such matters and influences the actions of the husband.

The importance of the independent behavior of American women as a model for the behavior of the lower class wife is difficult to determine. Exposure to American news media is restricted by her inability to speak English. However, most wives are fond of television programs for women even when they understand little of the English that is spoken. Italian American women of the second and third generations present another model of behavior for the lower class wife. If these two models are the primary reason for her increased authority within the home which we have noted, one would expect a general desire for independence of action. However, the lower class wife has made no effort toward and does not desire such independence outside the home. It appears that her behavior reflects the experience of running her home by herself in her husband's absence, tempered by
her continued acceptance of the traditional views of
the division of labor by sex. The interval of separa-
tion of spouses before the wives and children came to James-
ville had, of course, allowed no overlapping or interdepend-
ence of the roles of man and wife. By the time his family
arrived, a man had established a network of relationships
with friends and relatives. In Jamesville, as in the vill-
age, the husband has many male friends with whom he spends
time, more or less leaving the house to his wife and child-
ren. For friendship and aid in her household tasks, the wife
relies upon Italian-speaking relatives and neighbors.

The wife assumes all responsibility for the care of the
children, cooking, and housework, her husband helping only
when she is ill. If the children are older than nine or
ten, however, they are expected to take on most of the mother's
burden at times of illness. Female friends and relatives
also provide assistance during such times of crises.

The husband takes care of repairs within the house.
One woman explained that she was not adverse to doing re-
pairs, but did not know how and American plumbing and elec-
tricity frightened her.

Shopping is left exclusively to the wife. The family
rarely has need of anything not available in the immediate
shopping area. The wife often goes shopping with a neighbor,
accompanied by their pre-school children. At other times,
neighbors watch the children while the wife shops and, in
exchange, the wife makes purchases for them.

When a major item is needed in the house, the husband
and wife select it together but the wife has the greater voice in the final decision. On one occasion, a husband returned home with a sewing machine for his wife. Although the wife acknowledged the thoughtfulness of the gesture, she was annoyed that he had not taken her with him to choose it.

When the husband receives his paycheck he gives a certain amount of money to the wife for familial expenses, such as children's school needs, food, laundry and clothing. Exceptional expenses require the husband's approval. During holidays he provides an additional sum which she specified as necessary for gifts, special food, liquors, and the like. Wives are remarkably frugal and do not give account to their husbands of how they spend money. Thus, some are able to save considerable amounts which are usually set aside for something special for their children. One woman was already saving for the wedding of a 13 year-old daughter.

Like her counterpart of the middle class, the lower class wife does not deal with financial agencies and does not know how to write checks. Bills for utilities are paid by the husband as well as charges for goods purchased by installment payment.

The most important aspects of the husband's role are traditional, to provide financial support for his family and to protect the sexual purity of his wife and daughters. Although the new society enables him to provide for his family more adequately than formerly, it has brought problems in the performance of his role as protector. The husband's preoccupation with his wife's faithfulness and daughter's purity
is heightened by the presence of a large population in Jamesville of unmarried men and men whose wives are in Italy and a corresponding lack of unmarried women.

In Jamesville the lack of informal social controls over the behavior of wives which existed in the village is a source of concern for the husband. Suspicious of his wife's ventures outside the house, he encourages her friendship with neighbors as providing some measure of control over her behavior while he is absent. In the evening the wife is not permitted to leave the apartment building. Within the building she might go next door to visit, but no farther. Within the village out of necessity, she had greater freedom of movement while separated from her husband. Although her husband was, of course, not present to observe her activities, other kin scrutinized her every movement. Husbands believe their wives should be happier in Jamesville because they have greater freedom; however, wives maintain they have less freedom. The husband's view is based upon comparing his wife's situation in Jamesville with her experiences in the village at the time they were living together. The wife's views of her circumstances is conditioned by her experiences in the village when separated from her husband by her observation of the behavior of Italian American and middle class Italian women and as it is presented on television and radio.

Husbands constantly warn their wives of the danger of Jamesville streets. These warnings are prompted in large part by genuine worry over
the wife's safety and fear of the unknown urban environment but they also reflect traditional ideas of the roles of wives. Jamesville has one of the lowest crime rates in Brooklyn. It appears that husbands use their warnings as threats serving as substitutes for other and unavailable ways of controlling their wives' actions. As a result, these country women who long for the outdoors, are terrified of the streets.

None of the families which were interviewed in detail have post-pubescent daughters. However, daughters in other lower class families are permitted to date after the age of sixteen or seventeen under the close supervision of both of their parents. A frequent problem is that the men who are desirable potential husbands also present the greatest sexual threat. These suitors are older men who have well-paying jobs, but who also have apartments or money to take the daughters to hotels. It is possible also that such older men have wives and children in Italy. Fear that daughters will become involved with married men leads the fathers to inquire from village associates of suitors to make certain they are single.

It is the mother, however, who constantly reminds the daughter of the importance of virginity at the time of marriage. Other relatives also serve as monitors. Brothers and male cousins are expected to report to her father any misconduct on the part of a girl. If a brother sees his sister doing something unacceptable by his own standards, he might possibly intervene and punish her immediately. If he does not personally disapprove of her behavior, but knows
their father will, he usually relates the incident to the father. Both daughters and wives are punished physically if they are suspected of sexual misconduct.

The mothers of the three families which do not operate luncheonettes continue to perform the role of disciplinarians, as they did during the period of separation from their husbands. Since all of the children in the sample families are under thirteen, their social life is still primarily within the nuclear family. Children are expected to provide considerable help to their mother with housework. The mother views discipline as one aspect of her authority within the home, a role which was smaller for the mother in the Italian village. Casual observation of other families with older children suggests that as a child is drawn out of the family into a peer group, the father takes over the role of disciplinarian.

The mother's assumption of much of the responsibility for administering punishment to children appears to be a major factor in the development of a more strongly affective relationship between the father and his children in Jamesville than existed in Southern Italy. When a child is seriously remiss, the mother may still invoke the father to punish the child. Although the father continues to inspire fear in the young child, respect is the more prevalent attitude. Traditionally, the father had only weak affective ties to his children, and the discipline he administered was not tempered by an overall loving relationship. In contrast, discipline was a minor aspect of the mother's role and its alienating
aspect was submerged in the warmth of the mother-child relation-
ship. The Jamesville mother is certainly not feared by her children, but her role has made the father less fearsome to them. The competition which existed between the father and his sons in Southern Italy has disappeared in Jamesville. The father does not look upon sons as rivals but as assistants. He looks forward to the time the son will contribute financially to the family and, perhaps, work with him. The father-daughter relationship continues to be emotionally distant, especially because of the father's close supervision of the daughter’s sexual behavior. Post-pubescent daughters express resentment that they are not trusted by their fathers, and as in Italy, fathers and daughters feel constrained and embarrassed while in each other's presence.

The warm and loving nature of the mother's relationship with her children appears to be as profound as it was in the traditional culture. The period of time while the spouses were separated and the conditions of life in the new environment, served to solidify the bonds of dependency between mothers and children. Women often say that life in Jamesville would be intolerable without their children, who provide the greatest source of emotional satisfaction for them.

As the children grow older and become Italian Americans, a change in their relationships with their parents will probably occur. It is unlikely that these second generation Italian Americans of the future will experience the severe alienation and problem of identity suffered by the second generation of middle age. Their lower class parents convey
to their children loving and often romantic feelings about Italy. The pride of the parents in being Italian gives the children a positive attitude towards their Italian heritage. Furthermore, the Italian American children of the third and fourth generations with whom they attend school are less conscious of gradations of Italian ethnicity than were the schoolmates of the older Italian Americans.

Although the lower class couple married for love, it is not looked upon as the justification for their continued marriage. The love which brought them together was not characterized by any intimacy beyond that of sex or by a high degree of communication and was instead basically a physical attraction supported by an appreciation of each other's attributes as individuals. Marriage occurred because both parties felt the time had come to start a family and they saw in one another the qualities a wife/mother or husband/father should have. Nevertheless, marriage is primarily regarded as a union of two individuals. The traditional emphasis upon the idea that marriages should primarily be unions of the families of the bride and groom has diminished.

Although there is considerable variation among couples, individual needs for fellowship are largely satisfied through external relationships with persons of the same sex. The couples do not see the absence of this kind of relationship between themselves as a flaw in their marriage; in fact, it is neither expected nor desired. When asked to describe feelings toward their spouses, informants described behavior toward the family, as in the following account by a 37-year-old Sicilian:
Lena is a good woman. In all the time we were separated she did nothing bad. She works herself sick for the little ones and me. She would go without food if we were hungry. A wife like Lena is my greatest blessing in life.

Although a very strong positive sentiment exists, it is based upon the spouse's fulfillment of marital obligations rather than upon interaction which provides emotional gratification to the other spouse.

The two couples who work together in the luncheonettes provide an interesting contrast with the other couples with regard to conjugal role segregation and allocation of authority. The great amount of time needed to run a business tends to curtail external social relationships of the couples. Although they are considerably more dependent upon one another than the other couples, the division of labor at work permits flexibility. Normally, one or the other performs a task, but when necessary either will wait upon tables, cook or clean. In a similar fashion, the children are expected to provide any type of help required. However, certain tasks, such as those requiring physical strength, and bookkeeping, are exclusively the husbands' and some special dishes are prepared only by the wives. The division of labor at home follows the same lines, a circumstance which appears to be encouraged by the similarity of a small restaurant to a home with regard to the type of work performed and the physical proximity of the two locations.

In the families operating luncheonettes the authority of the husband is greater within the home than in any of the
other families despite the wife's economic contribution. This circumstance seems also to stem from the similarity in activities of the home and the business, which led to extension of the husband's authority from the business to the home. The major aspects of the wife's role in the other families which require independent or authoritarian behavior on her part are household financing, shopping and disciplining the children. In the families running luncheonettes, the husband performs all of these roles.

A comparison of the families of the luncheonette operators and other families suggests that the authority of the wife in the families that do not run luncheonettes once again appears to relate to the period when husbands and wives were separated and the women assumed roles of authority which were not otherwise normal for them. The assistance of kin within the village helped a woman to manage without her husband. In Jamesville, neighbors and kin are also available for assistance. Her husband has a network of friends with whom he spends much of his free time. Thus, a high degree of social segregation continues to exist. The wife carries out her functions and the husband his with little assistance from one another.

The Social Networks of Lower Class Couples

The social networks of married couples of the lower class and middle class differ. The most visible difference is that lower class couples have a much greater number of social relationships. Socializing with people outside the family is constant and casual, since relatives and friends
drop in to chat several times during the course of the day. Although the lower class couples have more relatives living in Jamesville, the difference in social activity can be largely attributed to other factors.

As previously mentioned, the pattern of migration among the lower class facilitated the development of large networks of associations for both the husband and wife. During his days alone in Jamesville, the husband made enduring friendships with other men who were also without their families. Occasionally, a single man was included in the group. However, the interests and concerns of the single immigrant, who could afford some indulgences, were not the same as those of the married immigrant, who saved as much as money as possible for passage for his family. The members of this circle of immigrants living alone spent most of their free time together, playing cards in the evening in a circolo or coffee bar and soccer on Saturday afternoons.

The circoli are small social clubs of male immigrants, some of which are as old as fifty years. They are located in dilapidated stores on shopping streets. Their dirty windows and dim, bare light bulbs make them dismal. Folding chairs and card tables, a television set, and a few odds and ends constitute the furniture. Old soccer trophies and photos of Italian soccer teams line the wall. Each member contributes a small sum toward the rent. Some evenings the circoli are filled with men of all ages playing cards and talking but at other times only two or three old men are present.
The married immigrant also becomes involved in extended family relationships immediately after his arrival. These provide him with his first place to stay, information about a job, loans, and other kinds of assistance. By the time the wife arrives, contact has been made with female relatives who aid her adjustment. In some cases, the wife also has kin living in Jamesville. Although the husband visits his affinal relatives, relationships are not well established with them until the wife arrives.

The large number of lower class immigrants and their tendency to live in concentrated areas increases the likelihood that the husband can secure living quarters for his family in a building with other immigrant families. Surrounding the wife are many other women who speak Italian and, often, her own dialect. They have experienced difficulties similar to her own and help her survive the initial period of loneliness.

The relatively positive attitude towards Italian Americans which we have noted also helps the immigrant to adjust. Italian Americans are not avoided by the lower class as they are by the middle class. The immigrant joins block associations, summer sidewalk conversation groups, which emerge in warm weather, and, to a lesser degree, participates in parish activities.

Whereas the middle class husband and wife have the same friends whom they see on the same occasions, the lower class husbands and wives have different circles of relationships. Thus, socializing is divided into sex groups among
the lower class.

After his family arrives, the husband continues to see
his friends one or two evenings a week, in the circolo. The
husband does not make definite plans to meet specific indi-
viduals on his evenings out, but drops in on his circolo or
coffee bar to play cards with those who are present. The only
people who visit his house with any regularity are cousins
and brothers. If the relatives feel a close relationship with
the husband, they may drop in frequently. Other male friends
do not appear to be comfortable in the presence of a wife.

In the course of the wife's day, she goes several
times to the quarters of neighbors in her apartment building.
These visits are just for a few minutes, to borrow something,
ask advice, or relate a funny incident. Women who are neigh-
bors watch each other's children, knit and shop together. The
only formal manifestation of their relationship is the ex-
change of traditional dishes on holidays. The women from
Bari send their neighbors bowls of zeppole (doughnuts) on San
Guiseppe and the Sicilians give crispelle (pastry) to friends
at Christmas or earlier at the time of the feast of San
Martino.

Among female relatives, the closeness of kinship and
of feelings of personal attachment determine the frequency of
their social contacts. If female relatives who speak Italian
live within a couple of blocks of one another, informal visit-
ing is done but when they live farther away visits are planned.
Daily telephone contact between some female relatives is
common. Evening visiting is normally restricted to telephone
conversations, partly because women feel constrained from seeing each other in person by the presence of their husbands or the expectation that they will soon come home.

Sundays are reserved for the elaborate, extended family dinners that we have previously described. This is one of the few occasions when husband and wife consistently present themselves as a couple. However, after an initial greeting the wife finds her way into the kitchen where the other women are talking, and the husband remains in the living room with the other men. Participants in the Sunday dinner consist of a core of closely related individuals who are always present and distant relatives whose attendance is sporadic. The site of the dinner rotates among the families of the core relatives. Data from families other than those studied in detail indicate that when parents live in Jamesville the dinner is always held in their home. None of the couples selected for intensive study has parents in America.

The extended family observes holidays together and also rites of passage for individual members. The most important rites of passage are those associated with birth, confirmation, marriage and death. The graduation of a male from high school or college is accompanied by a small celebration in some families. The rites are formal affairs entailing considerable expense. A lavish feast with large quantities of liquor is expected, to which kin to the third and fourth degree are invited. Illness is the only acceptable excuse for failure to attend by a relative up to the third degree.
On rare occasions a couple will invite one or a few relatives for dinner on Saturday evening, but the expense and the lack of space discourage entertaining of this sort. Non-relatives who are not friends of both husband and wife, are not invited for dinner or for other evening socializing. When the wife is acquainted with the wives of her husband's friends, it is because of convenience and other factors not dependent upon their husbands' relationships. However, the husbands do not appear to discourage such contact. Couples do not go out alone for an evening together, but the entire family might attend the local Italian movie on Sunday evening, which is the only commercial form of entertainment.

The social networks of the couples who operate luncheonettes vary in minor ways from those of the other couples. The wife rarely leaves the luncheonette since the husband takes care of the family shopping at the same time he shops for the restaurant. The informality of the restaurants encourages neighborhood women and kin to stop in for visits when they are in the vicinity. If the wife is in the kitchen working, the neighbor woman merely exchanges greetings and leaves, but kin join the wife in the kitchen. The external relationships of the wives who work in the luncheonettes tend to be greater and to involve less mutual assistance than those of the wives of the other families. Husbands provide assistance when the need arises in the luncheonette work, but the women look to their neighbors for personal advice and emotional support.

The husbands' friends rarely come to the luncheonette unless it is for some practical reason such as conveying a
message. Like other men, those who operate the luncheonettes spend an evening or two weekly with old friends. On those evenings women who are next-door neighbors might drop in to visit the wives after the dinner hour when there are few patrons.

The women form a circle near the kitchen door where they knit or darn socks. The luncheonette is closed on Sundays, when, like other couples, the operators of the luncheonette convene with members of their extended families.

The high degree of cooperation and of socializing among members of the same sex that exists among lower class immigrants is unusual in Southern Italy. Its development arises from the hardships endured in the early days as immigrants, when people felt profoundly lonesome, disoriented, and in need of advice and companionship.

The highly personalized assistance described here also existed in the earlier communities of Italian immigrants in New York City. Foerster made this observation of the turn-of-the-century Italians:

> In many small ways the Italians are to an uncommon degree cooperative. They are the only people, an inquirer has found, for instance, who make no charge for watching over a neighbor's child while its mother is away at work (1967: 390).

Unlike the middle class immigrant, whose situation has no precedent, the adjustment of the lower class immigrant thus follows an established pattern. The satisfaction the immigrant derives from his relationships outside the family appears to permit the continuation of highly segregated conjugal relationships. Neither husband nor wife needs to rely upon the other
for socializing and assistance. In their attitudes, they are even less well prepared than the Italian couples of middle class to develop a joint conjugal relationship.

The networks among non-kin of these men and women are relatively close-knit, that is, associates of a man or a woman usually know and interact among themselves, although they may not know the spouse of the sex opposite from their own. The network of husbands is extremely close-knit since the *circolo* is a formally-organized group.

The density of the wife's network depends on the proportion of relatives to neighbors included within it and the distance at which relatives live. If relatives do not reside in the immediate vicinity of the women, they are usually not familiar with their neighbors. However, both neighbors and relatives know one another if the relatives live nearby. The density of a woman's social network is the result of a combination of factors. It is close-knit if the wife and her relatives share common neighbors and have compatible personalities. In general, the more relatives in a wife's network the more close-knit it is; however, the converse is also true. A network consisting predominantly of either neighbors or relatives is very close-knit. A near equal combination of the two produces the least dense network.

Closely-knit social networks such as we have described above are uncommon in cities. We have previously noted the influence toward partial preservation of traditional types of social relations exerted by the volume of Italian immigration and the concentration
of the immigrants. We have also noted that such preservation is uncommon in urban environments. In this instance, the closely-knit networks stem from special circumstances operating in combination—the commonality of experience, the need to unify to provide protection from the external, alien world, the conjugal roles which the conditions of life in America have produced and other features of the pattern of immigration.

Relations Between Lower Class Married Immigrants and Italian Americans

Upon his arrival in Jamesville, the lower class immigrant is better prepared to deal with American society than his predecessors were. Most immigrants have had experience as skilled or unskilled workmen in industrial occupations and are literate. Based upon first-hand experience in Northern Italian cities and vicarious experience by means of television, the immigrant had some idea of what was awaiting him in America. However, his lack of fluency in English is a severe handicap. Although the immigrant initially lives with close relatives who are themselves immigrants, the persons most responsible for his adjustment to American society are the Italian Americans in his extended family. Thus, the lower class immigrant enters into a relationship of dependency upon Italian Americans from his first days in Jamesville.

The relationship between Italian Americans and lower class immigrants is greatly affected by historical precedent and the pragmatic motives of the immigrant. As discussed in Chapter V, Italian Americans assume a dominant role in their
interaction with immigrants, who are painfully aware of their inadequacies in the new society. Dwindling savings create tremendous pressure to become self-sufficient. Any assistance which comes to the immigrant at a reasonable price is gratefully accepted and the resources at the disposal of the Italian Americans are precisely those which are of greatest value to the immigrant. Inexpensive housing and a job which does not require English are his most pressing needs.

In many cases, new immigrants are further constrained by not having the proper work documents. Many enter on tourist visas with the intent to stay and work, and later handle the problem of legality of residence. In 1974, Italians who had their immigration statuses adjusted totaled 2,496, the second highest number of such cases from any European country (United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1974: 22-32). The immigrant who enters the United States in this way is entirely dependent for employment upon personal contacts. Thus, poor competence in English and illegal status of residency restrict his opportunities for employment to the Italian community, where Italian Americans dominate the economic and political scene. A vertical relationship between the two groups is an outgrowth of their respective positions within the community.

All of the lower class husbands found their first jobs in the United States with the assistance of Italian American relatives. If the most influential person within the extended family is unable to provide direct help, he introduces the immigrant to a friend who can. When other emergencies
arise during this period, the aid of this same relative is sought. Informants stressed that after becoming accli-
mated to the new society, they sought no further assistance. They viewed the help that was given to them as a manifestation of Italian family solidarity. According to my informants, the benefactor maintained that all he wanted in exchange was rispetto (respect) and to see his relatives succeed. However, a gift, usually of liquor or food, was taken to the benefac-
tor in return for a job. Gift exchanges were not associated with other types of assistance.

Although nearly always held by males, dominance in the Italian family is not anchored to a specific familial role but is assumed by the individual who wields the most power in the external world. Hence, the dominant role played by the powerful Italian American towards his immigrant relatives is similar to the role he plays towards members of his own family.

Casual socializing between Italian Americans and lower class Italians is limited by the mutual lack of fluency in one another's language. The lower class immigrant struggles to understand the dialect spoken by the Italian American. However, conversation between males is usually conducted in English. Although most immigrant males speak at least rudimen-
tary English, their wives speak little or none. As a result, relationships between Italian American and immigrant women are superficial.

Italian American behavior towards immigrants tends to be paternalistic if they are relatives, but ranges from
polite formality to overt hostility towards unrelated people. Parish and neighborhood associations, in which all participants presumably have the same status, break up into small, separately interacting groups of immigrants and of Italian Americans. The Italian American domination of the Church discourages extensive involvement in its activities by immigrants. Inter-group contact which does result from such activities is polite and artificial. When contact between the two groups occurs outside an established relationship, the immigrant is often treated with derision. The prejudiced attitude of Italian Americans towards immigrants is reflected in the common use of such names for them as "greenhorn," "meatball," and "greaser."

As earlier passages have brought out, the immigrant accepts the behavior of Italian Americans as one of several negative aspects of American life which must be endured. Since the lower class immigrant was looked down upon by the rest of society in Italy because of his lowly position as a wage laborer, he views the behavior of Italian Americans as an extension of that experience. Thus, he assumes he is not accorded high status in America because of his social position rather than because of his Italian origin. This misconception of the nature of Italian American prejudice actually facilitates his acceptance of it. He, too, feels shame because of his lack of education, peasant manners and inability to speak fluently either Italian or English. However, like all recent immigrants from Italy, he is proud of his identity as an Italian and cannot accept it as a legitimate
basis for prejudice against him.

The lower class immigrants' attitude towards Italian Americans is nevertheless predominantly positive. They admire as a virtue the great importance which Italian Americans attach to the family. One 35-year-old informant from Bari said:

They have the best of both worlds. They are American here (pointing to his head) and Italian here (pointing to his heart). It would not be worth it to become American if it meant giving up your family, but, gli Italiani di qua (Italians born in America) prove you can have both.

Within the new society, the lower class Italian accords social superiority to Italian Americans but not to middle class immigrants. The Italian American is an active part of the world of the lower class Italian and they share a strong identification with the Italian community. The lifestyle of the Italian American is emulated by the lower class immigrants. Their financial success and power is greatly admired. Italian Americans are frequently cited as examples of what hard work can achieve in America. As previous passages have shown, for several reasons, the breach between lower and middle class immigrants cannot be filled, and this circumstance probably serves to tighten the bond between lower class immigrants and Italian Americans.

The harshest criticism directed towards Italian Americans is that they have lost "the Italian sense of honor," which makes them no longer Italian. The sexual purity of the female members of a family is the foundation of the immigrant male's conception of honor, and the behavior which the Italian American husband allows his wife and daughter to
display seriously jeopardizes the respect which he is accorded by the immigrant. The immigrants expressed bewilderment that powerful men do not control the behavior of their own women. Although it was recognized that the conduct of Italian American females is appropriate by American standards, the Italian standard continued to be held as the only proper behavior.

Italian Americans are admired primarily on the basis of financial achievements. Although, as we have stated, behavior which drastically conflicts with Southern Italian values causes some ambivalence regarding the superior status of Italian Americans, these doubts are not expressed to them. The immigrant is fully aware of the fact that Italian Americans control Jamesville and that his chances for success will be seriously compromised by conflict with them.
CHAPTER VII

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF SINGLE IMMIGRANTS

The Single Immigrants

The large number of Italian men from 20 to 35 years-of-age that gather in the public areas of Jamesville is one of the community's most striking characteristics. Almost two-thirds of the adult population are male, many of whom are unmarried or have wives and children in Italy.¹ The kind of socializing which has developed among these men gives extremely high visibility to this segment of the population. The imbalanced distribution of the sexes is further distorted by the lower class tendency towards the seclusion of females. The proportion of married to single men could not be determined. A few married men whose families are in Italy are said to neglect their familial obligations and conduct themselves like single men. Such men will be considered single in the context of this discussion. In general grass widowers and singles have a different pattern of behavior. A major difference between the two is the tendency of single immigrants to frequent public facilities whereas the grass widowers make

¹ 1970 census tract data indicate that 62 per cent of the adult population is male and 38 per cent is female.
use of the less expensive cineoli. Thus, single immigrants spend more time in public than separated immigrants. For this reason it could easily be assumed that the former constitute a larger portion of the population than is the case. However, the facilities available to satisfy the needs of single immigrants are extensive, and if single immigrants are not numerically the largest segment of the population in Jamesville, they are surely the most highly visible.

The only single female immigrants in Jamesville are a small number of young women who came to the United States as members of families. Although they have dates with single men and attend social functions where they are present, their social life is largely confined to that of their families. Middle class couples observed that single men of middle class are less likely to leave their family in Italy than single men of lower class unless they are forced to do so by severe financial hardship. It is said not to be unusual in Italy for an unemployed single person to live with his family for several years while waiting for a position to become available. In contrast, single men of lower class join a brother or cousin in Northern Italy or in America. Married middle class immigrants maintain that middle class singles are not attracted to Jamesville and that middle class couples move to Jamesville mainly because it is a good environment for a family.

The many activities available to single men in Jamesville are oriented towards the lower class. The man of middle class has a greater opportunity to meet people with whom he shares interests in other parts of the city. Thus,
the few single men of middle class who immigrate to the United States are unlikely to live in Jamesville.

Forty-five single male immigrants were included among the subjects of this research. Twenty-one of these did not have work documents and at least eight of the twenty-one are illegal aliens. The immigrants without work documents either entered the United States on tourist visas or entered illegally from Canada. The typical Italian with illegal status is a single, Southern male between 25 and 35 years-of-age. An accurate estimate of the number of illegal aliens or or employed persons who hold tourist visas in Jamesville cannot be made with the data available. A comparison of Italian and American migration statistics is of little value in this regard. Although the Italian data are considered relatively accurate, many emigrants first enter Canada or South America before arriving in the United States and are not included in the category of immigrants to the United States. Informants with illegal statuses estimated that as many as 75 per cent of all single immigrants were in the country illegally, whereas informants with legal status estimated the number as only 10 to 20 per cent.

Immigrants, Italian Americans and police personnel acknowledge that Jamesville attracts illegal aliens because of opportunities for employment within the community. Their

2 The real names of these individuals were never recorded. Addresses and other identifying data were not obtained.
large number in Jamesville is shown by comparative examination of census data and statistics on immigration, according to which the distribution by sex of Italian immigrants has been relatively equal in recent years. For example, 53 per cent of Italian immigrants over nineteen years of age admitted to the United States in 1974 were male. In the Jamesville census tracts which have the highest concentration of Italians, 62 per cent of the adult population is male. If legal immigration is equally divided between the sexes, it appears that the imbalance may be derived from illegal sources.

Jamesville is a well-known center of criminal rackets and the place of residence of several major figures in organized crime. The importance of organized crime as a factor attracting illegal immigrants to Jamesville is, however, outside the scope of this study.

The magnitude of the illegal alien problem has been acknowledged by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. In the 1974 Annual Report, the Commissioner made the following comments:

The most serious problem facing the Immigration Service and one of the nation’s most pressing problems, is the continuing surge of illegal aliens into the United States. Persons are entering the country across our borders and through our ports of entry by the millions, far outstripping INS capability to enforce adequately the laws pertaining to entry and residency. . . . With such entries growing each year, it is estimated that the number illegally within the United States totals at least six to eight million persons, and is possibly as great as ten or twelve million . . . These persons generally have an adverse effect on the nation's economy, and hold millions of jobs (1974: iii).
The Commissioner failed to observe another major facet of this problem. Immigrants who do not have legal status are highly vulnerable to exploitation especially in connection with employment. Illegal immigrants are employed in the most undesirable positions. Typical occupations are as busboys, waiters, cooks in pizzerias, janitors, and clerks in Italian speciality shops. They often work ten hours a day, six days a week for $50 to $75.

A married immigrant's first job comes through an extended family contact, but family members do not feel the same responsibility to help the single immigrant. Although the single immigrant is certainly the first recipient of information about jobs which is available to his settled relatives they do not exert themselves to gather such information for him, and they direct him toward work with the lowest pay.

After having employment for a time and learning some English, the legally employed single man can enter the job market by his own efforts. The illegal immigrant does not have this option. Aside from family and friends, organized crime is the only source of assistance available to him. Most legitimate businessmen are hesitant to employ illegal immigrants. However, illegal immigrants are often employed in the quasi-legitimate stores and businesses owned by figures

3 Illegal refers to both those who entered illegally and those who are employed while holding a tourist visa.
in organized crime.

The available data indicate that organized crime fills its positions of low level with illegal immigrants. Many such immigrants have an ambivalent involvement in the rackets. They may not be actively involved in the illicit aspects of the operations, but their employment makes it easy to do so. Some immigrants alleged that they had sometimes "roughed up" people who owned their employers money and had picked up stolen merchandise upon request. The immigrant has little choice in the matter. If he does not carry out his employer's orders, he will lose his job, be "roughed up" himself and, possibly, reported to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The last threat is the least likely to be carried out. One illegal immigrant said:

Sure, you always think they just might decide to report you. But, if you get caught, it isn't them, it's the old lady downstairs who thinks you want her daughter. They would never go to the government, friend. They take care of their own business.

The only feasible route to legal status for the immigrant who entered illegally is to return to Canada or Italy. Many of these immigrants hope to become romantically involved with an American citizen and to persuade her to marry him in Canada. Then, the immigrant could easily enter under the Fifth Preference provision. The immigrant who works while he holds a tourist visa looks forward to getting his status adjusted. If he has relatives in Jamesville, this is a realistic possibility.
The Social Network of the
Single Male Immigrant

Most of the single immigrants' free hours are spent on Main Street, where they usually live in studio apartments above stores and restaurants or in corner buildings facing a side street. Two or more men usually occupy one apartment where shared, low rents may amount to no more than $30 per person. Even on his meager salary, the single man has much more money to spend than the married immigrant whose family is in Italy.

Roommates are usually from the same province. Differences in dialect discourage those who do not speak the same dialect from living together. Brothers and, more often, cousins live together. Roommates who are not kin first became acquainted in Jamesville.

A close friendship normally exists between two of the roommates and when two cousins live together their relationship is the closest. Although brothers may live together, they are rarely best friends and tend to avoid one another in socializing outside of their living quarters. The intimacy and sharing which occurs between best friends does not conform with the behavior brothers expect from one another, since best friends are equals and elder brothers stand above younger brothers in a position which demands from the junior some respect and formality.

The social networks of best friends tend to be congruous. Furthermore, the relationships which they share with third
parties are similar although relations established by kinship and dating relationships are exceptions. Most best friends are not related, and familial social affairs are among the few events in which they do not participate together.

Most of the single men have relatives living in Jamesville. The degree of contact with them is determined by the closeness of the relationship and the marital statuses of the relatives. If the relative is married, the single man often attends the Sunday dinner of the extended family. Although he is normally invited, his regular presence is not expected. The single men enjoy the home cooked food but find they have little in common with the family men. They may see a married brother or cousin on their evenings out of the house and may drop in frequently for informal visits or meals. Although actual participation in family activities may be limited, the presence of kin in Jamesville is a major source of security for the immigrant.

In the early stages of male-female relationships, group dating is common among singles of all ages. If a single man meets a woman in whom he is interested, he and his best friend will take the woman and her best friend to an Italian movie on Sunday afternoon. Until the dating relationship has progressed for several weeks or months, the couple is unlikely to spend an entire evening exclusively in one another's company. The concern of immigrant fathers for their daughter's reputation is the major reason for group dating. It is a simple way of accommodating the daughter's demand for
greater freedom and the traditional emphasis upon discreet female behavior.

As long as he is permitted to spend some time alone with his *ragazza* (girlfriend) in the course of an evening, the man is not dissatisfied with the group arrangement. Males are awkward in the company of females when communication of a non-sexual nature is required. Consequently, they are more comfortable with a best friend present, when conversation is light and joking. Women expressed resentment because they never have time to talk with their boyfriends alone; and, when they are alone, the man makes sexual demands which the woman must reject. Normally, the only privacy the couples have is in the home of the woman, under close supervision. The men do not own automobiles and the women will not enter their boyfriends' apartments. One 20-year-old Siciliana said:

> I'll admit if he lived someplace a little more private I might go because I trust him and it would be so sweet to be together without thinking that my father is in the next room. But never where he lives. If anyone saw me, my father would know in ten minutes, and I may as well cut my throat. These Italian men, though they expect virgins. If I went to his room, even if nothing happened, it would put a doubt in his head. "How many other men's rooms has she seen?" he would say. Then he would make it harder for me to not give in.

Single men very often date women from Italian provinces other than their own. Most immigrants prefer to date women from their native provinces, but this is not a strong preference. The superficial nature of verbal communication between the sexes makes the use of one's local dialect unnecessary. In addition, the scarcity of eligible women does not
allow men to be very selective in their choice of female companions.

The social life of the single male consists mostly of interaction with other males. Dating consumes only a small portion of his leisure. Much more time is devoted to conversation about women and efforts to meet them.

Main Street serves a similar function to that of the piazza in the Italian village. The major physical difference is that unlike the piazza, Main Street is not enclosed by boundaries on all sides. Hence, social activity within the confines of Main Street can taper off over a long distance in either of the opposing directions of the street whereas within the piazza one is visible to everyone there. The coffee bars located on the street and in the piazza are exclusively male domains. Any young woman who enters these male sanctuaries without a good reason risks her reputation. Women who are not required to conform with the rules of sex segregation include old women, outsiders and women in special positions, such as the owner's wife.

Family-run restaurants which are patronized by single immigrants are subject to less stringent prohibitions against entry by females than are the coffee bars. Although the clientele is exclusively single males and they are therefore male territory, they are family operations. The presence of women in the kitchen and the traditional association of women with the preparation of food makes them more accessible to women. The sexual segregation of restaurants is largely defined by the time of day and the day of the week. During
weekdays women drop in for a slice of pizza and a chat with the immigrant wives who work in the kitchen. However, one rarely sees a woman enter during meal hours when the restaurant is filled with male patrons. Respectable women, married or single, are then with their families.

Main Street, like the piazza, is the site of the central shopping area. The presence of females in these public places is legitimized by the business they perform there. In general, the street and the shops are neutral territory, open to both sexes, however, there is a tendency for male territory to extend to the street outside of the bars and restaurants during the evening and weekend. Although, women are not barred from stores with a predominately male clientele, they tend to avoid them.

The kind of behavior which can occur in public places between members of different sexes is highly specified. When a single woman sees a man on the street with whom she is acquainted, a brief conversation is appropriate. However, she is expected to act "proper." Only the very mildest flirting on the street will evade censure. If a woman is interested in a man she can only smile and greet him with a "buona sera." An obvious expression of interest is considered brazen.

The only designated occasions for intermingling of the sexes are Friday night dances held in a hall on the lower end of Main Street. Immigrant women usually attend these dances in groups which often include boyfriends. The brother of one of the women is expected to watch over all of them. Local Italian bands play the songs currently popular in Italy and
occasionally, Italian recording stars touring the United States sing. Since males greatly outnumber females most women dance as much as they like. The woman who does not have a prearranged date usually dances with several men during the evening. However, women who are with dates are expected to dance only with their escort or male relatives. Single males go to these dances with the hope of meeting a nice Italian girl, but they spend most of the evening standing in small groups observing the dancers with envy.

The lack of marriagable women in Jamesville forces many men to return to Italy when they decide they are ready to marry. The immigrant explains to his employer he is going home for several months and would like to have his job back when he returns. Most employers who hire Italians understand the motive for the request and, if possible promise to rehire him. The fact that the returnee is searching for a wife is common knowledge in the village. Three to six months is usually sufficient for the immigrant to find a village woman who pleases him. Whether or not the newlyweds immediately return to the United States depends on a number of factors: how much of the groom's savings remains; the bride's willingness to emigrate; whether the groom's job in Jamesville is available; and, the difficulty of obtaining a visa for the bride.

Although there are many single Italian American women in Jamesville, they rarely date immigrants. The immigrants find the Italian American women pretty, but are intimidated by their forward behavior. The opinion that Italian Americans
do not make good wives is widely voiced. The immigrants have fantasies of dating the prettiest Italian Americans in the neighborhood, but do not think in terms of marriage.

The attitude of Italian American women toward single immigrants is similar. They admit that many of the immigrants are handsome, but view them as being inferior. Parents of Italian American women are disturbed if their daughter dates an immigrant. She is warned that she could never be happy with a jealous and domineering Italian from the old country. According to the standards of the Italian American community, an Italian American who marries an immigrant is marrying beneath herself. Contact between the two groups also highly restricted by language difficulties, and the question of inter-marriage rarely rises.

Creating a good impression in public is one of the most pervasive values of the single immigrant. As soon as he returns home from work, the immigrant changes clothes, since it is a disgrace to be publicly seen in work clothes. Although many of the immigrants are employed in occupations which require manual labor, one would never know from their street appearance. Immigrants spend a considerable portion of their income on clothing. Their wardrobes are limited, but the clothing they own is of a high quality. A constant topic of conversation is the difficulty of finding American clothes which fit properly. The single immigrant's conception of proper fit is far too tight for the comfort of an American man. The concern single immigrants exhibit for their appearance is normally associated with female behavior by Americans.
Many immigrants buy their clothing in the Italian mens' boutique on Main Street, where they can find the Italian clothing to create the image they desire.

The bar is undoubtedly the center of the single immigrant's social life where he can easily pass twenty hours a week in gossiping, playing cards, and shooting pool. He usually goes to the bar about 6:00 P.M. and leaves an hour later for dinner, after which he returns with his best friend and perhaps other people and remains until 10:30 or 11:00.

Each of the three coffee bars on Main Street has a particular clientele. Persons who frequent one bar rarely enter others without special reason. Common interests, rather than native provinces, determine which of the three bars an immigrant frequents. One bar attracts singles in their twenties where the conversation revolves around dating, women and the Italian movies showing throughout the city. The second bar has a more subdued group of patrons, most of whom are over thirty years-of-age. Politics and sports are the main subjects discussed by these immigrants. Reputedly, the men who frequent the third bar are deeply involved in organized crime.

Although those who frequent the same bar know one another, conversational groups are relatively consistent. These groups consist of a core of two or three persons and three or four others whose participation is more limited. These groups are not competitive or antagonistic and the occasional arguments which occur result from personal conflicts. Individuals
within a group tend to be from the same province, but there are exceptions. However, the Barese or Napolitano in a group of Siciliani is subject to harmless teasing about his accent.

The bar is not regarded as an appropriate location for the sincere exchange of ideas or for expressions of sympathy. The interaction which occurs in a bar is routinized to such a degree that the display of emotions is stifled. Individuals often leave the bar for more earnest conversation. When an informant wants to relate information or to have a serious discussion, he does not do so within the bar but in the restaurant across the street.

The most striking aspect of bar behavior is its repetitiveness. Conversations are highly staged productions which are accompanied by dramatic gestures and the avid interest of listeners. However, the same conversation is repeated night after night. Thus, the patrons of the bar entertain one another, but, the entertainment is not an end in itself. It is a way of passing time until something “real” happens. Any sort of diversion from the routine such as the entrance of someone new or a fight in the street momentarily stops conversation. After the novelty subsides conversation resumes.

Stagnant bar behavior of this sort was observed by the author throughout Southern Italy and, in Sicily, by Galtung (1971: 56-57). Galtung attributes it to the need for a peasant to be in the center of town in the event an opportunity for a job emerged. To the outsider he was merely wasting
time, but from his perspective, he was waiting for someone who needed a hired hand or to convert "... non-work into work."

Galtung's interpretation of bar behavior does not seem appropriate for the bars of Jamesville. From this writer's observation, the Jamesville bar is an institution which satisfies the Southern Italian male's need for social contact without demanding emotional involvement.

Superficially, the patterns of socializing which have emerged among males in Jamesville present a marked deviation from male behavior in Southern Italy. The best friend relationship common among single immigrants has no counterpart among non-kin in the old society. Furthermore, married and single male immigrants spend much more of their leisure time together in social clubs and coffee bars, than they do in rural Southern Italy. Male socializing results from the dependency ties between immigrants who have been thrust in a foreign environment where the traditional support from the nuclear family is absent. Economic competition in Southern Italy prohibits close relationships among adult males but the urban environment of Jamesville encourages both social and economic interdependence. However, friendships between males are based upon shared activities that do not involve deeply affective feelings, thus permitting the participants to remain uninvolved emotionally. The relations of friendship are nevertheless important and continue after marriage. The man reunited with his wife feels more comfortable with his
friends than with his wife, from whom he was separated for years. The demands of the friends are predictable and easy to meet. Although such relationships among adult males have proliferated in the new society, the males are incapable of participation on an emotional level. The behavior of the lower class immigrant continues to be as individualistic and emotionally detached in Jamesville as it was in the Southern Italian village.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

The Southern Italian immigrants of Jamesville have followed two distinctive modes of adaptation to their new setting and these represent variations in culture of two native social classes, the lower and the middle class. Among immigrants of middle class the nuclear family is isolated socially, which encourages a conjugal relationship of companionship of relative equality and loose-knit, sparse social networks for individual people. In contrast, the lower class couple as man and wife, has developed larger close-kint networks that are not the same and socially, a highly segregated conjugal relationship. The features of each mode are contingent upon three major variables: (1) certain aspects of the pattern of immigration, (2) the links between the immigrant social system, Italian American society and the greater American society, and (3) the experiences of the immigrants in their cultures.

Bott maintains ". . . geographical mobility alone (author's italics) should be enough to disrupt the sort of close-knit networks one finds in homogeneous working-class areas, and such disruption should be accompanied by greater jointness
in the husband-wife relationship (1971: 265).” However, the example of lower class immigrants in Jamesville indicates that the type of social structure that emerges after geographical movement depends upon variables other than the simple uprooting of individuals. The ethnographic data collected in Jamesville and other cultures demonstrate that under certain circumstances lower class immigrants from non-industrial societies recreate a cultural milieu similar to the one existing in their native villages. In this milieu new immigrants develop networks similar to those in the village or in some cases, retain the same network. A common occurrence among Southern Italians is the progressive movement of relatives and friends to the same area, street, or even apartment building in the new society, which permits immigrants actually to transfer their social networks of the village to the new environment (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1962: 433-448).

In developing regions throughout the world, the migration of rural people of a predominately peasant background to cities within their own country or in other countries has led to the emergence of quasi-traditional communities in those cities. Anthropologists have studied communities of peasant or postpeasant migrants in Cairo (Abu-Lughod, 1967: 386); Milan (Mannucci, 1970: 250); Mataro, Spain (Duocastella, 1970: 337); Lima (Doughty, 1970: 30-42); Mulago, Uganda (Gutkind, 1965: 54-59); Mexico City (Lewis, 1961) and New York City (Jacoby, 1976: 63-64). These communities have been described as being characterized by the close-knit social
networks, a reliance upon personal rather than impersonal means of achieving goals, an identification with the community and alienation from the greater society; a lack of the anonymity usually associated with industrial cities, and to a variable degree, the retention of native customs, values, and traditions, and the availability of items of the native material culture of the immigrant.

Prerequisites for the emergence of these communities appear to include an incongruity between the native cultural values of the immigrant and those of the "receiving society", and a population of migrants which is large enough to permit the native culture to flourish in the community. The former is the more essential, for even in cases where the volume of migration is quite large, separate communities will not be formed if the cultural values of the migrant are congruous with those of the "receiving" society. Unfortunately, due to the unavailability of information it is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the size of the population essential for sustaining a migrant community that retains culture which is incongruous with that of the receiving society.

The differences between the social worlds of the lower class and middle class immigrants in Jamestown is attributed to the facts that the behavior and cultural values of the middle class immigrant closely correspond to those of the greater American society and those of the lower class immigrants do not. The people of middle class by-pass the quasi-traditional community of immigrants and enter the mainstream
of American society soon after immigration. In writing of these Italian immigrants, Alberoni observes:

Those who leave go in search of a different way of life, another society in which they can fulfill themselves more completely, with reference to new values with which they must, therefore, have been in sympathy before their departure (1970: 305).

In contrast, the daily activities and social relationships of lower class immigrants, who are the bearers of a predominantly peasant tradition, are largely confined to Jamesville. The lower class immigrant cannot adequately perform within the greater society because of his inability to speak English, lack of knowledge of appropriate behavior, and his conflicting or incongruous values. The discomfort he experiences in his excursions beyond the geographical boundaries of Jamesville discourage him from pursuing goals which cannot be reached in Jamesville.

Primary relationships which individuals developed in the first stages of adjustment after migration have a profound impact on the nature of their social networks. Family members who immigrated together provided each other with a sense of continuity with the past and the emotional support needed in the threatening, foreign environment. The immigrant who was unaccompanied by his family had no such readily accessible source of security. Adult males in Southern Italy traditionally view each other as rivals. Yet, when these men were thrust in a new and potentially hostile culture, strong friendships emerged among them. Creation of these friendships between unrelated males was facilitated by social conditions.
connected with their mass immigration. Immigrants who, for the first time in their lives, lacked the protection provided by the nuclear family became receptive to new relationships immediately after their arrival. They were surrounded by others who shared their loneliness and alienation from American culture. The male socializing in bars and circoli among immigrants in America furnished an immediate solution to the new arrival's pressing need to belong. A sharing of initial hardships and the adjustment process created enduring bonds of friendship.

The family immigration pattern of the middle class did not similarly foster the creation of external relationships. The middle class immigrant who was accompanied by his family was not forced to develop relationships with non-kin for the satisfaction of social and emotional needs. However, the conjugal relationships of the middle class were transformed as a result of the immigrants' reliance upon their spouses' for emotional security. In the old society, spouses' expectations of one another were largely confined to the fulfillment of the sexual, economic and parental dimensions of their conjugal roles. The emotional dependency which emerged between husband and wife in Jamesville led to the additional expectations of psychological intimacy and emotional responsiveness, which is not yet fully realized or verbalized. Both husbands and wives continued to evaluate their own behavior by the Southern Italian definition of the ideal spouse, which did not incorporate the affective components displayed in Jamesville. Thus, from the perspective of the individual spouse, the requirements of the conjugal role were fulfilled
whether or not the spouse's emotional demands were met; yet, the spouse needed and expected consistent emotional intimacy and support. These expectations, which represented real behavior were not incorporated in the verbalized ideal, became a source of antagonism between the couple. Bott observed that the transitional families in her sample were "...finding it very difficult and painful to give up their old beliefs and practices and to develop new ones more appropriate to their changed situation (1971: 219)."

The exposure and receptivity of middle class couples to American values, combined with the greater appropriateness of the American model of familial relations to their present circumstances, suggest that in time the Southern Italian conjugal ideals will cease to be the most important standard for evaluating conjugal behavior.

The conjugal relationship of the lower class changed less than that of the middle class in part as a result of the "male first" pattern of immigration. Whereas, the middle class couple developed an intimate relationship, the lower class couple became somewhat more socially segregated than it had been in Southern Italy. The external relationships developed by the husband during the couple's separation led to increased social participation by him outside the home. As had been the case during migration, the home was left to the wife to manage and she remained a more important social influence there than her husband. The experience of the lower class wife in conducting the household in her husband's absence
encouraged her to view herself as the decision-maker with regard to matters pertaining exclusively to the home. Whereas at one time, she may have influenced her husband's decision by argument, persuasion or cajolery, she herself now assumed responsibility for judgment and direction.

The concentration of immigrants in a small area and the presence nearby of kin provided the wife with a network of female relationships. In contrast with the middle class wife, the lower class wife's independent social life freed her from dependence upon her husband for assistance within the home.

The social relations of lower and middle class families represent adaptations of different forms of the traditional Southern Italian family. Italian middle class familism closely resembles that of the American middle class (Gans, 1962: 246-7). In both instances, the family is the predominant source of social and emotional gratification. The social life of the individual is conducted largely within the family circle and children are the focus of family life. Gans observes that "... The middle class does not make the distinction between the family and the outside world, but only a larger society, which it believes to support its aims, and in which the family participates (247)." Italian immigrants of the middle class are clearly moving toward this American pattern. Nevertheless, the emphasis upon kinship in the individual's social world, found in traditional society continues to be evident. Relationships with non-kin are more instrumental and formal than those with kin, who provide the most
important external friendships. However, trends of change are evident, and limitations are placed upon kin relation-
ships. The nuclear family continues to have great impor-
tance, but relationships with members of the extended family outside the nuclear family are consciously relegated to a status greatly inferior to those among parents and children. In part, this circumstance may be attributed to the experi-
cences of geographical and social movement and the aspirations of the couples concerned. Plans to leave the Italian commu-
nity encouraged spouses to look to one another, as they had done in the village, rather than to create external ties.

In Jamesville, lower class familism closely resembles the circumstances of traditional familism in Southern Italy. Fulfillment of familial obligations is the foundation of the status of honor for the individual whose primary if not ex-
clusive loyalty is to the family. Although the lower class husband and wife in Jamesville have extensive networks of non-
kin relationships, these ties do not compete with familial bonds for the individual's loyalty. These external relation-
ships are nevertheless important sources of social gratifi-
cation and mutual assistance. Immediately after the indi-
vidual's arrival in Jamesville, they furnish some emotional support for both husband and wife, but the wife appears to derive greater emotional gratification than her husband from these relationships. After a period of adjustment, the emo-
tional aspects of external relationships among males became negligible and involved little commitment, planning, or
expectations. Thus, the large amount of leisure time the male devotes to external relationships is not due to the social and emotional satisfaction he derives from them, but because they provide a socially acceptable means of avoiding some aspects of membership in his nuclear family. The lower class male is not prepared to assume an active and socially dominant role in all aspects of familial organization and activity. Anne Parsons makes this observation of the Southern Italian family:

Thus, the ties to the primary family, the high significance of the maternal role, and the very great difficulties in making a living which characterize most of the working-class groups are such that in spite of appearances the husband and father does not actually enjoy much prestige or authority in the home. From this standpoint the male peer group can be seen as an escape . . . (1969: 28-29).

Relationships among kin involve clearcut obligations and privileges. As elsewhere in human society, the degree of obligation is determined by the degree of closeness of kinship. In Jamesville, special circumstances brought about by immigration led to an extension of obligation to categories of relatives who in Southern Italy would not have had these responsibilities. An immigrant in Jamesville could normally expect some type of assistance from any consanguineal relative to the third degree of relationship. Among males, kin relationships were serious obligations which could involve pleasure. Friendships with non-kin were initiated for the purpose of pleasure and rarely involved obligations beyond those of cooperative amicability.
The extreme isolation of the middle class nuclear family in Jamesville reflects the independence which stems from the immigrant's ability to participate directly in the greater society. His fluency in English, education, and middle class behavior and lifestyle enable him to find employment and housing. In short, he can take care of himself and his family without the assistance of a mediator familiar with American society, such as the patron of former times. The traditional role of the Italian American patron in his relationship with immigrants was made obsolete by the sophistication of the middle class immigrant.

The primary reason the middle class chose to emigrate was to improve their social status by raising their incomes to a level comparable with those conferred by their education and traditional prestige. Unlike middle class immigrants, both early and contemporary lower class immigrants were motivated almost solely by economic goals which were ends in themselves. The status associated with an occupation was of little concern to the wage laborer, whose satisfaction resulted directly from economic rewards. In contrast, middle class immigrants were constrained to find employment in non-manual occupations which would not jeopardize their social position. The primary goal of the middle class was social status rather than simple economic security and their involvement in a dependency relationship with Italian Americans whom the middle class perceived as social inferiors was prevented by several kinds of conflict. The resulting antagonistic and often hostile relations between
Italian Americans and the middle class immigrant led to mutual avoidance.

The middle class immigrants in Jamesville did not identify themselves with the local Italian American or with immigrant Italians of lower class. However, a dual cultural identification was maintained by them with the greater American and Italian society primarily through extensive contact through news media. Fluency in English opened for the middle class a great variety of forms of news media. These included American as well as Italian newspapers and magazines directed towards a relatively sophisticated audience. Utilization by the middle class of news media identified as Italian American and lower class Italian was insignificant because its lower class orientation made it unsuitable. When the middle class selected Italian radio and television programs it was on the basis of aesthetic and intellectual quality rather than the language of communication.

The language barrier was troublesome to lower class immigrants in more than one way. The news media constituted one of the most formidable barriers to cultural contact between the immigrant community of lower class and the greater society. The size of the immigrant population and the consequent development of news media in Italian, upon which the lower class immigrants relied prevented much contact with the non-Italian world and, reaffirming the identity of these immigrants as Italians, fostered unity among them on these grounds. Although some lower class males spoke some English, use of American news media was generally restricted to television sports programs.
Italian radio and television programs were always selected when they were available. In addition, the local Italian daily newspaper was the source of information regarding Italian events taking place in the city, and Italian films shown in Jamesville were the major form of entertainment for teenagers and adults. Imported Italian magazines and records were purchased exclusively by the lower class.

The social segregation of the lower class immigrants from the greater American society is sustained by a constant replenishment of personnel by new immigrants. The high density of the lower class immigrant population in areas such as Jamesville is sufficient to permit continuation among them of a pattern of segregation from the general society which existed in the early phases of Italian immigration to the United States. The present social discreteness of the lower class immigrants and their children suggests that they will in this regard succeed the older immigrants within the community of Italians. Such a trend would insure the continuity for several generations of an Italian American community similar to that now existing in Jamesville.

The future prospects for immigrants of middle class and their descendants appear to be quite different. In general, the entire cultural inventory which they brought to the United States is fairly congruous with that of middle class Americans. It seems doubtful that they will for any substantial length of time maintain an identity markedly different from that of the general American population of similar class.
This account of the social worlds of Italian immigrants in Brooklyn has centered on two distinct subcategories, people with backgrounds in Italy of identification as being of lower social class and of middle class. A third distinguishable subcategory has also been given some attention. The members of this group are single men and married men whose wives and children are in Italy awaiting the time when finances will allow them to go to Brooklyn. As single men, the social realms of these immigrants are distinctive. Their experiences as single men have led them to form certain social ties which tend to endure after these men marry or are reunited with their wives and children. The notable innovations are the creation of best friends, that is, close friendships with other males on an individual basis, and the associations of males called circoli. These innovations, in turn, have affected the social life of the women who later join these men as wives and mothers and the experiences in Italy of the wives while separated from their husbands have also led to changes in their behavior and in conjugal relationships. Nearly all of this group of men are of lower class affiliation in Italy, however, and the circumstances of their lives once they have married or become reunited with their families are largely predictable and, in fact, have been described. The lives of these future families will doubtless be much like those, already described, of the present immigrant families of lower class.
### APPENDIX

**Socio-economic Characteristics of Informants**

#### Middle-Class Immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Italian Province</th>
<th>Migration History</th>
<th>No. of Children</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amico, E.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Taranto</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amico, G.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Clothing designer</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
<td>Lecce</td>
<td>Paris: 1 year</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bano, C.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>Bari</td>
<td>Turin: 1 year</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marione, C.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marione, L.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Salesman</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivieri, A.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>$16,000</td>
<td>Bari</td>
<td>Italian army</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivieri, M.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Office clerk</td>
<td>$8,000</td>
<td>Bari</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socco, G.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Retail store owner</td>
<td>$17,000</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>Milan: 3 years</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Lower Class Immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Italian Province</th>
<th>Migration History</th>
<th>No. of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baldo, G.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Grocery store</td>
<td>$8,500</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>Genoa: 3 years</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baldo, G.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlini, L.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Pizzeria operator</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Salary</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Years in Italy</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlini, T.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M Pizzeria operator</td>
<td>$6,000</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Germany: 5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpucci, C.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M Record Shop clerk</td>
<td>$6,500</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Belgium: 1 yr, Canada: 3 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalli, G.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Sep.</td>
<td>M Garbage man</td>
<td>$9,500</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Milan: 3 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiodi, L.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M Waiter</td>
<td>$8,000</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Milan: 2 yrs, Canada: 1 yr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorso, U.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M Construction</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Turin: 3 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorso, L.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F Housewife</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagliano, A.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F Seamstress</td>
<td>$6,000</td>
<td>Bari</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferretti, C.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M Waiter</td>
<td>$7,500</td>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Rome: 3 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallino, G.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Sep.</td>
<td>M Warehouse</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>Catania</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Germany: 5 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacchini, G.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M Construction</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
<td>Bari</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Germany: 3 yrs, Canada: 1 yr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacchini, M.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F Housewife</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Bari</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labini, S.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sep.</td>
<td>M Warehouse</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Turin: 5 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazzari, A.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F Pizzeria operator</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Bari</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazzari, T.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M Pizzeria operator</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
<td>Bari</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ricordo, N.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M Cafe Barman</td>
<td>$7,000</td>
<td>Bari</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>France: 3 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossi, E.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M Construction</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>Foggia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Taranto: 2 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tucci, E.  24  S  M  Waiter  $8,000  Bari
Villari, F.  28  S  M  Mechanic  $9,500  Bari
Zanetti, S.  37  Sep.  M  Garbage man  $9,000  Bari

Canada:  2 yrs.  0
Turin:  2 yrs.  0
Canada:  3 yrs.
Turin:  5 yrs.  4
Canada:  3 yrs.

*The names of all informants are pseudonyms.*
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

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WILLIAMS, R. M_. JR.