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SOCCER AND SOCIETY: A STUDY OF ETHNIC GROUP ADAPTATION IN SOCIETY THROUGH THE GAME OF SOCCER; WINDSOR, ONTARIO, 1972

by

Sergio Gino Perciballi

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Human Kinetics at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2010

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Soccer and Society: A Study of Ethnic Group Adaptation in Society
Through the Game of Soccer; Windsor, Ontario, 1972

by

Sergio Gino Perciballi

APPROVED BY:

__________________________________________________
Dr. Larry Kulisek
Department of History

__________________________________________________
Dr. Victoria Paraschak
Department of Kinesiology

__________________________________________________
Dr. Scott G. Martyn, Advisor
Department of Kinesiology

__________________________________________________
Dr. Marijke Taks, Chair of Defense
Department of Kinesiology

Wednesday, October 13, 2010
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby certify that I am the sole author of this thesis and that no part of this thesis has been published or submitted for publication.

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ABSTRACT

The primary objective of this study was to provide a historical account of how soccer was used as a vehicle aiding or inhibiting the adaptation of ethnic groups into society in Windsor, Ontario. Furthermore, it was to determine the value that ethnic groups of the 1972 South-Western Ontario Soccer League placed in regards to maintaining their own culture and identity, creating and maintaining relationships with other ethnic groups, and comparing how the adaptation strategies differed across the teams of the league. Teams representing the Italian, Hungarian, Greek, German, Croatian, English, Scottish, and Serbian communities at the time were examined. The information retrieved through one-on-one, semi structured interviews with two individuals from each of the eight teams revealed the degree of cultural and structural assimilation experienced by their members. In addition, an accurate account of the way in which each ethnic team generally addressed the questions posed in J.W. Berry’s model of ethnic group adaptation was revealed.
DEDICATION

…I to all who play the “World’s Game.”

_I play therefore I am: a style of play is a way of being that reveals the unique profile of each community and affirms its right to be different. Tell me how you play and I will tell you who you are..._

_Eduardo Galeano_
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest sense of gratitude and thanks to Dr. Scott Martyn. With great enthusiasm and undying faith, you took me under your wing and made my time as a graduate student one of the best experiences of my life. Thank you for your endless support and for giving me the opportunity to research a topic which I am so passionate about.

Special thanks to Dr. Victoria Paraschak and Dr. Larry Kulisek for their willingness to be a part of my thesis committee, and for their valuable feedback throughout the entire process. I could not have asked for a more supportive committee, whose praises and criticisms really enabled me to achieve the maximum potential of this research project.

Also, I extend a very special thank you to the entire Human Kinetics Family, and to the ladies in the front office, Diane, Cathy and Pat. No matter how busy their day may have been, they always greeted me with a smile and offered a helping hand.

I would also like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, along with the University of Windsor, whose generous support helped me greatly to complete this project.

To my parents, Connie and Gino, who have always stressed the importance of a good education and would give up anything just so I can have everything. This project is especially for you. To my older brothers Paolo and Fabrizio, I would not be the person I am today if it were not for the two of you to look up to. Also to Jenn and Alessia, I could not have asked for a better sister-in-law and more beautiful niece.
I also dedicate this project to each and every one of my friends. All of you mean a great deal to me, and life would not be anywhere near as exciting without living it with all of you. I do not have to tell any of you that I consider you a part of my family.

Finally, I would also like to dedicate this project to my grandparents, Nonne Ida and Nina and Nonni Stefano and Salvatore who along with my parents, left all they had in Italy only to travel halfway across the world in pursuit of something better. If it were not for them, the life I take for granted today would have never come to be. Ti amo.
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<td>Dominion Football Association</td>
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<td>WFA</td>
<td>Western Football Association</td>
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<td>CFA</td>
<td>Central Football Association</td>
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<td>DCFA</td>
<td>Dominion of Canada Football Association</td>
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<td>AAUC</td>
<td>Amateur Athletic Union of Canada</td>
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<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Federation Internationale de Football Association</td>
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<td>National Soccer League</td>
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<td>Windsor and District Football Association</td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

The study of sport can reveal a great deal about the individuals, groups, and societies who participate. In fact, I believe that sport provides a unique, and completely under studied perspective on the way in which ethnic groups adapt to Canadian society and can offer the researcher new insights into multiculturalism not just in Canada, but worldwide. Thus, in this research thesis I set out to examine the ways in which sport, specifically soccer, historically facilitated the processes of assimilation and/or cultural retention amongst various ethnic groups in Windsor, Ontario in the early 1970s. By examining ethnic involvement in soccer, or for that matter sport in general, I intended to garner a better understanding of Canada’s multicultural society, and how those new to Canada integrate into Canadian society.

Researchers in the field of sociology insist that a critical dimension of ethnic differentiation within Canadian society is, “...the extent to which ethnic communities have parallel social networks and institutions.”\(^1\) In other words, ethnic groups will establish a set of institutions of their own, paralleling those outside the ethnic community. Such institutions can include churches, educational facilities, cultural facilities, media and other social organizations.\(^2\) As such, it is logical to suggest that sports teams established within the ethnic community serve an important purpose as well. Thus, what is often referred to as the “World’s Game” provided an ideal platform to measure such processes of assimilation and cultural retention as past trends showed that new immigrants to Canada engaged in the game of soccer and almost immediately began to form soccer teams.\(^3\)
My motivation for researching this topic in such a way is really quite simple. I personally came to recognize the multicultural society for which Canada is known through the game of soccer. Born an American citizen and raised as an Italian by immigrant parents, I arrived in Canada as an immigrant myself at the age of six.\textsuperscript{4} Growing up in the small municipality of Leamington, Ontario, I was exposed to a number of different cultures and nationalities. The town was, and continues to be a community comprised of a large Italian, German, Portuguese, Lebanese and Mexican population. The existence of such institutions as the Leamington Roma Club (Italian), Rhine Danube Club (German), Portuguese Club, Lebanese Club and the Mexican Consulate (one of only four in Canada, the others being located in the larger metropolis’ of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver) is proof of the thriving ethnicity which exists in this small town of just over 16,000 people.

Like the other ethnically diverse individuals in the town, I did not necessarily identify myself as solely Canadian, and held my Italian heritage in high regard. This cultural difference was even evident on the soccer field, where as long as I can remember, all the children of ethnic backgrounds would form teams consisting of players from the same ethnic group. In hindsight, it is incredible to think that even at such a young age we were labelling ourselves and playing in accordance with our cultural identity. This “labelling” continued to occur well beyond elementary school. We engaged, and continue to engage in the sport of soccer not only as a form of physical expression, but as an expression of our individual ethnicity.
**Research Objectives**

The main objective of this study was to provide an historical account of the way in which participation in soccer influenced the means by which ethnic groups adapted to Canadian society some 40 years ago in the Windsor community. This was done by investigating ethnic involvement in the South-Western Ontario Soccer League (SWOSL) for the 1972 season, and by utilizing the rosters of the eight different teams of the league as the basis for my research. Of these eight teams, all were associated with a particular ethnic community in Windsor at the time, and identified as Italian, Hungarian, Greek, German, Croatian, English, Scottish, and Serbian respectively. By way of interviews with randomly selected members of each team combined with an appropriate theoretical model, I set out to determine if individuals from the various ethnicities in the league used the sport of soccer as a vehicle for maintaining their cultural identity and characteristics to separate themselves from other groups and/or as a way of successfully integrating into Canadian society thereby establishing relationships with others. Furthermore, comparisons were drawn across the ethnic groups in question, uncovering the similarities and/or differences between the groups in regards to their adaptation strategies.

Thus, the primary research question addressed in this investigation is found below:

1. How did participation in soccer reflect and/or influence the way each of the identified ethnic groups of the 1972 South-Western Ontario Soccer League adapted to Canadian society?"
Furthermore, the sub-questions addressed in this investigation are as follows:

a. What value did the ethnic groups of the league place in regards to maintaining their own culture and identity through their soccer teams?

b. What value did the ethnic groups of the league place in creating and maintaining relationships with other ethnic groups through their soccer teams?

c. How did the adaptation strategy differ amongst the ethnic groups of the league based on the values expressed by their soccer teams?

**Significance of Research**

Most definitely, this study will contribute to the very limited literature which exists suggesting that sport plays a large part in the lives of new Canadians, and more importantly, influences the way immigrant groups integrate into their new host society. While I have conducted this study from a historical perspective, the potential to conduct this investigation for contemporary leagues exists. Furthermore, the foundation of the following study can be used in the future in examining the way in which the second, third and perhaps even fourth generation ethnic groups utilize sport as a means of ethnic differentiation. To that end, the information derived from this study is invaluable to the understanding of a multicultural Canada of the past, present, and future.
NOTES

2 Ibid., 85.
3 This is demonstrated in the league tables of the National Soccer League in Toronto. The league dates back to 1922. It consisted entirely of teams of British origin until large scale immigration from Europe post World War II drastically changed the ethnic make up of teams from 1950 onwards. Rec.Sport.Soccer Statistics Foundation Website. http://www.rsssf.com/usadave/cnsl.html.
4 My Father, Gino Perciballi, was born September 8, 1954 in Boville Ernica, Italy. My Mother, Maria Concetta Causarano was born July 2, 1957 in Marina di Ragusa, Sicily. Both of their families immigrated to Canada circa. 1970 where they met and were married in Leamington, Ontario. Together they relocated to San Diego, California in 1980 where my brothers Paolo (December 21, 1980), and Fabrizio (August 27, 1984), as well as myself (August 19, 1985) were born. My family later returned to Leamington, Ontario in 1991.
5 The term “ethnic group” as it is used in the primary research question and sub questions will refer to two or more individuals who interact with one another, accept expectations and obligations as members of the group, and share a common ethnic identity; Alexander Gelbukh and Angel Morales, *MICAI 2007: Advances in Artificial Intelligence* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2007), 62.
Chapter 2

Review of Literature

This literature review consists of several comprehensive sections, each addressing the key topics relevant to this research project. It begins with an explanation of the term ethnicity, revealing the ways in which researchers have traditionally tried to understand it. Next, a brief history of human migrations in Canada demonstrates just how the nation evolved from a tiny French settlement on the St. Laurent into the culturally diverse society it is today. Naturally an understanding of multiculturalism, its many definitions, and its emergence as public policy in Canada are provided as well. From there, a theoretical overview of how ethnic groups both retain their culture and assimilate into a new society are described in detail. A history of soccer, both as an organized sport and its historical foundations in Canada is then provided. This chapter concludes with a review of the existing literature that has examined the sport of soccer much in the same context as this research project.

Understanding Ethnicity

The term ethnicity is by no means as simple or straightforward as many initially perceive it to be. In fact, ethnicity refers to any or collectively all aspects of the phenomenon related to ethnic groups, ethnic culture, ethnic identity, and ethnic community and institutions.\(^1\) The exact term itself is relatively new, as it was first used in 1953 by American sociologist David Riesman and has been incorporated in the Oxford English dictionary since 1972.\(^2\) Its origins are as old as civilization itself. In ancient Greece, the word “ethnos” simply meant “people living together” or “a company.”\(^3\) Years later, with the rise of Christianity, the term “ethnikos” was used by various
Christian and Jewish groups to identify those who were pagan or gentile, and those “not like” them.\(^4\) Little imagination is needed to see how the modern word has transcended time to signify others who are perceived as different by the dominant classes.

Today, ethnicity usually refers to the cultural characteristics that people possess, such as customs, beliefs, ideas, language, history, folklore, and other symbols acting as the glue which hold a group together, distinguishing them as distinctly different in the eyes of others.\(^5\) This is not to be confused with race, which Satzewich and Liodakis suggest is the irrational way of distinguishing between human populations based solely on their physical characteristics.\(^6\) Yet, there is more to ethnicity than simply a checklist of cultural characteristics, thereby making it much more difficult to properly understand than one might think. Even Max Weber, the father of modern sociology, expressed his discontent in his own study of ethnicity. This is captured in the following statement of his, “The conception of ethnic groups is so complex and so vague that it might be good to abandon it all together.”\(^7\) It goes without saying that he did not abandon his efforts, but he did manage to provide scholars with a much needed starting point on the subject.

**Theory**

Of the several theoretical approaches to understanding ethnicity, four emerge as the most pertinent for explanation. The following theories are no strangers to the field of sociology, as each approach is very much embedded in this field of study. On the other hand, the following theories view ethnicity as purely a phenomenon on its own, related to and influenced by society as a whole although not completely determined by it.\(^8\) Thus, researchers have traditionally tried to understand ethnicity in the past in one of the
following ways: as a primordial phenomenon; epiphenomenon; situational phenomenon; and subjective phenomenon.  

Primordial Phenomenon

The primordial approach to ethnicity is the oldest of the four in the field of sociology and anthropology, and suggests that ethnicity is something given to us at birth, thereby making it fixed and permanent. Developed by Edward Shils in 1957, and later applied to larger social groups by Clifford Geertz, it assumes that the primordial bonds between people are those derived from birth. It is believed that individuals inherit a shared nationality, history, origin, language, religion, value system and physical characteristics of the group, thereby shaping their identity from the very first day of existence. In other words, we are destined to live within the confines of what make up our predetermined ethnicity throughout our entire lives. For obvious reasons, many researchers have a problem with this first approach to explaining ethnicity. It has received much criticism for failing to explain the evolution of ethnic groups over time, does not emphasize that individuals within the group may place emphasis on different attributes throughout their lives, and does not explain any “complexities” the individual may experience or any sort of “multiple” identities in regards to ethnicity. As a result, the three other approaches to ethnicity emerged as a response to the primordial account which is, in all honesty, limited at best in its attempt to define ethnicity.

Epiphenomenon

Very generally, ethnicity as an epiphenomenon suggests that both ethnicity and race are the by-product of class relations, arising as a result of the exploitation of labour by the capitalist class. This approach arose from Michael Hechter’s theory of “Internal
Colonialism and the Cultural Division of Labour” which divided the economic structure of society into two distinct groups, the periphery and the centre, whereby those in the periphery undertake marginal, yet important jobs which compensate less than those in the centre. Those individuals found within the periphery sector of society develop solidarity and their own culture, which in turn results in the creation of an ethnic group. Today, the same theory has come to be interpreted much more in the general sense. In a more modernized interpretation, ethnicity and race are seen to be the direct result of unequal relationships, which are created and maintained as a result of the differences in power between dominant and subordinate groups.

*Situational Phenomenon*

The next approach to ethnicity is unique in the sense that it emphasizes a characteristic that the previous two approaches fail to address, and that is choice. Best represented in work by Michael Banton, Daniel Bell and Jeffrey Ross, the situational phenomenon to ethnicity suggests that ethnic identity can be chosen by a member of a minority group if they indeed find it to their advantage. At the same time, a member of a particular ethnic group may wish to refuse to acknowledge their ethnic identity and the associations that come along with it, and replace it with another. The shared descent of a particular ethnic group is seen as a secondary factor, enabling it to be “manufactured and manipulated” if members so desire. What they do is ultimately their own choice, depending on what they see as an advantage or disadvantage in regards to their ethnic identity. Thus, this approach emphasizes the belief that ethnic groups will “emerge, merge, and split” on a constant basis given the freedom of choice they have regarding their identity.
Subjective Phenomenon

Last, but not least, ethnicity is understood in part as a subjective phenomenon. Derived from Fredrik Barth’s initial work on ethnic group boundaries in 1969, this approach suggests that ethnicity is a socio-psychological phenomenon rather than something that is given, in which perceptions of “us” and “them” are conceptualized amongst the ethnic groups. Thus, the role of relationships amongst their own members and between others seemingly plays a large role in how the ethnic groups ultimately see themselves. Initial studies of such an approach suggested that the creation of ethnic boundaries were first and foremost psychological, established by mutual perceptions and relations amongst members, which in turn constituted the ethnic group. From this notion of socio-psychological reality arises another subjective approach to ethnicity, made popular by William Yancey, Michael Moerman, Susan Smith, Hanna Herzog, Jonathon Okamura, and Wsevolod Isajiw, known as constructionism. The constructionist approach, in simplest terms, suggests that ethnicity is something that is constantly being negotiated and constructed in everyday living. This implies that ethnic identities are continuously changing based on the experiences individuals face and the other groups with which they come into contact. Furthermore, this process requires that individuals or groups respond to these changes based on their own “preconceptions, dispositions and agendas,” which ultimately influence their ethnic identity. Isajiw describes ethnicity as a process that continually unfolds, whether it’s being constructed, deconstructed into select parts, or reconstructed by succeeding generations.

To that end, understanding ethnicity remains one of the most contentious issues in social science today. Researchers in the fields of anthropology, sociology, and ethnic
studies have all struggled to develop a widely accepted theoretical outlook of such a concept, and as a result, interpret it in a number of different ways.\textsuperscript{30} That being said, experts in all the disciplines do agree on three things in particular. First and foremost, ethnicity is a socially constructed category not based on any objectively measurable criteria.\textsuperscript{31} It is, in fact, a product of social relations, representing important dimensions of the lived experiences of individuals and groups.\textsuperscript{32} Secondly, ethnicity cannot be studied or understood outside the context of other social variables.\textsuperscript{33} Finally, both self identification and the perceptions and attitudes of others play a large role in the construction of ethnic identities.\textsuperscript{34} In other words, it is equally important for a group to perceive themselves as distinctly different in regards to their language, religion, race, ancestral homeland, and culture, as it is for others to recognize those differences and perceive them as different.\textsuperscript{35} Certainly academics across all fields would agree that the study of ethnicity in the Canadian context is invaluable. From the arrival of the first European explorers to the present day, we have seen Canada welcome people from around the world, all ethnically different. That being said, it would be beneficial to examine just how the Canadian society of today came to be so ethnically diverse.

**History of Migration in Canada**

Canadian society has seen more than its share of international migrants throughout its short history, as depicted in Figure 1.
As the following paragraphs will vividly demonstrate, if it were not for the millions upon millions of people who chose to migrate to Canada for whatever reasons they had, the ethnically diverse society which we live in today would not have come to be.

**Pre-European Settlement**

It should come as no surprise that the North American continent was anything but uninhabited at the time of the arrival of the first European explorers. Although heavily debated, some anthropologists suggest that the earliest Homo Sapiens arrived in the Americas 12,000 years ago at the very least, via the Bearing Strait in the Pacific northwest from Asia. As generations passed, these first inhabitants became skilful hunters and gatherers and some eventually mastered the skill of farming, depending largely on agriculture for their survival. This, of course, depended greatly on where in the Americas they ultimately settled. The warm climate in what is now Mexico, Central and South America allowed for the development of sophisticated agriculture techniques.

![Figure 1:](image-url)
By the time the Spanish arrived in the early 1500s, great civilizations were found among the Maya, Aztecs, and Incas.\textsuperscript{38}

Great civilizations such as those noted above were not found in the region now identified as Canada. In fact, the Canadian continent consisted of six different aboriginal regions with distinctly different environments: Arctic; Sub-Arctic; Northwest Coast; Plains; Plateau; and the Eastern Woodlands.\textsuperscript{39} Although some tribes, such as the Iroquois, Huron and others along the west coast, took up farming as well as fishing, the vast majority of aboriginals in the central plains and northern lands were nomadic hunters and gatherers.\textsuperscript{40} Nevertheless, the aboriginal population of North America before the time of the European explorers continues to be debated; 400,000 are thought to have inhabited the Canadian regions identified above.\textsuperscript{41} As the Europeans explorers would eventually discover, the aboriginal population was not all alike. They were just as culturally diverse amongst themselves, with more than 50 distinct tribes with their own languages/dialects, manners and cultures.\textsuperscript{42}

\textit{1600 to 1760}

Although acknowledged as some of the earliest immigrants to set foot on the American continent (i.e., Newfoundland) some 1000 years ago, the Vikings’ attempt to establish a settlement was very short lived.\textsuperscript{43} These Norsemen preceded their Spanish, English, French and Portuguese brothers by approximately 500 years. From the time Columbus landed in the West Indies in 1492 and onwards, many explorers set sail looking to claim new lands for the sovereign nations of Europe. Before any French explorer had reached Canadian lands, John Cabot made landfall on Newfoundland sailing for England at the turn of the 15\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{44} As for the French, explorers such as Jacques
Cartier in 1530 and Samuel de Champlain in the early 1600s were the first Europeans to explore the area now identified as Quebec, paving the way for the first permanent settlement in Canada.\(^45\) Thus, the first permanent settlement by those originating from Europe on Canadian soil is credited to the French, who remained the sole European settlers of the St. Laurence region for almost 150 years. Their English rivals placed their priority on the continent’s eastern seaboard.\(^46\) From this, New France and its “habitants” would establish themselves, to the point that they would become almost an unofficial nation of their own.

From the creation of New France to its defeat by the English in 1759, the French placed a great deal of interest in exploring and settling uninhabited lands, establishing fur trading routes, and colonizing native territory while converting inhabitants to Christianity.\(^47\) The French declared that they not only had the right to explore but the right to settle the new world in accordance with the ancient roman civil law of “vacuum domicilium;” allowing one to, “…take possession of ‘empty’ or ‘vacant’ land.”\(^48\) As for the lands which the natives occupied, the colonization of their territory illustrates the first example of migrants in Canada (i.e., the French) integrating their own societal superstructure onto the existing native society, attempting to assimilate them into the culture of New France.\(^49\)

Initially, the speed at which New France was settled occurred at an extremely slow rate, as the population only grew from 100 to 2,000 during the first 60 years (1600-1660).\(^50\) It was not until the arrival of migrant policy maker Jean Talon that this changed, as he is credited with initiating a vigorous migration strategy which drove the population from 6,000 in 1672 to 15,000 in 1700, and as high as 70,000 in 1760 (although fertility
aided this growth as well).\textsuperscript{51} Surprisingly enough, the first non-French and non-English immigrants also emerge at the latter half of this period. German immigrants, although small in number (roughly 1,500), began to appear in the Eastern area of New France and Nova Scotia, even establishing their own settlement of Lunenburg between 1750 and 1753.\textsuperscript{52}

By 1760, the “habitants” of New France made up a population that was more than able to rule itself as a “Quebec Nation.”\textsuperscript{53} In the first quarter of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, the bitter imperial rivals of the French and the British, would have already begun to make their presence known in this region they wished to control. As Richard Day vividly writes, it was now the French who were, after 150 years, indigenous to the region and would soon, “…feel the sting of conquest.”\textsuperscript{54}

1760 to the War of 1812

Following the decisive battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759, and the British triumph over the French forces, from 1760 onwards the demise of France’s rule in the region would ensue.\textsuperscript{55} A familiar scenario would soon follow, similar to that of 150 years earlier. A structure of migrant superordination was enforced for a second time, however, it was now the British assuming the role of colonizers over the established French society.\textsuperscript{56} The British had a daunting task ahead of them, and that was to try and integrate a very large “bloc” of French habitants who had been living in the region in isolated communities for generations.\textsuperscript{57} This would not be easy, as many of the French habitants had a no desire or intention of embracing the English way of life.\textsuperscript{58} There is no better example of this than the Acadians, who immediately resented the attempts to
assimilate them into English society and as a result, were rounded up and transported out of their region.\textsuperscript{59}

After a number of unsuccessful and confrontational policies, each put in place in an attempt to assimilate the indigenous French “habitant,” the British felt as if they had no choice but to legally allow for French coexistence in the region. By way of the Quebec Act in 1774, which allotted certain religious and civil rights to the French population, the British made the first attempt at “…\textit{officially integrating} a problematic ‘Canadian’ population that could not be eliminated or assimilated,” thereby setting a precedent for each new ethnic group in Canada throughout the next 200 years.\textsuperscript{60} With the “Constitutional Act of 1791” the diverse climate in Canada really began to take shape, as Canada was now split into two large pieces (Appendix A) with Upper Canada (Ontario) identifying more with the British and Lower Canada (Quebec) favouring the French way of life.\textsuperscript{61} Nevertheless, tensions within and between the two Canadas continued to ensue. This period also saw the emergence of those individuals born half Aboriginal, half European (i.e., Metis) as a new, diverse culture proving problematic to their new British rulers.\textsuperscript{62} This was not an uncommon phenomenon, just a growing one, since interbreeding between Aboriginals and Europeans was documented as early as the first decade of French exploration.\textsuperscript{63}

Immigration was of utmost importance throughout the entirety of this period, as the British saw it as absolutely necessary if they were to establish superordination over the French and establish a great stronghold for the British Empire.\textsuperscript{64} The first large wave of immigrants came not from Europe but from the lands south of Canada, the United States of America. With the American Revolution and eventual defeat of the British by
the American Rebels, initially 40,000 to 50,000 Loyalist refugees and exiles fled the
country, thus constituting the first widespread political immigration to Canada.\textsuperscript{65} These
Loyalists came from all walks of life and continued to pledge allegiance to the British
crown, wanting no part in the revolution and eventual separation of the Thirteen
Colonies. A second wave of immigrants soon followed, which consisted of English,
French, Scottish and Germans, most of whom came via the United States as “Late
Loyalists.” Their primary purpose was the establishment of farms (around Lake Ontario,
and as far south as Lake St. Clair) and further increasing the population of British
(Upper) Canada.\textsuperscript{66} Thus, Edward Herberg suggests that this period proved crucial in
regards to the ethnic makeup of Canada at the time, which was completely turned on its
head. The population changed from being primarily French and Aboriginal to being
overwhelmingly British, all due to immigration policy.\textsuperscript{67} As Canada entered the first
decade of the 19th century, it would find itself at war with the very same country many of
these first immigrants fled years earlier, a conflict now known as the War of 1812.

1812 to 1880

Commonly referred to as “the war in which nobody had won,” it was, ironically, a
war in which neither the Americans nor Britain admitted defeat; all territory captured by
both the Americans and the British was ceded back to whomever occupied them before
the war had begun.\textsuperscript{68} Nevertheless, the confrontation was seen as a success by British
North America, as they had gained a great deal of confidence and purpose to expand their
territory westward.\textsuperscript{69} Trading Companies, such as the Hudson’s Bay Company, North
West Company, and others, played a vital role in opening up and settling the lands to the
west (Appendix B). In order for these isolated regions to grow into thriving communities
and produce an economic spinoff, a population was needed. Of course, there’s no better (or quicker) way to build a large population than promoting immigration.

This was done in a variety of different ways, using everything from alluring print advertisements in the form of pamphlets, posters, and newspaper space to offering large pieces of land for next to nothing. Europeans were the primary target of these campaigns, but for those willing to make the move, Canada’s west was not the only option. At nearly the same time, the American west was opening as well, offering their own enticing opportunities for immigrants to settle in their western lands. Nevertheless, the need for immigrants was a constant. As economic problems began to plague Britain and the rest of Europe following the Napoleonic Wars (1814) and with the emergence of the “Great Potato Famine” in Ireland (1846), Canada welcomed those who wished to make the trek to her lands with open arms.

As a result, large scale immigration began from 1830 onwards with a large influx of immigrants from Great Britain, particularly amongst the Scottish and Irish. As was shown in the first “official” census taken four years after Confederation in 1867, of the 3.5 million people in Canada, there were approximately 30% more individuals of British than French origin (Appendix C). However, those identified as of being of British origin included people of English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh descent. It is believed that from 1851 until the end of the century, the Irish and Scottish population combined was twice as large as the English population.

Identified earlier as one of the first immigrant groups of non-French or non-British descent, the Germans began arriving in large numbers at this time as well. Many of them were Mennonites and settled areas of Southern Ontario, while others decided to
make the westward journey to settle the Prairies and British Columbia in and around the time of Confederation in 1867. As shown in the ethno-racial-religious group composition of Canada from 1851 to 1881 (Appendix D) a small number of other Europeans immigrated to Canada during this period, but none more than the Germans. A considerable number of Blacks began living in Canada at this time as well. While some came as slaves with Loyalists, others arrived as fugitives via the underground railway in the latter half of the century. Large Black settlements of freed slaves began to appear in areas of South-western Ontario and the Maritimes, with the total Black population thought to be as high as 21,000 in 1871. The first Asian immigrants (i.e., the Chinese) also started to appear sometime after 1858 and began settling in the West, particularly in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia. As the twentieth century approached, more and more of these first “ethnically diverse” immigrants would appear, thereby changing the Canadian societal landscape.

1880 to World War I

Such a large number of different ethnic groups immigrated to the New World throughout this period that it is commonly referred to as “The mightiest movement of people in modern history.” For Canada, this statement proves exceptionally true, as a number of events occurred which would make it the most unique period in Canadian immigration history as well. Of course, the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad may perhaps be one of the most influential events which occurred in this period. As westward expansion was still being heavily promoted at this time, the railroad would influence large scale immigration in more ways than one. Gradual industrial growth had begun, due by and large to the construction of the railroad. Thus, an immense number
of workers would be needed to complete the project. Since the vast majority of the Canadian population consisted of aging, skilled farmers who could not supply the growing demand for industrial labour, railroad and industrial developers negotiated an agreement with the government to utilize immigrant workers. In regards to the construction of the railroad, the Chinese were perhaps the most distinguishable group of workers involved. Of the approximate 16,000 Chinese workers brought over from 1881 to 1884, 7,000 were directly employed by contractors of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, Canada’s West would become more readily accessible and open for extensive farming settlements. However, the largest immigrant group from the previous period discussed, the British, were now becoming increasingly difficult to attract into Canada. As the preference for British immigrants was clearly expressed in the policy of the day, there emerged a large demand for agricultural labourers, which immigrants from Great Britain alone could not meet. Clifford Sifton, the influential Canadian Minister of the Interior from 1896 to 1906, clearly stated that, “...the British immigrant is by far the more desirable...the difficulty is, that in Great Britain...there is only about one million people all told who are engaged in agriculture pursuits... It is therefore necessary to look to other countries.” Although various ethnic groups had slowly begun immigrating to Canada decades before 1896, Sifton’s initiative of “officially” inviting all types of immigrants into Canada marked perhaps the single most significant event in Canadian immigration policy history.

The change in policy resulted in 3 million people immigrating to Canada between 1896 and 1914, twice as many as the previous 30 years, while six of these years are still ranked amongst the ten largest annual immigration levels ever registered. Furthermore,
people from Central and Eastern Europe including Ukrainians, Polish, Hungarians, Romanians and Russians began to arrive in the masses, with the majority putting their farming skills to use in the West.\textsuperscript{91} Other notable ethnic groups such as the Italians, Greeks, Jews, Syrians, Lebanese, and Armenians, began to arrive in smaller numbers as well, growing steadily in population after 1896 with many preferring the cities of Central Canada rather than the farming communities of the West.\textsuperscript{92} Following the path of its Asian cousins, the Japanese also began to arrive in considerable numbers, with over 8,000 settling in British Columbia in 1907 just as the Chinese had done.\textsuperscript{93} As a matter of fact, an estimated 25% of British Columbia’s labour force in 1907 was said to be of Asian descent.\textsuperscript{94} As for the ethnic groups prevalent in Canadian society from prior immigration, such as German and certain Scandinavian groups, they experienced a significant rise in population at this time. German immigrants went from a population of approximately 47,000 in 1901 to an astounding 148,000 in 1911 while those of Scandinavian descent went from 17,000 to over 100,000 in the same time period.\textsuperscript{95} As this influential stage in Canadian immigration history came to a close, it would do so in record breaking fashion. In 1913, just before the outbreak of “The Great War” which would ravage the greater part of the European continent for the next four years, Canada experienced its largest wave of immigration to this day as 400,000 people arrived on its shores from abroad.\textsuperscript{96} Of course, by the end of this period, a new trend in immigration had occurred that would change the face of Canadian society forever.

\textit{Between the Wars}

From the outbreak of World War I to the end of World War II, a span of some 30 years, Canadian immigration went from the most expansive period in its history to the
most restrictive. Although immigration continued well throughout this era, it did not reach the record breaking highs from the years before, but it would see record lows. By the end of WWI, most of the immigrants who had arrived flocked to the urban centres looking for work in the rapidly growing industry fuelled by the conflict in Europe. Yet by the 1920’s, due in part to the government’s growing concern with the overall ethnic composition of the general population, Canada began to put restrictions on immigration.

This was evident within the Immigration Act of 1919, which gave the government the power to, “...prevent admission, prohibit naturalization, and to effect the removal of those who were perceived as lowering the standards of acceptable citizenry by their nationality, race or political opinions.” While the Americans used a system of restriction based on quotas, Canada’s system was much more controversial as it encouraged immigration from those countries on a “preferred” list and limited immigration from others placed on a “non-preferred” list. Japanese and Chinese seemed to have been ranked particularly high amongst the countries in the “non-preferred” list. The Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 almost eliminated Chinese immigrants completely, whereas the “Gentleman’s Agreement” of 1928 limited Japanese immigration to merely 150 people a year. This movement against the two Asian countries became known as the “Campaign against the Yellow Peril” and as a result, the Asian population in Canada declined by about 10,000 by 1941. Blacks were also amongst those immigrant groups classified as “non-preferred.” As early as 1923, the government concluded that, “...only citizens of commonwealth countries with predominately white populations would be considered British subjects.” As the enemy
in WWI and WWII, German immigrants also experienced a significant amount of hostility in Canada and were initially placed in the “non-preferred” category in the early 1920s, only to be placed in the “preferred” category of immigrant in 1927. Nevertheless, due to the above conditions put forth by the Canadian government, many ethnic populations actually dropped by the end of this period. By the 1930s and 1940s, German, Asian and Russian populations fell considerably while other groups, such as the Italians, stopped arriving completely because of new emigration policies in their own country of origin.

Although there were a number of ethnic groups experiencing difficulty immigrating to Canada, other “preferred” groups did not encounter much of a problem. Mostly between 1920 and 1930, a number of Jews, Ukrainians, Swedish, Norwegians, and Danish arrived. While the majority of these new immigrants were farmers by trade, most would eventually settle in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and various other mining and mill towns in Ontario and British Columbia. Nevertheless, immigration from all groups would slowly wind down as the 1930s drew closer. After a government decision in 1931, British and American citizens were the only immigrants allowed into the country and as the “Great Depression” and WWII unfolded, all immigration to Canada almost ceased to exist. As WWII would this time cause mass devastation around the globe, the people of Europe, Africa, and the Pacific would have to rebuild from the ashes that remained following the conflict. That being said, Canada’s immigration regulations would also go through a rebuilding process of their own.
Post World War II to 1974

With the war over, a large number of Europe’s population was left homeless and seeking refuge. As a result, the Canadian government stepped in and ordered, “…the admission of people who had been displaced from their homelands due to war and as a result, return was not possible.” The result of this decision to accept political immigrants would bring forth a second massive wave of immigration, much more unique than the first. The 2.1 million people who arrived in Canada from 1945 to 1961 not only initiated the most prolonged period of immigration in Canadian history, they also constituted the most diverse set of immigrants ever in terms of social class, ethnicity, and occupation. Although the majority of these immigrants came from Great Britain and the United States, people from all over Europe now began to arrive, especially those from Germany, Netherlands, Italy, Hungary, Poland and the former U.S.S.R during the 1950s and well into the 1960s. Italians made up the single largest immigrant group amongst the above European countries, consisting of 20% of all immigrants between the end of WWII to 1967. On an interesting note, 80 to 90% of all Italian, Portuguese, and Greek immigrants arrived in Canada as a family member already in living in the country had sponsored them.

Although immigration policy within Canada at this time had significantly improved, it was by no means free of the racial biases from the period before. The Immigration Act of 1951 (although changed in 1956) gave the Minister of Immigration the power to admit or deny any immigrant on the basis of ethnicity and citizenship while old restrictions with regards to the Asian groups still applied in the years immediately following WWII. As a matter of fact, Japanese treatment seems as if it may have
gotten that much worse. Following WWII, 4,000 Japanese were ordered to leave the
country by way of a “repatriation” program while the other 8,000 were freed from their
five year long internment camps in British Columbia’s interior with little more than the
clothes on their backs.\textsuperscript{117}

It was not until 1962 that the first major change in immigration regulations
eliminated ethnicity and place of origin as criteria for admission into Canada, and focused
instead on education, training and skill as the main selection criteria for immigrants.\textsuperscript{118}
Of course, this was good news for people from Asia, the Middle East and Europe,
allowing for a much more unbiased approach to the selection of immigrants than before.
Further adjustments to this system of selection were made in 1967 with the incorporation
of merit points; a specific amount of points were given to an applicant based on age,
education, language skills, and economic characteristics.\textsuperscript{119} Based on their score, the
applicant would either qualify or be declined as a potential immigrant into Canada. It
was also around 1970 that illegal immigration into Canada was becoming a much debated
topic within the government. In an effort to fix the problem, the Federal Government
issued the “Immigration Adjustment of Status Program,” allowing any illegal individual
already in Canada to come forward within 60 days and apply for permanent residence,
which many indeed did.\textsuperscript{120} All else aside, by the 1970’s, the ethnic makeup of
immigrants entering Canada had slowly begun to change due largely to the merit point
system of selection.\textsuperscript{121}

\textit{1975 to the Present}

In the last quarter century, those groups classified as predominately “white” such
as British and European immigrants, were decreasing in number and being overtaken by
various “non-white” groups such as immigrants from Asia as well as the Caribbean.\textsuperscript{122}

This, of course, further diversified Canada’s societal landscape to a level never seen before. As illustrated below, this trend would only become more prevalent right up until the turn of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrant population by place of birth and period of immigration (2001 Census)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total - Immigrant population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central and South America</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caribbean and Bermuda</td>
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<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Northern and Western Europe</td>
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<td>Eastern Europe</td>
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<td>Southern Europe</td>
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<td>Africa</td>
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<td>West-Central Asia and Middle East</td>
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<td>South-East Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania and other countries</td>
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</tbody>
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Figure 2:
Statistics Canada, Immigrant population by place of birth and period of immigration, Retrieved from http://www40.statcan.gc.ca/l01/cst01/demo24aeng.htm?sdi=immigration

After examining these figures, one can clearly see that immigrants from Britain, North/Western Europe and Southern Europe each provided well over 200,000 immigrants at one period in time. However, between 1991 to 2001, each of the above regions accounted for a significantly lower number of immigrants than it had before. This is especially evident in the case of Britain, which provided little more than 42,000 immigrants in this final decade of the century. European immigrants went from 90% of
all immigrations in the years before 1961, all the way down to 19% in the 1990s with most coming from the East European States in political and economic turmoil. Polish immigration was the highest of European immigration, attracting approximately 100,000 people between 1981 and 1991. A considerable number of refugees also entered into Canada in the early 1990s. Such countries as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sri Lanka, Iraq, Vietnam, Somalia, Iran and Ethiopia all had a number of individuals seeking refuge in Canada.

That being said, the countries that would supply Canada with the most immigrants throughout this period would be those from the developing world, and their arrival would considerably increase the number of “visible minorities” in the country. Immigrants from areas within Central and South America, the Caribbean, Africa, the Middle East and all corners of Asia grew considerably from the 1970s onwards. In most cases, the majority of these immigrant groups grew 20, if not 30 fold, during the span of this period. The largest numbers of immigrants in this period have no doubt come from the Asian continent. In the span of five years, 1991 to 1996, just over 1 million immigrants arrived in Canada, 57% of which came from Asia alone. Of all the Asian countries, those coming from China were the largest representation of immigrants from the continent. Although an astounding 13.4 million immigrants were recorded to have come into Canada throughout the twentieth century, no single decade had seen more of these migrations than did the 1990’s.

Without a doubt, the waves of immigrants from each particular time period previously discussed were responsible for planting the seeds of diversity which would eventually blossom into the unique mosaic of cultures existing today. What began with
settlers from France and England eventually spread to attract those from all corners of the globe. The previous paragraphs have also demonstrated that the source and volume of immigrants to Canada has never been consistent, with each period proving unique in regards to the origin of migrants who came into Canada. Of course, the most drastic change would occur within the last 40 years as immigration has shifted from primarily European countries to those of the developing world such as Asia, South America and the Middle East. As a result of such human migrations, we find ourselves in a country not only made up of immigrants, but of generations of people originating from those immigrants.

Multiculturalism in the Canadian Context

Multiculturalism may very well be the most distinctive feature of Canadian society today. However, seldom do people really understand the meaning of such a concept, which extends well beyond what people initially perceive it to be on the surface. Multiculturalism is unique in the sense that it can be interpreted not one, but four different ways. The first way that one may comprehend multiculturalism is in a descriptive or factual manner. It simply acknowledges that the Canadian population is diverse in its composition. Secondly, it can be explained prescriptively, as an ideology. In such a way, multiculturalism represents a set of ideas and ideals that are meant to influence how Canadian society should be organized and should operate. The next way it can be examined is via a political perspective, specifically through government policy. The subsequent paragraphs will demonstrate just how involved the government was in transforming Canada’s societal landscape from a policy of assimilation to that of multiculturalism. Lastly, multiculturalism can be seen as a process
of intergroup dynamics.\textsuperscript{136} Of course, this will also be examined in further detail later on in the thesis once the processes of assimilation and cultural retention are examined.

If indeed a simple definition is needed, multiculturalism in Canada refers to,

“...the presence and persistence of diverse racial and ethnic minorities who define themselves as different and wish to remain so.”\textsuperscript{137}

As a result of this unique societal framework, all citizens are allotted the same rights, duties and entitlements regardless of differences related to colour, country of origin or religion.\textsuperscript{138} However, this recognition has not been easily achieved, and just because millions of diverse groups of people call Canada home did not mean multiculturalism emerged by default. The thriving multiculturalism which exists in Canadian society as we see it today is the direct result of over 30 years of federal government initiative.

**Emergence of Multiculturalism as a Public Policy**

It has already been mentioned that the first step towards acknowledging diversity in Canada could be traced back to the Quebec Act of 1774, in which the British had to address the issue of a French population that could not be eliminated or assimilated. Another influential piece of policy was seen in Clifford Sifton’s immigration policies at the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, which triggered the largest influx of immigrants of any period in Canadian history. Therefore, it is easily seen that the introduction of certain policies on immigration proved to be an extremely significant tool of which the federal government had full control.

By the second half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, the diverse character of Canada’s population could no longer be ignored. From 1963 to the turn of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century, the Canadian government would take significant strides in creating various forms of legislation dealing with issues of language, diversity, and multiculturalism. The Federal
Government of Canada suggests the emergence of multiculturalism as an official public policy was the result of the initiatives put forth throughout three distinctive periods in Canadian history: Incipient Stage (Pre-1971), Formative Period (1971-1981), and Institutionalization (1982-Present).¹³⁹ That being said, the following section will briefly examine the most significant initiatives of the latter half of the 20th century which would, in the end, strengthen Canada’s claim as one of the most multicultural nations of the modern world.

*Incipient Stage (Pre-1971)*

The road to a federally recognized multiculturalism policy in Canada would first have to overcome the large divide which existed not only between the English and French, but also between the large number of new ethnicities prevalent in Canadian society as well. It seemed as though the socio-political environment in Canada was oriented toward the replication of a British society, much as it had been for a hundred years prior.¹⁴⁰ Right up until the Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947, all Canadians were classified as British subjects while cultural heterogeneity was seen as detrimental to Canadian society.¹⁴¹ By the 1960s, French Canadians living in Québec called for the protection of their language and culture, and furthermore, demanded the opportunity to fully participate in political and economic decision making.¹⁴² In addition to this, the influx of European immigrants to Canada after WWII was so large that the government was also forced to rethink its position on “other ethnics” within Canadian society as well.¹⁴³

As a result of the above, one of the first initiatives of the newly elected Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson in 1963 was to address the large divide on citizenship head
on. Just as the voices of Québec’s “Quiet Revolution” grew evermore vocal, the Federal Government established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to look into the matter. Also known as the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission, its mission was to...

“...inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contributions made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution.”

The commission of ten members, all bilingual themselves, set out on what would eventually be an eight year fact finding mission across Canada. In 1965, after only two years into its investigation, the commission came forth with a Preliminary Report insisting that the divide between the English and French was much larger than what most people thought it to be, and as a result, Canada was “...passing through the greatest crisis in its history.” Areas such as education, income, and occupation all revealed that Francophones in Canada were below the national averages and even trailed some recent immigrant populations. Furthermore, it was noted that the parliament buildings in Ottawa, the administrative arm of the federal government, and the Canadian armed forces functioned entirely in English. These were just some of the many inequalities in regards to language found to exist in Canada.

The commission would eventually produce a final report made up of six volumes containing the results of its research and deliberations. The volumes were completed in the following order: The Official Languages (1967), Education (1968), The Work World (Socioeconomic Status, the Federal Administration, the Private Sector, 1969), The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups (1969), The Federal Capital (1970), and
Voluntary Associations (1970). \(^{152}\) Recommendations relative to the subject were made in each particular volume, many of which were implemented almost immediately. For instance, all nine Anglophone provinces reformed education regulations in regards to availability of French schools and teaching of French as a second language in English schools. \(^{153}\) New Brunswick went as far as to declare itself officially bilingual while Ontario made significant strides in extending its services in French. \(^{154}\) Furthermore, the recognition of both English and French as the official languages of Canada became a reality with the passing of the Official Languages Act of 1969, which was also a direct result of the commission’s deliberations. \(^{155}\) The above noted events would mark the beginning of the federal government’s transition from a preferred policy of assimilation to that of multiculturalism. \(^{156}\) Despite the fact that a formal policy on multiculturalism would not emerge until the subsequent period, Canada was indeed already a multicultural society at the time of the formation of the commission, as 1/3 of Canada’s population was neither British nor French. \(^{157}\)

**Formative Period (1971-1981)**

Although the question of language had been effectively addressed by way of the Official Languages Act of 1969, there still lacked an official policy which acknowledged the sprawling ethnicity in Canadian society. Nevertheless, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism did manage to lay the foundation for such a policy to be created, staying true to its initial mission, which mentioned that it would look into the contributions made by other ethnic groups as well. Amongst the list of six volumes released by the commission previously mentioned, the fourth volume released in 1969 specifically pertained to “The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups.”
volume was focused on the fact that some ethnic groups perceived that the commission’s bilingualism and biculturalism agenda overshadowed their contributions to Canadian society and felt as though they were being treated as second class citizens. The commission recommended in the volume that ethnic groups be “integrated” and not “assimilated” into Canadian society, along with receiving full citizenship rights and equal participation in the nation’s institutional structure. These recommendations, and others, would act as the precursor to an “…innovative ethnocultural policy…” which would be established in two years.

By 1971, then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau introduced the Multiculturalism Policy, which had been based almost entirely on the recommendations presented in the forth volume produced from the commission’s inquiry. The four main objectives of the 1971 policy were: 1) To assist cultural groups to retain and foster their identity; 2) to assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian Society; 3) to promote creative exchanges among all Canadian cultural groups; and 4) to assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of the official languages. If the policy itself did not relay the importance of Canada’s newfound multicultural initiative, surely Trudeau’s words regarding the matter made it clear just how significant this moment was. In a truly symbolic moment in Canada’s history, he expressed that,

“…there cannot be one cultural policy for the Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any another.”

It was not long after Trudeau’s comments that, in 1973, the Ministry of Multiculturalism was established in order to monitor the implementation of government’s multicultural initiatives in the country. As a result, Canada was the first country in the world to
introduce such a policy at the federal level, which has since been used as a model by other countries around the world.\textsuperscript{165} As the next period will demonstrate, it would not be the last “World First” achieved by Canada in regards to multiculturalism milestones.

\textit{Institutionalization (1982-Present)}

Trudeau’s Government would continue to provide strong support for multiculturalism throughout the 1970s and by the 1980s, its inclusion in perhaps the most significant piece of legislation in Canadian history solidified the policy’s position within the federal government.\textsuperscript{166} In 1982, The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms inserted multiculturalism within its framework under section 27. This section stated, “This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.”\textsuperscript{167} Furthermore, under section 15(1), the Charter addressed the issues of equality and discrimination stating that,

“Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.”\textsuperscript{168}

Various other initiatives pertaining to citizenship would eventually emerge. By 1987, the Parliamentary standing committee felt as though the initial policy, which was now 15 years old, was “floundering.”\textsuperscript{169} The committee released an extensive report that called for the enactment of a new, updated policy and the creation of a Department of Multiculturalism.\textsuperscript{170}

These demands would not go unheard and by July 1988, a new policy “…with a clearer sense of purpose and direction…” came into effect in the form of a law via the Multiculturalism Act.\textsuperscript{171} Formally entitled “An Act for the Preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism in Canada” the law was the first of its kind anywhere in
The law officially recognized multiculturalism as a fundamental quality of Canadian society. Furthermore, the following four initiatives were carried out: 1) To assist in the preservation of culture and language, 2) to reduce discrimination, 3) to enhance cultural awareness and understanding, and 4) to promote culturally sensitive institutional change at the federal level. The Department of Multiculturalism was created in 1991 in accordance with this legislation, but by 1993 it was dismantled and all of its functions were integrated into the portfolio of the Department of Heritage where it remains today. Change continues to impact Canada’s multicultural initiative under its new designation. As of 1996, a renewed interest and focus on Social Justice, Civic Participation, and Identity of ethnic groups was brought to the forefront, and since 2002, a significant amount of effort and money has been put into various initiatives acknowledging the contributions of ethnocultural communities across Canada.

To that end, one can clearly see how far Canada has come in terms accommodating the diverse, ethnic population which continues to make up a large portion of its population. In little more than 50 years, Canadian society has evolved from a structure based entirely on the British model, to a thriving mosaic of peoples all because of the policies enacted. Yet, while many value the multicultural society which has emerged, others have mixed feelings. Some argue that multiculturalism is at fault for promoting too much diversity, which in turn has been disruptive to the preservation of what they define as traditional Canadian values and culture. These values, they would argue, have been discarded to accommodate other ethnic groups. On the other hand, those like J.W. Berry suggest that multiculturalism is beneficial in many ways as it emphasizes human rights, social participation, equity, as well as the social and
psychological well being of citizens. Nevertheless, both believers and sceptics of the multiculturalism policies enacted over the last 30 years will more than likely agree that “...much has been achieved, and much remains to be done.”

**How do Ethnic Groups Adapt to Canadian Society?**

As a result of the establishment and promotion of an officially recognized policy on multiculturalism, Canada’s present society is one which values and fosters diversity. All citizens, no matter white or black, English or French, third generation Canadian or first generation immigrant, are provided with the opportunity to live in the manner they please, complete with all the rights and privileges that come with being Canadian. Yet, the question that remains is what factors influence ethnic groups, whether they are new immigrants or raised in an ethnic family, in regards to how they adapt to Canadian society? At first glance, it may seem as though this question is too complex. Surely, the factors that influence one’s adaptation into a new society could very well be endless and no specific theory of integration can possibly be labelled as the “only” way in which one adapts. Nevertheless, following a review of the relevant literature, various research on such processes has been undertaken in significant detail, while specific theories of ethnic group adaption have been presented attempting to address what many believe has and continues to occur amongst ethnically diverse citizens in Canada.

In essence, those seeking to define multiculturalism look to strike a balance between allowing ethnic individuals/groups to retain their culture (cultural retention) and enabling them to adapt to mainstream society (assimilation). Thus, based on the above aim, multiculturalism does not favour either of the previously cited extremes, but ideally allows for the successful integration of ethnic groups into the greater society. However,
the degree to which such ethnically diverse groups adapt to a new society will vary considerably. Herberg states that, “Theoretically, the outcomes of the adaptive process for each particular ethnicity, can be located on a continuum of cultural transition, ranging from ethnic-group separation [cultural maintenance] at one end to assimilation at the other.”

Figure 3:

**Continuum of Cultural Transition**

![Continuum of Cultural Transition](image)

(Herberg, 1989, p. 7)

**Theory of Cultural Retention**

As will be demonstrated, the way in which ethnic groups adapt within a given society can very well depend on the value which that same group sees in retaining their culture throughout various aspects of their life. The extreme example of cultural retention can be extracted from Herberg’s definition of ethnic-group separation, which is found at one end of the continuum of cultural transition. In this case, “separation” essentially means the group wishes to develop and maintain their own culture, while at the same time, they wish to avoid any social and/or physical interaction with members of another ethnic group. Of course, it is relatively easy to see that the main result of such a process would equate into a significant degree of cultural retention on the part of the group in question.
However, what are the main determinants that groups need to foster if they wish to maintain their culture successfully? Following a review of the literature, some specific factors have been repeatedly identified as impacting the degree of cultural retention which exists amongst ethnic groups living in a society such as Canada. As a matter of fact, they are so well documented by researchers that one author even went as far as naming them “…the usual gang of suspects...” in relation to their importance in retaining one’s culture to a significant extent.\textsuperscript{182} The “suspects” include language retention, ethnic in-marriage and intermarriage, ethnic residential concentration, social networks and the concept of “institutional completeness,” and self identification and the ethno-cultural repertoire.\textsuperscript{183} As one will see, each of the above themes will strengthen and maintain the culture of ethnic groups within the new society in their own unique way. Of course, if one or more is neglected, cultural retention will more than likely lessen to an extent within the ethnic group.

\textit{Language Retention}

Quite obviously, language is one of the most observable features of any culture, and one would assume that retaining language is important for any ethnic group who wishes to maintain their culture to a certain degree. It has been said that the more ethnic groups in Canada learn a new language (i.e., English or French) the more they will participate in society, whereas retaining one’s own language is said to be the basis for maintenance of such groups in Canada.\textsuperscript{184} Edward Sapir, who studied the functions of language way back in 1933, hypothesized that language “…constitutes a powerful social force that binds a group together” and was also “…a fundamental mode of collective social identity.”\textsuperscript{185} His study has since spawned many similar examinations, each seeking
to test his theory in more depth. A study in 1974 supported Sapir’s initial hypothesis, when it was found that language retention, “...was in itself an important prerequisite to ethnic community participation, independent of generation in Canada or family ethnic characteristics.”

However, as important as language is, almost all examinations of such a theme reveal that it represents only one aspect of cultural survival, and is not “the one and only way” in maintaining one’s culture. It was shown that various ethnic groups in Canada experienced significant language loss from its first to second and ultimately third generation individuals. Yet, one cannot say for certain that ethnic groups do not maintain their culture in other facets of their life which will soon be discussed. Nevertheless, Edward Herberg comes to the following conclusions in regards to ethnic and language maintenance in Canada: 1) For most ethnicities, language is both “part and parcel” of group ethno culture; 2) the extent to which cultural survival depends on language is unclear, as some groups may be less and some may be more dependent on the use of their ethnic language in a community; lastly 3) possessing an unofficial language may have desirable outcomes for such groups in their own ethnic community.

*Ethnic In-marriage and Intermarriage*

Marrying into one’s own ethnic group, also known as endogamy, will provide a union of partners which have similar linguistic, residential, religious and overall cultural characteristics, proving effective in sustaining ethnic communities over a long period of time. Quite the opposite, intermarriage between ethnic groups is said to be both a consequence of and contributor to decreased cultural maintenance and ultimately assimilation. Thus, from the two above descriptions of marriage, it is easy to see
which form of matrimony ethnic groups who wish to maintain their culture will choose, or require of its individuals. However, as Canada has become much more diverse, trends in regards to the two types of marriages have been changing.

John W. Berry and J.A. Laponce state that the trend that has been noted in Canada since the 1930s is that, generally, endogamy has declined within the majority of ethnic groups. Only certain ethnic groups were reported to see increases in endogamy at times, such as the Italians in the early 1980s, whereas visible minorities and new immigrants of any kind have been seen to have very low levels of intermarriage. Just as was found with language and generational status, endogamy has been found to be less of an occurrence for Canadians of a second or third generation ethnicity. For example, a study by Wsevolod Isajiw in 1990 suggested that for third generation Italians, Germans and Ukrainians in Toronto, only single digit percentages of individuals reportedly accepted the notion of marrying within their own ethnic group. Nevertheless, even though the occurrence of endogamy is lessening throughout Canada, all is not lost in terms of maintenance of culture for the ethnic group in question. It has been shown that up to 15% of third generation individuals still value their ethnicity and will likely foster their culture when they begin their own families.

*Ethnic Residential Concentration*

Not surprisingly, researchers tend to believe that where ethnic groups ultimately settle and live will have a great impact on cultural maintenance as well. As it is defined, residential concentration simply refers to “...the degree to which members of each of the ethno-racial-religious groups reside in proximity to others in the group.” Such ethnic “ghettos” and/or “neighbourhoods” have often been tied to the preservation and retention
of the cultural character of that community.\textsuperscript{197} Based on previous analysis of census data, immigrants settled in various places throughout Canada. While early immigrants, such as the Germans and Ukrainians, settled in places such as farming communities in Ontario and the prairies, more recent immigrants of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century often ended up in urban areas such as Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver. The common consensus amongst researchers is that such clustering of ethnic groups allows for the development of community, where the culture is ultimately fostered.\textsuperscript{198} However, some researchers have argued that such processes of cultural maintenance may be different in urban areas when compared to that of rural communities, as the city is much more “cosmopolitan” and may influence such groups.\textsuperscript{199} On the other hand, language retention is higher among ethnic groups in the city, but that is more than likely due to the higher number of new immigrants who live there.\textsuperscript{200} Whatever the case, it has been suggested that more research is needed in regards to the extent such communities will impact the retention of culture amongst ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{201}

\textit{Social Networks and “Institutional Completeness”}

The various social networks constructed within an ethnic group are said to be rather important factors in the retention of culture, and it is through such networks that ethnic groups attempt to transmit their identity to younger generations.\textsuperscript{202} Of course, family, friends, neighbourhood (as was previously noted) and ethnic schools are all social networks in which this transmission of culture is conveyed.\textsuperscript{203} Clearly, within the above mentioned networks, many interactions between the individual and the network can be made, and could influence the way in which one retains his/her culture. For instance, the choice of language used between parents and children, the extent to which ethnic culture
is fostered within the household while growing up, and the ethnicities of friends are all ways which can either strengthen or lessen an individual’s maintenance of culture. But if there is anything that is more important than personal networks within the ethnic group, it is those social interactions that arise from the organized institutions made available for the ethnic group. Studies of the past suggest that the retention of any cultural content in Canada does not seem to be possible without the development of ethnic institutions.

From this emerges the concept conceived by Raymond Breton in 1964, the man credited with possibly one of the most important contributions in the study of ethnicity in Canadian society; institutional completeness. As it is officially defined, institutional completeness is, “...the degree in which each ethnic group in a particular locale has developed a set of institutions of its own paralleling those of the wider city outside the ethnic community.” That being said, if a particular ethnic community has a high degree of institutional completeness, it means that it can provide more of such institutional and organizational services for its members equating to greater success in maintaining the culture of the ethnic group in question. The list of particular types of institutional services Breton speaks of has since been expanded upon by researchers, making the theory more representatives of all the sectors which can be found in the various ethnic communities in Canada. Sectors that have been included under this theory include religious, educational, economic, social and recreational, media, arts and cultural, governance, health and social services, and political institutions. It is obvious that some of these may overlap with one another, but generally, all represent a distinctive part of the ethnic community if they exist within the community. Institutional completeness would be deemed “complete” if members of the ethnic group would never have to use
any institution outside of the ones provided in the community. Nevertheless, it is easy to see how such a concept would reinforce one’s retention of his/her culture if he/she was surrounded by and utilized such institutions along with the entirety of the ethnic community.

Self Identification and the Ethno-cultural Repertoire

The way that people identify themselves with an ethnic group has been used as a measurement of cultural retention by researchers. For instance, studies in Toronto have found that a large number of people identify themselves with a certain ethnicity, and while they may not exhibit any ethnic behaviour, solely identifying oneself with an ethnicity is a “painless” or effortless way of claiming to be part of that group in question. As was previously mentioned, generational status can have an effect on how people perceive themselves within an ethnic group. As was previously identified, a general decrease exists from generation to generation in regards to ethnic retention, however, there is a theory which suggests a small minority of ethnic Canadians will hang on to such ethnic identities even as generations pass. In this theory, two different types of people who value their ethnicity are identified. Persisters are those who continue to value their ethnicity from generation to generation, where Revivers, on the other hand, are those who’s identification to culture arises more so in a later generation, and are most common amongst the third generation and at times have been shown to have greater ethnic commitments than their parents in some groups. Whatever the reasons may be, it has been further identified that the role of the family is a large determinant on ethnic identification of individuals.
That being said, the ethno-cultural repertoire has also been subject to examination in relation to such processes over the years. Such repertoires are said to be, “...a collection of characteristics and actions which constitute the content of the ethnic dimensions of a person’s normal, routine life.” Many such characteristics impact the individual on a relatively personal level, as they are what will be most prevalent in the individual’s everyday life. Speech patterns, body language, and lifestyle preferences, which can be further broken down into names, customs, rituals, ethnic food, consumption patterns, home decorations, recreational choices, music and clothing, have been subject to study in this respect. Like the various themes in relation to the maintenance of culture, the extent to which the aforementioned items will impact the individual either alone or in combination with each other is not fully known.

**Theory of Assimilation**

On the opposite end of the continuum of cultural transition is found the theory of assimilation. Assimilation can be defined in many ways, although all will generally reveal that it is a process of incorporation into the dominant culture of a society. A review of the existing literature traces the examination of assimilation back to one particular theory considered to be the most influential of such studies.

*Gordon’s Stages of Assimilation*

In 1978, Milton Gordon put forth a model (see Appendix E) which attempted to describe the adjustments that immigrants and ethnic minority groups experience when adapting to the larger society. This model became the first typology of assimilation proposed in the sociological realm of literature. The model itself is very straightforward and reveals seven specific ways which ethnic groups may “assimilate”
into the dominant society. What is most important to remember is that while the assimilation is seen in the model as a series of steps through which groups progress, they may very well remain exclusively at one stage or another. With that said, it is believed that the model can be very effective when applied in the study of ethnic group studies in North America. The assimilation variables developed by Gordon are as follows: 1) Cultural Assimilation occurs when the cultural patterns of the ethnic group changes to that of the host society; 2) Structural Assimilation occurs when a large number of the ethnic group in question enter into the host society institutions; 3) Marital Assimilation occurs when members of the ethnic group marry outside the group itself; 4) Identificational Assimilation is when the ethnic group develops a sense of “people-hood” based on the host society; 5) Attitude Assimilation occurs when there is an absence of prejudice; 6) Behavioural Assimilation occurs when there is an absence of discrimination; and lastly 7) Civic Assimilation occurs when there is an absence of power conflict between the ethnic group and others.

Cultural Assimilation/Acculturation

In his model, Gordon contends that assimilation is not a single social process but multi-linear and multidimensional. Of the seven sub processes identified, he places significant importance on the first two variables, “cultural” and “structural” assimilation. Cultural assimilation, also identified as acculturation, refers to “…the adoption by one ethnic group of another’s cultural traits” including such things as language, clothing trends, religion, diet, etc. Others define it as the “cultural” changes that ethnic groups and/or individuals may experience as a result of continuous “intercultural” contact. This seems to be a key premise in understanding the phenomena of adaptation of ethnic
groups into Canadian society. After all, as Edward Herberg suggests, “adaptation” simply implies “acculturation.”223 Objects, ideas, customs, skills, behaviours, and values can all be exchanged among different ethnic communities as a result of such a process.224 Minority groups will take on the cultural traits of the dominant group, although there can be some exchange in the opposite direction as well.225 In its purest form, cultural assimilation or acculturation reaches its peak when ethnic groups can no longer be distinguishable on the basis of their cultural traits, behaviours, and values.226 Yet, there is one important aspect of acculturation one must remember in relation to Gordon’s proposed stages of assimilation. In no way does acculturation assure the movement of ethnic groups into the following stage of structural assimilation; even though ethnic groups may become much like the dominant group in behaviour and values, they could still remain very much structurally segregated.227

**Structural Assimilation**

This, of course, brings us to the next important variable of Gordon’s model. Structural assimilation refers to the varying degrees that ethnic groups interact with society, on both a personal and impersonal environment.228 Thus, as implied by the preceding definition, such interactions can occur at two different levels. The first of the two is known as the primary or informal level, where members of the ethnic group interact on a personal level with others, such as within the family, in clubs, neighbourhoods, friendships, etc.229 The more a particular ethnic group interacts with the dominant group on a “personal” level in their social life, the higher the degree of structural assimilation.230 Gordon suggests that this first structural level is most critical in
the greater assimilation process, as its realization allows for all other assimilation variables to follow.\textsuperscript{231}

The second level of interaction listed under structural assimilation deals not with personal experiences of ethnic groups, but with their interactions with larger societal factors. At the secondary or formal level, the extent to which ethnic groups participate in the institutions of the larger society are examined.\textsuperscript{232} In other words, members of the minority group interact with the dominant group members on an impersonal level, in various societal institutions and organizations.\textsuperscript{233} These institutions and organizations include the economy, government, and education.\textsuperscript{234} This secondary assimilation level has come to be referred to as integration, which supports the notion that, “…people of diverse ethnic groups are able to participate in the institutions of the larger society unconstrained by ethnicity.”\textsuperscript{235} As was stated earlier, Canadian multiculturalism wished to achieve just that, integration of its ethnic groups. Yet, there remains one important aspect worthy of mention regarding both levels of structural assimilation. Formal relations of the secondary level between groups are thought to precede those informal relations of the primary level.\textsuperscript{236} By the same token, ethnic groups may experience a significant degree of secondary structural assimilation and never achieve equal success in establishing interactions of the personal, informal relationships of the primary level.\textsuperscript{237} Gordon’s widely accepted model outlined previously is by no means the only typology of assimilation. Assimilation has been incorporated into other models to explain the process of acculturation or adaptation into society, which will now be reviewed to an extent.
Models of Adaptation

From the information garnered throughout the thesis thus far, we can assume that ethnic groups in Canada will, inevitably, in one way or another be influenced by mainstream society through the contacts they make within it. It has been revealed that the earliest theories of acculturation and adaptation were studied under the term assimilation, since their models were very much “unidirectional,” and depicted a decrease in ethnic group identity and eventual absorption into the mainstream society.\(^{238}\) We now know that this is simply not the case. However, as was hinted to earlier, some evidence does suggest that structural assimilation “inevitably” produces acculturation.\(^{239}\) Nevertheless, in regards to the types of adaptation models presented, two types have been referred to the most: linear-bipolar models and two-dimensional or multicultural models.\(^{240}\) The most identifiable of such models will now be discussed in further detail.

Park’s Assimilation Cycle

As previously revealed, adaptation and assimilation were initially considered one and the same in the early studies of the adaptation of ethnic groups into society. That being said, one of the first people to put forth a model on such processes was Robert Park. His Assimilation Cycle (Appendix F) suggests that immigrants could take one of two routes when adapting into mainstream society. The first was one of least resistance (contact – accommodation – fusion) while the second was one of more resistance (contact – conflict – competition – accommodation – fusion). While the second route could take much longer, they both would eventually result in the loss of the ethnic group’s identity.\(^{241}\) As one can clearly identify, although there are two different routes, there is ultimately one outcome, and thus it could be considered a type of linear-bipolar model.
Perhaps this model was and still is more representative of a melting pot such as that used to describe the United States. That being said, one would think that it would not fit into the societal processes present in Canadian society based on our policies on multiculturalism.

**Linear Model of Acculturation**

From those previous studies of assimilation emerged more current theories which slowly began to address acculturation and adaption of ethnic groups into mainstream society. As a result, models like the Linear Model of Acculturation (Appendix G) have attempted to explain adaption into society within the assimilation framework.\(^{242}\) The theoretical basis of the model is that acculturation is a linear function, related to the amount of time ethnic individuals spend in the host society, while the age and sex of the individual will influence the rate at which it occurs.\(^{243}\) It is shown that over time, parents will only acculturate to a certain degree, while youths will adapt to society significantly more as compared to their elders. Aside from that fact, males of either group are presumed to acculturate or adapt into society more than females over time. The study was tested in the United States with Cuban Americans and Anglo Americans and the rate at which these ethnic groups were able to acculturate was indeed related to time and negatively related to age. Furthermore, males seemed to adapt more quickly than females.\(^{244}\) Needless to say, like the previous model, it is guided by the theory that the ethnic group will be assimilated to some extent within the larger society.

**Acculturation-Biculturalism Model**

The current state of this field finds it preferable to look at the theories classified as two-dimensional models, which present an alternate view on acculturation and
adaptation. Two dimensional models, such as the Acculturation-Biculturalism Model, suggest that individuals within ethnic groups can maintain their distinctiveness while at the same time developing a positive identification with the larger host society. This was simply not the case in the previous models, which only measured the extent that ethnic groups can be assimilated into society. Thus, these models may be much more relevant to the current societal processes that may be taking place in Canada in regards to ethnic groups.

The first model classified as such was the Acculturation-Biculturalism Model (Appendix H). In sum, this model looks to explain two things, adaptation to the host society and retention (or loss) of the culture of the ethnic group in question. What individuals of ethnic groups would be measured on through this model is the degree to which they are bicultural and their involvement in either culture. Depending on how an individual would measure (the model depicts Hispanic Americans) they would be classified as highly Americanized, Monocultural (either Americanized or Hispanicized), bicultural, or marginal (uninvolved with either culture). Thus, the most noticeable and unique feature about this model is that it reveals that ethnic groups who adapt into the larger host society do not necessarily have to lose all ties to their original culture.

Quadri-Modal Acculturation Model

The two-dimensional model which has been noted to be the “most influential” of all is what some refer to as the Quadri-Modal Acculturation model (Appendix I) developed by J.W. Berry. Also known as the “Model of Alternative Forms of Ethnic-Group Adaptation,” it is based on the premise that, “...in culturally plural societies...individuals and groups in contact will influence each other, including some
degree of change in each other’s way of life.”250 Referring to the same model, Driedger explains that there are two essential questions that ethnic groups must answer, and depending on their answer, the community/individual will experience different forms of adaption into society.251 As shown in Appendix I, those questions are: 1) Do members of the group perceive value in maintaining their cultural identity and characteristics?; 2) Is there value in maintaining relationships with other groups?

Based on the individual’s or group’s answer, four possible outcomes or “acculturation strategies” can result.252 Assimilation is shown to occur when an individual/group does not value cultural maintenance but has a preference to create relationships with other groups. In contrast, individuals/groups who value their cultural identity but see no value in interacting or creating relationships with others illustrate separation. Consequently, cultural retention would exist to a significant degree. Marginalization is represented just as it was in the previous model, as when an individual/group does not value their own cultural identity or such relationships with other groups. Lastly, integration is when an individual/group values both their own cultural identity and maintaining relationships with other ethnic groups in society. As a result, integration allows ethnicities to maintain their own culture while they also assume an integral part of the wider societal framework, otherwise creating a “mosaic.”253 A preliminary review of this model leads one to conclude that this model is definitely representative of Canadian society.

In a summary article reporting the significant findings of a greater work in 2006, Berry and a team of international academics set out to examine how immigrant youth live within and between two cultures. They did so by utilizing his theoretical model of ethnic
group adaptation. A sample of 5,366 immigrant adolescents aged 13 to 18, from 13 different countries around the world, including Canada, were examined. Data collection involved completion of a structured questionnaire concerning five domains of life: cultural traditions, language, marriage, social activities, and friends.\footnote{254}

The results revealed that 36.4% of youths, the largest recorded percentage, were classified as favouring a strategy of integration. These individuals were involved with both their culture and that of the host society through their preferences (acculturation attitudes), cultural identities (both ethnic and national), language behaviour (ethnic and national language knowledge and use), social engagements (with both ethnic and national peers), and relationships with parents within their families (including acceptance of both obligations and rights).\footnote{255} 22.5% of youths favoured separation, fostering the culture and relationships within their own ethnic group rather than that of the host society, 18.7% favoured assimilation preferring the host culture over their own, and 22.4% were shown to be marginalized, favouring neither their own culture or that of the host society.\footnote{256}

**Interactive Acculturation Model**

The final model of acculturation which will be presented seems to be much more intricate than what Berry provided previously. The Interactive Acculturation Model (Appendix J) is shown to be made up of three elements: 1) Acculturation strategies of the immigrant; 2) Attitudes of the host or majority community towards the immigrants’ acculturation; and 3) the outcomes from combining these factors.\footnote{257} As the immigrant community can be shown to favour integration, assimilation, segregation, anomie, or individualism, their relationship with the host society will either be consensual, problematic or conflictual depending on the host’s preference.\footnote{258} For example, if both
the immigrant community and host society contain a preference for assimilation, the relationship between the two would be consensual. In another example, if immigrant groups prefer to be integrated into society, whereas the host society wishes for them to be assimilated, the result is shown to be problematic. Conflictual relations can also arise, for example, when immigrant groups wish to be segregated whereas the host society wishes they be assimilated, integrated, etc. The only downfall of such a model is that it has been said to lack empirical evidence, such as testing the theory in a real life societal setting. \(^{259}\) Nevertheless, it still has some potential as a two-dimensional model demonstrating the importance of interethnic relations between the ethnic group and society as a whole.

**A History of Soccer**

Soccer is perhaps the simplest of all games. A game that can be played anywhere, in any environment as long as a ball or any other round object is accounted for and there are players to kick it. It is mainly because of these simplest of conditions that soccer has been able to establish itself as the most popular game on earth. \(^{260}\) Thus, one should not be the slightest bit surprised that various “kick ball” games showing comparable likeness to the modern game have been identified on almost every continent when examining the history of sport. The first of these primordial accounts of such ball games do not only come from the great European civilizations, but from the Far East and surprisingly enough, the New World as well. That being said, a history of the origins of soccer is as much a lesson in world history or a history of peoples rather than a history of a sport alone.
Football Origins

To begin, we look not to Europe where the greatest claims to the origin of modern 
game of soccer are laid. Nor do we look to Asia and its highly sophisticated societies of 
the past. It is in the Americas where some of the most significant histories of such ball 
games exist. Many variations of ball games existed throughout Mesoamerica, possibly 
as long ago as 3000 years prior to the first arrival of Europeans in the 15th century. From the Maya emerged a game not only played by both men and women, but a past time 
deeply rooted in the civilization’s story of creation, the Popol Vuh, with its origins dating 
as far back as 1500 BCE. A match was contested between two teams or players 
separated by a line in the center of a court, who hit a rubber ball with their shins, thighs, 
buttocks, shoulders, and forearms seemingly mirroring the basic premise of volleyball 
more than soccer. Aztec civilization engaged in a game of similar fashion called 
Tlachtli, although they implemented the use of two hoop goals made of stone as a system 
of scoring. The balls used in both instances were, amazingly, made of rubber. The 
rubber plant was indigenous only to the Americas before the arrival of Europeans, and 
the ball produced a bounce much like the soccer balls of today. While many 
Mesoamerican ball courts have since been lost to history, an astounding 1500 have since 
been unearthed from the smallest of villages to the largest of ruins in Mexico and Central 
America.

As for the natives living in the more northern reaches of the American continent, 
they too developed a ball game of their own. Pasuckquakkohwog as it was called by the 
natives is literally translated to mean, “They gather to play ball with the foot.” Although its exact date of origin is unknown, the game was first witnessed by European
settlers arriving on North America’s eastern seaboard as early as 1620. What is more astonishing is the way in which it was played. Usually played on a beach or other vast stretch of land, the two goals were as far as one mile apart, and up to 1000 people were witnessed to have participated at one time.

While those native to the American continent placed a significant interest on the primitive ball games in the past, it was in Asia where man almost exclusively used his feet to engage the ball. Literature suggests that a “foot-striking ball game” appears in China as early as 770 BCE, yet most researchers are certain that by the time of the Han Dynasty (206 BCE – 8 CE), the defining features of Cuju or T’su-Chu become apparent. No matter how you pronounce it, either name is literally translated to mean “kick ball.” The similarities to the game of today are intriguing as two teams competed on a marked pitch with the ultimate intent to put the ball into the opposition’s goal. Yet, contrary to the game played today, a leather ball was filled with fur, feathers, or hemp, and goals were crescent shaped in some accounts while others suggest a silk sheet tied to two bamboo posts with a hole is how they appeared. Cuju as it is described above continued to be played for what seems to be over a millennium, right up to the arrival of the Ming Dynasty in 1368 CE, until it simply and strangely “disappears” from the record.

Yet, the origins of soccer in Asia do not end there. Remnants of the Chinese game were shown to have been played in the areas now known as Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. More importantly, another form of “kick ball” had also developed just across the sea to the east. The Japanese played a game called Kemari, and it too, may have been derived from Cuju. Various Japanese historians insist that Kemari, or
“standing among the trees” appears as early as the 5th century BCE, however, the written record begins from the 12th century onwards.276 Unlike the other kick ball games in Asia, Kemari was distinctly different. A deer skin ball filled with saw dust was simply kept up by each player using only their feet, just as modern soccer players juggle a ball and play keep up amongst themselves in practice, while no score was kept at all.277 As the game was developed in the Yamato Imperial Court, it was most popular among the social elite of the time, and is still played today in the celebration of seasonal festivals at Shinto shrines.278

If individuals from Asia managed to find value in the “not so earth shattering” action of kicking a ball with their feet, surely the great civilizations of Greece and Rome would have done the same in grand fashion. In ancient Greece, various ball games existed but by no means were included amongst the apex of Greek sport, and for the most part, did not incorporate the use of one’s feet.279 The most popular of these games, Episkyros, consisted of two teams who engaged in what can be described as a “ball battle,” where quite simply a ball was thrown back and forth over a dividing line.280 The seriousness of the game, or lack thereof, can be seen in the following excerpt which states that the game was only played by, “...women, children, and old men, but not by serious athletes.”281 Moreover, no ball games in any shape or form ever took place at Olympia or the other great crown festivals of Greek antiquity.282

As for the Romans, they seemed to have valued ball games much more than their Greek predecessors. Indoor ball courts known as Sphaerista and their outdoor equivalent of a playing field called Palaestra, were constructed for the sole purpose of playing such games.283 The most popular of them all, Harpastum, was said to have been a Romanized
version of Episkyros. Although the exact rules of the game have been lost, what can be said for sure is that the ball was round and made of either a stuffed animal bladder or stitched leather, while play was violent. Other accounts suggest that play resembled modern day Rugby, complete with kicking and physical contact. Perhaps what is more significant about the ancient game of Harpastum is that its reach was far and wide. Much of Europe, such as modern day France, Germany and the British Isles, would have been introduced to such ball games as Harpastum some 2000 years ago as a result of Roman occupation. Esteemed soccer historian Eduardo Galeano may not be too far from the truth when he suggests that, “Roman legionaries kicked the ball all the way to the British Isles.” It goes without saying that this may have been a pivotal event in the origins of ball games of any kind on the continent.

Emergence of “Folk” Football

The Roman influence, combined with the Catholic Churches’ adoption of pagan rites and various native European regional customs would berth games and past times of unprecedented popularity amongst peasants throughout medieval Europe. From 500 to 1400 CE, a variety of foot ball, hand ball and stick ball games were being played on the continent, tailored to the local conditions, customs and wishes of those who played them. La Soule, a ball game in which participants relied heavily on kicking a leather or wooden ball into the “goal” of the opposing village, took place in Normandy and other neighbouring regions in France. In Florence, Italy, the medieval game of choice was Calcio. Two teams of 27 men would compete in what has been crudely described as “...a tactical street fight with a ball.” Perhaps stating their claim to the modern game, Italians to this day refer to football or soccer as Calcio.
Yet, nowhere in Europe were “folk football” games more prevalent than in the British Isles, gaining widespread popularity from the 13th century onwards. For instance, Cad was most popular in Ireland, the Welsh engaged in Knappan, and the “ba game” ruled on the Island of Orkney in Kirkwall. Such “folk” games in England were usually associated with the celebration of Shrove Tuesday and various other holy days, whereby parishes and even entire villages engaged in a violent battle for a pig’s bladder wrapped in leather. Eventually, folk football would transform from a “village occasion” to an “urban pass time” in Britain. The football games which ensued would reach such surging popularity that various English monarchs would try and put an end to the games along with the violence and chaos associated with them. For instance, Edward II (1314), Edward III (1349), Richard II (1389), Henry IV (1401), and Henry VIII (1540), all tried banning football to no avail and by 1681, Charles II may have had no choice but to legalize the game which had captivated a large portion of his population. What had become known as football would continue to be played right up until the 19th century in its traditional forms across Britain, becoming a part of the commoner lifestyle. Needless to say, this would set the stage for the development of the modern game of soccer as we know it today.

Development of Association Football

Researchers believe that the emergence of the modern game of soccer is the direct result of two distinct processes which occurred in England throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The first process has already been acknowledged to some extent, and that is the cultural marginalization of folk football games. As was identified above, football in any of its forms was most popular with peasants and commoners of the 18th century.
While the game never did die out, those who continued to play football contradicted the “civilized” and “state forming” processes imposed in 18th century Britain. Furthermore, with the arrival of industrialization, the gap between the upper class bourgeoisie and lower class commoner grew even larger, resulting in the upper class withdrawing their support of traditional sports games, especially one that was seen as violent, vulgar and socially unacceptable as football.

The second factor in the development of the modern game, said to be much more important than the previous process, is the appearance of football in the English public school system. The English public school of the 18th and 19th century was in most respects a boarding school, where young men of the middle and upper classes would pay a fee to attend class and live on the premise with other students. Games were a central component of the boy’s culture at the schools, while they also showed a distinct preference for cruelty and violence. So it would seem that the football of the time would have definitely been the game of choice for the young students. As early as 1750, football games were being played by boys in the public school system throughout England. However, the game itself varied from school to school, each placing differing emphasis on either handling or kicking of the ball, which depended on the local traditions, while the rules were orally recited. Furthermore, William Webb Ellis and his “...fine disregard for the rules of football...” in 1823 by picking up the ball and running with it at Rugby School may have further divided the unwritten rules of football of the time. If any type of organized game of football was to emerge from such a system, reform of both sport and school were required.
Change would come at the hand of the Reverend Dr. Thomas Arnold, headmaster at Rugby School between 1828 and 1848, and as a result of the reforms he would put into place, football would take a significant step towards respectability and organization.\textsuperscript{308} He suggested that the educational system encompass classics for the mind, religion for the spirit and athletics for the body.\textsuperscript{309} It was hoped that the public school system would foster a new type of masculinity amongst the boys, one which was not solely “intellectual and genital” but “physical and moral” as well.\textsuperscript{310} Sport, particularly football, was seen as an ideal resource in achieving this goal.

Although Arnold was never fixated on athleticism alone, he knew that it could be used in a way to “take back control” from the students.\textsuperscript{311} Prior to this time, many students were socially superior to their masters as they came from upper class families themselves. Thus, in exchange for obedience in the classroom, masters gave the older, socially superior boys \textit{total} authority in leisure activities, brutally enforcing control and discipline over the younger boys in what would become known as the “perfect-fagging system.”\textsuperscript{312} With Arnold came the public school’s organized involvement in football, allowing the teaching staff to place themselves at the top of the “pre-existing hierarchy of power” in which they would delegate power to senior boys in the middle who would still hold a certain degree of authority over new arrivals at the bottom.\textsuperscript{313} In other words, masters were able to increase their power over the boys, while at the same time, continually allowing the boys to rule themselves to a certain degree as well.\textsuperscript{314}

After the changes brought about by Arnold and his supporters, football in the public school system would undergo a rapid transformation right up until 1860.\textsuperscript{315} Rules were codified and playing areas or “pitches” began to be marked, duration of matches
were standardized and the number of players on the field for each team at one time were reduced and equal in size.\textsuperscript{316} To no surprise, Rugby School was the first to record the rules of their stylized brand of football in 1845, with other schools following soon after.\textsuperscript{317} However, what began to emerge was “not so much a single game as an array of roughly similar tribal codes preferred by different public schools.”\textsuperscript{318} A divide soon surfaced between those schools who favoured the kicking and dribbling game, made popular at Harrow and Eton, against those who favoured intensive handling of the ball made famous by Rugby School.\textsuperscript{319}

This divide became a significant dilemma for those playing the game, particularly when it came time for inter-collegiate competition between schools.\textsuperscript{320} A problematic scenario was arising outside the schools as well, where football matches were beginning to be played by former students of the schools or “Old Boys” as they were called. As a number of teams were established in London, England and beyond, it was necessary for “Old Boys” of different schools to play with and against each other, and needless to say, matches were often full of conflict.\textsuperscript{321} Numerous attempts were made to create a unified set of rules appeasing both the kicking and handling enthusiasts. What came to be known as the “Cambridge Rules” perhaps came the closest in bridging the gap between the two sides, yet no definitive resolution was achieved after such attempts to implement various editions of the rules as early as 1842, 1846, 1848, 1856, and 1863 respectively.\textsuperscript{322} Nevertheless, the rules established in Cambridge in October of 1863 would be used as a template for the rules about to be established in London in little less than two months time.\textsuperscript{323}
In November of 1863, representatives from 11 “Old Boys” clubs from in and around the city of London, England assembled at Freemasons’ Tavern, in what would eventually turn into two months worth of meetings, deliberations, and verbal exchanges.\textsuperscript{324} Supporters of both the kicking and handling game were present, each fighting for ground on how they believed the rule book for the newly formed “Football Association” should be devised. Aside from the obvious topic of debate, supporters of the handling game exclaimed that if the Association were to ban “hacking” they would, “...bring over a lot of Frenchmen who would beat you with a week’s practice,” while others pleaded that if it were to be allowed, “...no one who has arrived at the age of discretion will play at football and it will be entirely left to school boys.”\textsuperscript{325}

While momentum was gaining in support of a code similar to that of the Cambridge rules, followers of the Rugby code were becoming irate. F.W. Campbell, a member of Blackheath and one of the most vocal members in favour of the Rugby code, suggested that hacking was essential and if it was to be left out along with handling, he would withdraw his club from the Association.\textsuperscript{326} On December 8, 1863, 14 Laws of the Game were presented, but none were more important than the following, “9. No player shall carry the ball. 10. Neither tripping nor hacking shall be allowed.”\textsuperscript{327} Naturally, Campbell and the other “Rugby” enthusiasts were forced to act out their threat of withdrawal. On that same day, Campbell faced the other members and announced that his club “...approved of the association and its aims...” but insisted that rules which had been accepted would “emasculate football” and with that, withdrew from the Football Association while others soon followed.\textsuperscript{328} Rugby enthusiasts would go on to form their
own “Union” in less than 10 years time. Yet, it was from this day on that the distinct, codified, and modern game of Association Football was born.

**Soccer in Canada**

Contrary to popular belief, the history of soccer in Canada is by no means lacking, but rich and longstanding like those significant “other” sports which have since been labelled distinctly Canadian. Yet, we do not know for certain where nor when the first true instance that a game in likeness to soccer occurred in Canada. After all, football would have arrived in Canada at the same time the game was just beginning to enter its stage of rapid development within the various public schools in England. As both the handling and kicking game were played, little differentiation between the two is ever made clear in the literature discussing the time period prior to confederation. Regardless of how we interpret it, football was being played in some way, shape or form in Canada throughout the 19th century.

The British garrison of Canada’s Eastern seaboard would be the most legitimate guess as to how football was brought into the country in the years prior to confederation. In Halifax and St. John, soldiers, sailors, merchants and fisherman all played, with no shortage of local teams offering challenges. For these individuals, football was said to be the, “easiest and best game that could be organized on the shortest notice.” Furthermore, sons of merchants were often sent to Britain to attend public school, importing with them a lust for football on their return home. Whether the games resembled modern day soccer or rugby is again, subject to considerable debate.

Shifting focus to the vast territories of the west, as early as 1734, a game of football is said to have been played on New Year’s Day between fur traders in Churchill,
At this period in time, school boys in England were just beginning to engage in the early forms of public school football, making it difficult to imagine that this game bore the slightest bit of resemblance to any organized football match. Fast forwarding to 1823, an “ice football” match was played between workers of the Hudson’s Bay Company at York factory, Manitoba as part of their Christmas festivities. Evidence suggests that “…men and boys of the Red River settlement, and other Hudson’s Bay Company posts like it played football regularly.” Again, the “type” of football or way in which they played is not known for sure. Yet as far as William Rannie and Colin Jose are concerned, one thing can be said for certain. Football, whatever shape or form it assumed, was indeed the “uncontested national game” of the vast territories.

In Lower and Upper Canada, modern day Quebec and Ontario, military personnel and students were among those who initially took to the game, playing occasional matches in both its handling and kicking forms in the mid-nineteenth century. A famous report of the game in Lower Canada provides proof of its value to the military men, as it reads, “Tuesday afternoon the Champ de Mars presented a picturesque scene, a good number of artillerymen being engaged in a game of football amid the falling snow.” As for Upper Canada, informal football matches amongst school boys favouring the kicking game were quite popular in the mid-nineteenth century. Educational institutions such as Upper Canada College, the Model Grammar School, University of Toronto and Trinity College all paid significant attention to football and nurtured it much like their English cousins had in their public schools.

It was not long before the organization of numerous football matches both in and out of the schools would begin. By August of 1859, an organized football match
favouring the kicking game was held at University Park in Toronto, as St. George’s Society played a team of 12 Irishmen with the rules read aloud to ensure each of the team’s players agreed to them.\textsuperscript{342} Two years later in 1861, matches were played between Upper Canada College and Model Grammar School, and by 1863, a shipment of leather covered footballs from England was sent to Toronto, giving a sense of the rising popularity of the game.\textsuperscript{343} Football in the general sense would continue to cross over from this pattern of informality to organization by the end of the century, though one, universally accepted game would not be the result.

The various forms of football played throughout the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s continued to thrive within the same educational, religious, military and private institutions in which it had prior to this time.\textsuperscript{344} But with the creation of the first set of Association Football rules in 1863, soccer as we may now refer to it, became only one of three distinct football games which would emerge in the country. Rugby, which was most popular among students at McGill University in Montreal, began to separate itself from the kicking game while further adaptation of the handling game at the university would lead eventual to the creation of the forerunner of Canadian Football.\textsuperscript{345} Notable mention should be given to the first organized “football” club in Canada, the Montreal Football Club in 1868.\textsuperscript{346} This club, although bestowed with the football name, was in reality the pioneering rugby club in Canada.\textsuperscript{347} This first football club would eventually associate itself with the influential Montreal Amateur Athletic Association which would come into existence more than a decade later.\textsuperscript{348} Amateur agencies, such as the one in Montreal, would dominate sport at this time by controlling the influential organizational structures.\textsuperscript{349} That being said, rugby would continue to be the game of choice within
“amateur” middle and upper class sporting circles, while association football would begin
to draw its players from all levels of society. For any significant event in terms of the
promotion of Association Football, we have to look several years later and to a different
city.

There is little doubt that the roots of organized soccer in Canada cemented
themselves in and around Toronto in the latter decades of the 19th century. In 1874, the
first organized intercollegiate soccer match took place as Queen’s University of Kingston
travelled to the University of Toronto to play two soccer matches. Two years later, an
event comparable in importance to the establishment of the first football club in Montreal
occurred. On 15 September 1876, the Carlton Cricket Club of Toronto decided it would
create a football division for the club. It was ultimately decided that the club play both
rugby and association rules, yet preference was given to the latter as many players
“disapproved” of carrying the ball. With this decision followed the first recorded
football match played by association rules in Canada when the Carleton Football Club
played the Toronto Lacrosse Club little more than a month later on 21 October 1876.
Yet, all these events in the advancement of soccer in Toronto do not mean all other types
of football were neglected in the area. Trinity College of Toronto devised the first set of
rules for rugby in Canada in 1877, and games between many of the educational
institutions previously identified became very common. The variety of football games
being played in the area is further expressed by a notice published in the Toronto Daily
Globe in 1879, in an effort to eliminate the confusion created by those who reported on
games. The notice read:

“Football – Notice to Correspondents – Secretaries of Football Clubs and
others who send us intelligence of the game will confer a favour by stating
in all cases whether matches are played according to Association or Rugby Union Rules. In the case of newly organized clubs and challenge matches, this is particularly desirable.”

The above is sufficient to conclude that the game of football in all of its forms was alive and well in the city of Toronto. Yet even with all the interest in the game, failures in its organization were unavoidable. In 1877, the Dominion Football Association (DFA), thought to be the first national football association outside of the British Isles and the first attempt of such in Canada, was established and ran a rather loosely organized cup competition, resulting in calls for major reorganization and its eventual disappearance altogether by 1881. Even still, by the 1880s there is very little doubt that more people were playing association football, or soccer, in Ontario than rugby. A former university student from Toronto may have had a great hand at achieving this.

At this period in time, various associations would slowly begin to establish themselves and prove influential in the promotion of soccer. Perhaps none were more influential than the Western Football Association (WFA) established in 1880. Behind its creation was without question the most influential administrator of the game in Canada’s history, David Forsythe. Educated at the University of Toronto, Forsythe actually played and scored two goals in the first intercollegiate soccer matches between Queens and the University back in 1874. Upon graduating from university, he assumed a teaching position at the High school in Berlin (now Kitchener) Ontario for well over thirty years, and with the assistance of administrators from neighbouring high schools, created a hot bed of soccer in and around Berlin and Galt, Ontario. On 30 January 1880, the first meeting of the WFA was held and by April, 21 clubs would join for the inaugural season. Eventually, more than 100 teams as far as Detroit would join, while teams from the city of Toronto and eastward were not allowed to join. Not long
after, the Central Football Association (CFA) emerged as a counterpart to WFA for those teams east of Toronto. By 1884, many of the students playing for the University of Toronto Varsity team came from the same soccer breeding ground of Berlin, Galt, and surrounding area that Forsythe and others had created.365

By the last decade of the 19th century, much was occurring in the name of soccer. As soccer’s influence in the schools and universities began to be drowned out by a preference for Canadian Football, the game began to be nurtured by various leagues and provincial organizations.366 Intra-city leagues in various urban centres across Canada emerged, with the Toronto Football League established in 1899 acting as a model for others in Montreal, Winnipeg, Brandon and Victoria.367 True provincial associations emerged shortly thereafter, such as the Manitoba Football Association in 1896 and the Ontario Football Association in 1901.368 Rural areas also nurtured the game, yet clubs were faced with unstable conditions as few leagues existed for them to take part in constant competition.369 Various organizations would also begin to sprout in the region largely ignored in our account of soccer thus far, Western Canada. Naturally, with the creation of the Canadian Pacific Railway, soccer’s influence was able to reach far into the country.370 Calgary established a soccer club in 1888, Lethbridge did the same less than a year later, and by 1889 it was recorded that, “soccer was all the rage” in Medicine Hat.371 In British Columbia, football was quite popular as those living in the coastal towns played rugby as opposed to those living in the interior who took a liking to soccer.372 By the turn of the century, soccer was being played extensively in the prairies and British Columbia, largely because of the large number of British and Scottish
immigrants dropping off at various posts along the railway. Only in the Maritimes did soccer remain a primary part of the high school and university system.

Nevertheless, as Canada entered the 20th century, soccer was alive and well on its lands. Rural areas across the country managed to take part in league competition regularly, while provincial associations continued to emerge as seen in Saskatchewan in 1905 and Alberta in 1909. Furthermore, as Canada experienced one of the largest waves of immigrants in its history at this time, a great number of distinctly ethnic teams began competing across the country as well. Such teams emerged with ethnic names, all of which indicated either Irish, Scottish or English ancestry, especially in the larger urban areas. As Alan MacAlfè would suggest, the formation of ethnic teams allowed new immigrants to maintain their cultural practices while at the same time impeding their assimilation into Canadian society.

A second attempt at establishing a national governing body for soccer was also made, this time proving to be successful and longstanding. In July of 1912, The Dominion of Canada Football Association (DCFA) was formed, with the first meeting being held in Winnipeg. This organization was created in an effort to, “try and bring order back to this widespread sport.” Although the newly formed governing body would have to face a number of problems, none were more persistent than the debates on amateurism. The common mindset amongst amateur soccer enthusiasts of the day was “Once a professional, always a professional” and under such circumstances, many players in Canada were former British professionals or played against professionals. Thus, as suggested by Metcalfè, there was no way soccer could become a part of the amateur movement without destroying itself under such a classification. Nevertheless,
upon its creation in 1912, the DCFA managed to establish an alliance with the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (AAUC) who were against professionalism in sport. Yet, just one year later, an unforeseen problem surfaced when the DCFA applied for membership in the world governing body of soccer:

> According to the articles of affiliation with the Federation Internationale de Football Association [FIFA], the Dominion of Canada Association must accept the control of both amateur and professional football in Canada, and at the next meeting it must declare itself at no uncertain manner on this point.

As one would imagine, this did not go over well with the AAUC. Perhaps as a result of this dispute, the first professional soccer league of its kind, the Interprovincial Professional Football Association, was unable to flourish in such controversial circumstances. As a result, the association lasted little more than a year from its creation in 1913. Professional soccer of any kind would find no home in Canada at this time, while the various debates on amateurism in soccer and the definition of amateur status would persist.

By 1914, soccer was the only form of football said to have, “acquired all the characteristics of mass sport,” speaking in reference to the various inter and intra town leagues which had established themselves. This also included the local and provincial governing bodies which had emerged. However, the First World War would soon take its toll on soccer in Canada. Just as in the other British colonies, many young men in Canada would take up arms and leave for Europe. The various soccer leagues and teams across the country would be equally affected. Competition would virtually cease throughout the war years, while entire teams were said to have left the soccer pitches of Canada for the putrid trenches of Europe. Commenting on the exodus of soccer players from Alberta leaving for Europe, a reporter from the Edmonton Herald wrote,
“Nowhere else in the British Empire can any branch of athletics make claim to greater sacrifice.”\textsuperscript{388} Chances are a similar scenario occurred across the country, while soccer struggled to survive.\textsuperscript{389} It would not be a bold statement to suggest that many of these individuals would not return home to Canada.

The period between World War I and World War II is regarded by many as the “Golden years” of soccer in North America, with Canada playing no small part in achieving this distinction.\textsuperscript{390} While various professional leagues were established and abandoned throughout the early 1920s, including one consisting of both Canadian and American teams, one finally managed to break through and establish itself. In 1926, the National Soccer League (NSL) was created and achieved popular status and success.\textsuperscript{391} In addition to the establishment of this first “successful” professional league, visits by professional British football clubs were also very successful in popularizing the game, drawing thousands of spectators wherever matches took place.\textsuperscript{392}

Just as before, immigrants of the various British ethnic groups continued to migrate, acting as a catalyst for the growth of soccer in Canada.\textsuperscript{393} This “British” dominance of Canadian soccer would remain a powerful influence during the period between the wars, just as it had from the early years of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. For instance, when examining the league tables of the NSL for the period in question, British ethnic groups are the only ethnic groups which appear.\textsuperscript{394} Yet, while the game was flourishing among ethnic groups, the number of native born Canadians participating in soccer, or lack thereof, was of great concern.\textsuperscript{395} The problem was unmistakably obvious, so much so that at the Ontario Football Association’s Annual Meeting in 1932, it was one of the
main topics of interest. The Hamilton Spectator summarized comments of James
Surgeoner, secretary of the NSL’s Ulster Club, in the following manner:

He made the startling statement that the sport had gone back since the
British born drove the Canadian born out. Years ago, soccer was a major
sport in Canada, so much so that a Canadian team went to the Old land
and there held its own with the best teams and at a time when the Old
Country teams were just as strong as they are today. He recalled the
recent visits of Glasgow Rangers and Kilmarnock to this country. He was
asked by one of the visitors, “How many Canadian born players are on the
team?” Ashamedly, he admitted there was only one. The interrogator was
astounded. Surgeoner gave the delegates more food for thought when he
stated that less than five per cent of the senior players were Canadian born
and this after 25 years of British born control of the sport. 396

Surgeoner’s summarized dialogue suggests that there was indeed a time where Canadian
born players were more actively engaged in the organization and playing of soccer than
their British counterparts. As Metcalfe suggests, there has always been this
preconception that soccer was regarded as an alien game, and never truly accepted as
Canadian. 397 While this may not entirely be the case based on what has been expressed
above, the events leading up to this period of time may have made it so. The game would
only become more “alien” in the years ahead, as new players would begin to show up to
play on the pitches throughout Canada.

World War II would have a similar affect on Canadian soccer as its precursor
some 20 years earlier, as the national and provincial associations once again ceased
operations for the duration of the conflict. 398 At the war’s end, hundreds of thousands of
immigrants fleeing a European continent left in rubble, would set their sight on Canada.
The societal landscape of Canada would be forever changed by this mass migration of
people. As for the game of soccer, it too, would begin down a new path. What would
result in the decades that followed is a playing field the likes of which Canada had never
seen before. Almost immediately after their arrival, immigrants from Italy, Hungary,
Germany, Ukraine, Netherlands, Greece, Croatia, and Serbia, began forming their own soccer teams and before long, ethnically diverse teams appeared in every league, big and small, throughout the country. To put this into perspective, one must only look at the development of the NSL from 1950 onwards. What begins with one team of Ukrainians in the 1950 turns into ten ethnically different teams by 1960, and by 1970 only one Anglo-Canadian team exists amongst a full table of ethnically named teams. This transformation witnessed in the NSL is representative of what was happening all across Canada. The game of soccer went from a being a predominately Anglo-Canadian past time, to a past time of Canada’s newest and ethnically diverse immigrant population essentially overnight. By the 1970s, the soccer matches being played across the country mirrored international matches the likes of those played at the world cup, where the nations of the world faced off for superiority on the pitch, rather than matches made up of domestic Canadian teams. It is this time, the early 1970s, which created the unique platform for which this study sets it focus. I will investigate deeper and reveal the unique sporting atmosphere caused by this interaction of diverse people in the sporting realm.

*Soccer in Windsor and Essex County*

At the very least, a history of soccer in Windsor and Essex County up to the time period which this study will examine should be provided. Although brief, as per the lack of historical work done on the sport in and around this region, it is still enlightening nonetheless and reveals that the sport has been in our own backyard longer than one may think. There is no doubt that teams in and around the Windsor-Essex County area would have participated in the Western Football Association as early as the late 1880s. We can assume this from what was previously revealed, in that teams as far as our neighbouring
Detroit were competing under such an organization at that time. Yet, it is certain that a Windsor team played in the western division of what was known as the “Peninsular League” as early as 1904. Teams from both the Canadian and American sides of the border competed against each other. While competitions under this league presumably continued uninterrupted throughout the decade, soccer would have been, without a doubt, deeply affected with Canada’s involvement in World War I by 1914, just as the rest of the soccer leagues across Canada had been.

Nevertheless, by 1920 the regional organization that had been established for the promotion of the game was the Windsor and District Football Association (WDFA). This association had as many as nine teams at the turn of the decade. Again, just as was seen in the rest of the country, the soccer pitches in the Windsor and Essex county areas would have been primarily made up of players of British descent. Yet by the end of this decade, Windsor would see the first of its many ethnic teams yet to come. The Canadian German Club, which still plays in the Windsor area under the name Teutonia Club, appeared in 1929. It seems that the sport was governed much the same for the years up to World War II, which likely had the same devastating effects on the game as World War I had years earlier. Once the conflict had ended, organized soccer would need to be reorganized from the ground up.

In 1947, the Essex County Football Association (ECFA) was organized in the club house of Wigle Park, a field which still hosts soccer matches today. This would happen under the leadership of someone who would become known as the “Father” of soccer in the Windsor area, Walter Lomas. Yet this new league was entering a new era for Canadian soccer. Once the 1950s had arrived, so had the large influx of Europeans
immigrating to Canada, transforming the game of soccer in Windsor just as it had all across the country. Italians, Serbians, Croatians, Germans, and others were evident in the league tables of the city as early as 1950, and the arrival of other ethnic teams only rose as the years passed. As the time moved forward, the Essex County “Football” Association would be christened with the name “Soccer.” Leagues such as the Essex-Kent League would appear, and of course by the early 1970’s, the South-Western Ontario Soccer League would be established, which is where this study will focus.

**Related Research**

Generally speaking, sport has been identified as a significant mechanism in terms of assimilating ethnic groups and their members into mainstream society. Even so, the fact of the matter is that very little research exists determining just how much of an influence sport has in the adaption strategy of ethnic groups into the greater host society. Of the few studies that have been conducted in the Canadian context, by coincidence (or by no coincidence at all) all have used soccer as the basis of their studies.

The first such study appears at relatively the same period in time as the league I will be examining. In 1975, James McKay set out to examine the effect of sport involvement on the acculturation and structural assimilation of Italian born soccer players in metropolitan Toronto’s amateur soccer leagues. What he eventually found was that while involvement in soccer was an important part of the leisure lifestyle for Italians in Toronto, Italian teams encouraged the recruitment of non Italian players, in effect promoting assimilation and inter-ethnic contact.

Similar findings were found by Robert D. Day in 1981, who examined the very same processes amongst ethnic groups and their soccer teams in London, Ontario.
Utilizing Gordon’s assimilation model, Day’s study showed that ethnic soccer clubs in London actually encouraged assimilation into the greater society due in part to the “intensely competitive nature of the league and the resultant practice of recruiting.”

Ironically, while both of these studies expressed that ethnic soccer teams were first and foremost formed to maintain the culture of the ethnic groups in question, in reality, assimilation of the ethnic group in question is what occurred.

Interestingly enough, the results from both of these Canadian studies seemingly go against the grain in regards to what was found to occur in Wisconsin, U.S.A. just prior to the 1970s. John C. Pooley’s 1968 study into the assimilation strategies of ethnic soccer teams in Milwaukee is clearly the investigation which both of the above Canadian studies were modeled after, yet they produced very different results. In fact, Pooley hypothesized and found that ethnic clubs in Milwaukee actually inhibited the assimilation of the ethnic groups in question into the core society at the time.

Another study that reveals the influence of sport as a significant mechanism in the lives of ethnic groups in Canada, is the masters thesis by Nigel Chamberlain from the University of Alberta in 1983. In his approach, he explains that his overall goal was to reveal the way in which sport influenced the “…production, reproduction and modification of the social and cultural relationships…” made possible within the Canadian multicultural state, particularly the case of an Italian-Canadian soccer team in Edmonton, Alberta. From what was gathered, Chamberlain came to the conclusion that soccer was not only a “symbolically meaningful activity” for the Italian group in question, but also aided in the process of ideological socialization, and that the sport had a hand in the transformation of social relationships.
In 1988, Tina O. Walter set out to examine the role of ethnic soccer clubs in the maintenance of cultural identity amongst participants, particularly examining West Indian and Italian soccer teams in Toronto, Ontario. She describes that while the studies identified above focused on the importance of sports clubs with respect to various other processes related to ethnic behaviour, none have attempted to formulate a direct link between organization and ethnic identity. She revealed that the West Indian teams were more strongly associated with maintaining their ethnic identity than the Italian teams had been, ethnic community participation varied amongst them according to ethnic background, and maintenance of ethnic identity appeared to be group specific.

Another investigation, one much more recent, specifically asks the same questions as all of the studies noted above. In 2007, Ilena Molle of York University attempted to examine if the “identities” of Chilean soccer players in Toronto were affected by their participation in sport. In regards to identity, both ethnicity and masculinity were the two areas where she directed her research questions. She questioned whether or not soccer spaces influenced gendered aspects of Chilean immigrant identities and how participation in soccer influenced Chilean immigrants’ notions of masculinity. From her conclusions, Molle suggested that while the role of women in soccer was growing within the Chilean community and likely was influenced by the greater Canadian society, soccer spaces still remained predominantly male dominated. Furthermore, while participation in soccer provided an important means of reinforcing and maintaining masculinised Chilean identities, it also helped Chilean men establish social networks acting as an important “…means of settlement in Canadian society.” Thus, even in the case of Chileans in Toronto, soccer has been shown to be a decisive tool in influencing
the everyday lives of a particular ethnic group in Canada. To that end, this study will pick up where the above studies left off, addressing many of the same questions shown above, yet exploring them from a historical perspective.
NOTES

3 Paul R. Magocsi, Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 413.
4 Ibid., 413.
6 Ibid., 1.
9 Paul R. Magocsi, Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 414.
10 Ibid., p. 414.
14 Paul R. Magocsi, Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 414.
16 Paul R. Magocsi, Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 414.
17 Ibid., 414.
19 Ibid., 31.
20 D.V. Kumar, Modernisation and Ethnicity (New Delhi, India: Mittal Publications, 2006), 85.
22 Ibid., 268.
23 Paul R. Magocsi, Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 414.
31 Ibid., 4.
33 Carmen Fought, Language and Ethnicity: Key Topics in Sociolinguistics (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5.
34 Ibid., 6.
42 Edward N. Herberg, Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptations and Transitions (Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada, 1989), 34.
46 Ibid., 63.
50 Ibid., 78.
51 Ibid., 78.
54 Richard J.F. Day, Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 89.
58 Ibid., 95.


Ibid., 98.


In the ten year span from 1931 to 1941 only 140,000 immigrants arrived in Canada. Also, although British subjects and Americans were the only two immigrant groups admitted into Canada by way of an order-in-council in 1931, approximately 8,000 German-Jew refugees were allowed into Canada on the eve of World War II in 1939., Ibid., 82.


Ibid., 84.

Ibid., 83.

Of the Japanese ordered to leave the country by way of the repatriation program, more than half were born Canadian and furthermore, two thirds had Canadian Citizenship., Paul U. Angelini, *Our Society: Human Diversity in Canada*, 3rd ed. (Toronto, ON: Thomson Canada, Ltd., 2006), 102.

Initially, a score of 50 qualified an applicant as a potential immigrant to Canada. However, as the years progressed, further modifications to the points system would be incorporated. Roderic P. Beaujot, Don Kerr, & Donald W. Kerr, *The Changing Face of Canada: Essential Readings in Population* (Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2007), 152. Wsevolod W. Isajiw, *Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context* (Toronto, ON: Thompson educational Publishing, Inc., 1999), 85.

By the end of the 60 day period, approximately 32,000 illegal immigrants already in Canada had come forward and nearly all of them were given a full Canadian citizenship. Ibid., 87.


Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 3.

Ibid., 4.


148 Ibid. 63.
150 Ibid., 46.
151 Ibid., 45.
152 “The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.” The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2009. Available at:
153 Ibid.
154 Ibid.
155 Ibid.
158 John Meisel, Guy Rocher, and A. I. Silver, As I Recall: Historical Perspectives (Montréal, QC: Institute for research on Public Policy, 1999), 189.
160 Ibid., 4.
161 John Meisel, Guy Rocher, and A. I. Silver, As I Recall: Historical Perspectives (Montréal, QC: Institute for research on Public Policy, 1999), 189.
166 John Meisel, Guy Rocher, and A. I. Silver, As I Recall: Historical Perspectives (Montréal, QC: Institute for research on Public Policy, 1999), 189.
167 Ibid., 189.
169 John Meisel, Guy Rocher, and A. I. Silver, As I Recall: Historical Perspectives (Montréal, QC: Institute for research on Public Policy, 1999), 190.
171 Ibid., 6.
173 Ibid., 174.
175 Ibid., 9.
176 Ibid., 11.
178 Ibid., 174.


Ibid., 7.


Ibid., 239.


Ibid., 101.

Ibid., 101.

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Ibid., 184.


Ibid., 244.

Ibid., 244; 245.

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Ibid., 248.

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Ibid., 199.

Ibid., 199.


Ibid., 208.

Ibid., 84.


Ibid., 255.

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Ibid., 256.

Vanessa Smith Castro, Acculturation and Psychological Adaptation (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 2003), 11.


Ibid., 27.


Ibid., 83.

Ibid., 88.


Evelyn Kallen, Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada, 3rd ed. (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2003), 141.


Ibid., 84.


Ibid., 84.

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Vanessa Smith Castro, Acculturation and Psychological Adaptation (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 2003), 12.


Ibid., 14.

Ibid., 15.

Ibid., 16.

Ibid., 16.

Ibid., 16.

Ibid., 16.

Ibid., 16.

Ibid., 16.

Ibid., 16.

Ibid., 18.

255 Ibid., 323.
256 Ibid., 323.
258 Ibid., 23
259 Ibid., 24.
265 Ibid., 5.
272 Ibid., 5-6.
273 Ibid., 6.
274 Ibid., 6.
278 Ibid., 5.
281 Ibid., 101
283 Ibid., 13-14.
285 Ibid., 4.


Ibid., 12.


Ibid., 31.


Ibid., 1.

Ibid., 1.


Ibid., 13.


Ibid., 3.


Ibid., 77.


Ibid., 77.

Ibid., 77.


Ibid., 2.


Ibid., 179.


Ibid., 1.


Ibid., 2; 4.

Ibid., 174.

Ibid., 176.
Chapter 3
Research Design and Methodology

Methods

While one may suggest that it can be difficult to conduct such a study from a historical perspective, I have shown it to be possible in light of the way I carried out my research. First and foremost, the study was conducted utilizing qualitative research methods. Utilizing qualitative methods should not be much of a surprise in this particular case; after all, such methods allow researchers to “tap” into the deeper meanings of human experiences.¹ It is the only method of research that can provide deep insight into the matters of peoples’ lives, including their lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings.² Furthermore, qualitative methods of investigation enable the researcher to better understand cultural phenomena, and assist in the recognition of structures and patterns of social reproduction.³

What allowed the researcher to uncover perhaps all of the above to a considerable degree in this particular study was the utilization of interviews as the primary source of gathering data from participants. As a secondary method of data collection, historical newspaper records from the Windsor Star documenting the South-Western Ontario Soccer League in 1972 were also used as a supplement to the information derived from the interviews. Lastly, the information gathered from both methods of data collection were interpreted using the constructionist approach to understanding ethnicity, and examined the degree of adaptation that the representatives of each of the teams exhibited. The following paragraphs will describe the process in which the researcher conducted this investigation.
Research Site: Windsor, Ontario - 1972

It would be beneficial to provide a brief overview of the diverse community which was Windsor, Ontario in the early 1970s. Of course, an explosion of ethnicity experienced nationwide also occurred in Windsor, due to the large influx of European immigrants post World War II discussed earlier. As a census of Canada was taken in 1971, an accurate representation of Windsor’s population is provided for 1972.

The City of Windsor (Appendix K) was divided by various sectors of the city in 1971 while Appendix L lays out the population characteristics of the city by census tracts. While 258,655 people lived in the greater metropolitan area, 55,635 (or 21.5%) of these people were born outside of Canada while 37,175 immigrated to the city after 1945. As for the specific ethnicities that this study is most interested in, the number of individuals belonging to the following ethnic groups in the Windsor area in 1971 are as follows: British Isles (124,340), German (13,395), Hungarian (4,010), and Italian (20,155). While it is surprising that Greeks are missing from this list of ethnicities, their representation in the city can be estimated to be within the number of followers of the Greek Orthodox religion, shown to be 7,320. The only group that is of interest to this study and is absent from the census is the Croatians. Of particular interest to this study, other than those of British ethnicity who, not surprisingly, were shown to live in large numbers across the city, the Italians were the only ethnic group to have shown an instance of an extremely high residential concentration, being in the area in and around Erie Street with 3,330 individuals in total. A small but significant concentration of Hungarians were shown to reside in the area just south of Windsor’s “Little Italy,” between Giles and Tecumseh in a community of approximately 560. While Germans
showed strong and consistent numbers across the city, a large number of followers of the Greek orthodox church were shown to reside in many of the same areas which the Italians and Hungarians occupied.

South-Western Ontario Soccer League – 1972

The league chosen for this investigation was without a doubt the most preeminent amateur soccer league in Windsor throughout the greater part of the 1970s. As has been previously mentioned, soccer had always been prevalent in Windsor, under a variety of different league formats, and the formation of the South-Western Ontario Soccer League would have come about no differently than the rest. In May of 1971, three teams agreed to join, followed by three more in June and two more in November, establishing eight teams in the inaugural competition for the 1972 season. Anglo S.C., Croat S.C., Hellenic S.C., Windsor Hungaria S.C., Societa Sportiva Italia, Maple Leafs S.C., Teutonia S.C., and Windsor Scots S.C. made up the first league table. With the introduction of this league, those involved hoped it would levitate the sport to unprecedented heights amongst the city’s most elite sporting spectacles, and not just amongst the city’s growing ethnic population. A major sponsor was found in Labatt’s Ontario Breweries Limited, who undoubtedly supported the league with finances and promotion.

To that end, I used the South-Western Ontario Soccer League as the basis for this study for a variety of reasons. Above all else, issues concerning availability of data made the SWOSL the most obvious and promising choice to conduct my investigation. In recognition of 1972 being the first year of its existence, a yearbook was made in light of this landmark organization for Windsor soccer. From this beautifully organized piece of material, team information such as presidents, managers, and line ups were provided as
well as photographic illustrations of each team along with lists of various community organizations affiliated with the league and teams themselves. Of course, this priceless form of print material provides the essential information which is needed to get this project “off the ground.” Secondly, what made the SWOSL an exceptional choice for this examination is the time period for which it existed. As was illustrated in the previous chapter, large scale immigration from various European countries to Canada occurred at the time period in question, which in turn, created the “multi-ethnic” character of the league, which acts as the basis of this research project. Lastly, the fact that the league was made up of entirely amateur players has made the SWOSL most desirable to test my research. Paying players, which defines a professional, would have severely altered an individuals motivation for becoming involved in soccer and playing for a particular team. Amateur players, such as the individuals examined in this study, played soccer for their own intrinsic reasons, and were not influenced by monetary compensation.

**Selection of Participants**

As the 1972 South-Western Ontario Soccer League acted as the foundation of this study, the yearbook which was produced for that year was used to identify players and their affiliation with each team. From here, two individuals from each of the eight teams in the league were contacted to take part in an interview. The team rosters listed in the yearbook were used to retrieve their contact information in the most current Windsor phone book directory. By contacting players in the order they appeared in the team roster, the first two individuals on each team who verbally consented to take part were used. Of the players selected to take part, each was of the same ethnicity as the team in question, with the only exception being Player 1 from the Maple Leafs. After contacting
each of the participants by telephone to confirm they were indeed the person from the team identified in the yearbook, letters formally inviting the individuals to participate were distributed to each person.

**Forms of Data Collection**

*Interviews*

The primary method of data collection with the participants was in the form of one-on-one, semi structured interviews (Appendix M). This method of data collection provides, “…an effective means to learn from participants about their perceptions of and experiences with a study’s topic.” The questions asked addressed the various aspects related to the adaption strategies of the individual, team, or ethnic community in question at the time of their participation. Questions were formulated to reveal their assimilation in society on a cultural and structural level, both before, during and after their participation in soccer. Furthermore, questions were asked similar to those used in Berry’s Model of Ethnic Group Adaptation to determine their particular adaptation strategy. Such things as the relationships that the participant had with other individuals of the same ethnic group as well as other ethnic groups were explored. Furthermore, questions probed the value which the participant felt the ethnic team provided in maintaining the identity of the greater ethnic group. The interviews with each of the 16 individuals selected to participant were digitally recorded and transcribed for ease of analysis.

*Newspaper Archives*

As a secondary source of reference, newspaper archives from the *Windsor Star* have been examined. In qualitative research it is believed that, “…all social phenomena
need to be studied in their historical context...” referring to the use of “…historical
documents and written records of the past.” A thorough examination of the *Windsor
Star* archives was performed in the following manner. First, the Moriarty Soccer File
(Microfilm) within the University of Windsor’s Tony Techko Sports Archives was
examined. This contained a extensive compilation of bi-weekly news articles and weekly
standings from the *Windsor Star* not only for the 1972 SWOSL season, but also for the
various other soccer leagues which existed in the summer of 1972. To ensure accuracy of
the Moriarty Soccer File, the researcher later referred to the microfilm of the *Windsor
Star* from May to September, 1972. This was done to ensure all relevant articles
pertaining to the SWOSL and other leagues were accounted for. The information
gathered from the *Windsor Star* proved to be useful when paired with what was revealed
in the interviews, and the relationships between the ethnic soccer teams that existed
throughout the City of Windsor in 1972.

**Data Analysis**

As was demonstrated in the literature review, Canada’s policy of multiculturalism
permits the existence of not only the dominant culture deemed Canadian, but other
cultures as well. A culturally plural society is, in effect, the result. Thus, the degree of
cultural and structural assimilation as reported by individuals in this study, refers not only
to their adaptation into Canadian society but into those other ethnic societies which exist
as well and that make up a part of the greater, plural society in Canada.

After an analysis of the transcripts for each of the 16 individuals, common themes
regarding the degree of cultural assimilation, structural assimilation, cultural retention,
and creation and maintenance of relationships with other ethnic groups, were drawn from
the interviews. From here, a matrix was created (Appendix N) identifying both the existence and frequency of key terms pertaining to each of the identified themes.

Furthermore, an accurate account of the way in which each ethnic team generally addressed the questions posed in Berry’s model of adaptation was revealed (Appendix I). Referring back to the literature review once again, the basic premise of this theory is that ethnic groups within culturally plural societies such as Canada will be influenced in one way or another by the contacts they make within it, and asks the following: 1) Do members of the group perceive value in maintaining their cultural identity and characteristics?; and 2) Is there value in maintaining relationships with other groups? Therefore, while the constructionist view suggests ethnic identities are continuously changing based on the experiences they face and other groups they come into contact with, Berry’s model suggests that how groups ultimately react to those relationships is what determines their adaptation into society. The relationships established within and between ethnic teams and their players, the value and influence of “other ethnic” individuals on each team, as well as the degree to which each ethnic team adopted the dominant norms of the greater society outside of their own enabled the researcher to identify where they lie within the model’s matrix as being assimilated, integrated, separated, or marginalized at the time of their participation in the soccer league some 40 years ago.

With the above in mind, the researcher has analyzed the data related to each of the eight teams in an effort to reveal the adaptation strategies of the ethnic groups in question. By utilizing triangulation, data from the SWOSL 1972 Yearbook, newspaper archives and the one-on-one, semi structured interviews with participants, it is argued that
the researcher has overcome the weakness of intrinsic biases and the problems that come from a single method, single observer and single theory studies.

Limitations and Delimitations

For this study, the following limitations were acknowledged:

1. As the SWOSL existed almost 40 years ago, many of its players and personalities may have moved away or passed on, which limited the participant base.

2. While two participants from each of the eight teams were approached to take part in the study, there was no guarantee that each person approached for an interview would be of the same ethnicity as the team in question due to matters of availability.

3. While questions were asked in regards to their involvement almost 40 years ago, participants may have had trouble making connections and remembering various aspects of the relationships they established at that time.

4. The data retrieved in interviews from two players from each ethnic team were not generalized to the greater ethnic community in Windsor at the time, as the adaptations which these individuals experienced as a result of their involvement with the game of soccer was the study’s focus.

5. Some of the participants interviewed in this study may have struggled with a comprehensive handling of the English language, making it difficult to express themselves in a way which was beneficial to the investigation.

Furthermore, I acknowledged the following delimitations when conducting this study:
1. Only men who were involved with the team in a player or managerial role for the 1972 SWOSL season were chosen to take part in this study.

2. Only those still living in the Windsor-Essex County area were approached to take part, as it would have been too costly and time consuming to track down preferential participants who may have moved away.

3. Those of the same ethnicity on each team in question were the first individuals approached to take part. In the event that no one of the same ethnic group as the team in question was available, those identified as being “other ethnic” were contacted to participate on behalf of that team.

4. Once two individuals for each team were identified; no one else from the team was approached to offer insight or information in addition to what was revealed from the two main representatives from that team.

5. All interviews were conducted in the English language.
NOTES

Chapter 4

Results and Discussion

Introduction

The following section contains a detailed analysis of the data collected from each of the 16 individuals chosen to represent the eight teams of the 1972 SWOSL. The semi-structured, one-on-one interviews were conducted in no particular order, and an audio recording of the interview session was transcribed for ease of analysis with the interviewees’ consent. The data collected was organized in the following systematic order: A brief description of the team in question is first presented, providing insight on its creation, past successes, and how they finished in the SWOSL league table in 1972 (Appendix O). From here the two representatives from that team identified as ‘Player 1,’ ‘Player 2,’ and in some cases ‘Manager,’ were examined separately.

Rather than examine the experiences of players solely on their participation in 1972, information on their personal life and soccer experiences from the time they arrived in Canada was retrieved. This was done in an effort to address the questions pertaining to the validity of a cross sectional analysis on the SWOSL on its own. This provided a better sense of the level of cultural and structural assimilation they had already been subjected to along with insight on their soccer experiences right from the time they immigrated to Canada. For each individual of the team in question, a brief description of where they were born, their first experience with soccer, and when they immigrated to Canada were revealed. Following this, a detailed description of their personal life was provided in regards to when they first arrived in Canada. Information pertaining to their family life, where they lived, worked, went to school, and the community involvement if any at the time of their arrival were revealed. Following this, an analysis of their first
experiences with soccer in Canada as well as the SWOSL team in question was provided. A paragraph comparing the experiences of the two individuals for that particular team then concludes each section.

**Maple Leafs Soccer Club**

The first two individuals to be interviewed were members of the Maple Leafs Soccer Club (Appendix P). While this particular team was at first thought to belong to no particular ethnic group, it was discovered in the interviews that the team was created by a group of Serbian men in Windsor. The team was not only one of the best soccer teams in Windsor in the early 1970’s, but arguably the entire country. In 1971, they had won the Ontario Cup and Eastern Canada Championship, Essex-Kent First Division Title, Firemen’s Cup, Star Cup and Carling Cup.\(^1\) By the end of the season, they managed to make it all the way to the Canadian Amateur Soccer Championship held in Vancouver, British Columbia only to come up short in the final.\(^2\) That being said, the Maple Leaf Soccer Club would become champions of the SWOSL in 1972, finishing atop the league table with 24 points (Appendix O).

**Player 1**

Player 1 was born in 1938 in the former Yugoslavia, in the area that is now identified as Serbia. He began playing soccer as a young child in his home country, mentioning that his first experiences were with a make shift ball made of socks stuffed with grass. By age 16, a second division team in Yugoslavia had approached him to play professionally. Accepting the offer, he played for nine consecutive seasons. He would later play for another team his last two years in Yugoslavia before immigrating to Canada
in 1966 at the age of 28, settling in Windsor, Ontario. Player 1 considered himself Serbian when he first arrived in Windsor.

He came to live with his sister, who arrived in Windsor some time before him. His neighborhood was predominantly a mixture of ethnic backgrounds. He mentioned that at first, he did not socialize much with those who did not speak his language. Serbian was the only language he spoke at home and the majority of his friends were Serbian. He was actively engaged in the Serbian community in the city. He regularly attended the Serbian Church and other social functions organized by fellow Serbians. When asked if he found it difficult to maintain his Serbian identity when he first arrived, he responded “No. No sir, no. The people of the Serbian church, Serbian people were very strong here at that time.” Yet, he also expressed his difficulty making the transition into Canadian society and embracing Canadian culture, insisting that most of this difficulty was from his inability to communicate in English. He stated, “It's difficult because of language and all you see you don't speak language, you're like dumb, you don't know what's going on.”

As Player 1 arrived in Canada at the age of 28, he did not attend school and went straight to work in a variety of different jobs. He stated that initially, the only interactions he had with people outside of the Serbian community had been at church, at work, in stores and on the soccer field. While he made no Canadian friends this way, he did meet people of other ethnic communities such as Italians and Germans.

Player 1 began playing soccer in Canada immediately upon his arrival in Windsor in 1966. He said, “…we start playing like a bunch of guys after church, after service started playing soccer, we made this decide to make a team. And we make a team, called
the Maple Leaf.” He recalls that he never considered playing for any other team in Windsor at the time because he did not know a league existed when he arrived. While he indicated that his initial involvement in soccer in Windsor was only with individuals belonging to the Serbian community, he later remarked, “Yeah, It was. But that's not for long though. And when you start playing soccer, you start socializing with other people.”

As for the Maple Leafs in 1972, the team was open to everyone, and Player 1 played alongside a number of people of different ethnic backgrounds, with whom he eventually became friends. The main language spoken on the team was English, as there were individuals of all backgrounds on the team. When asked if his participation in soccer aided him with learning English at all, he responded “Lots. Yeah, big time.” If a Serbian member didn’t understand what was being said in English, they would translate. He was able to translate from Serbian to Italian and vice versa as well, as he had knowledge of Italian from back home in Yugoslavia. He insisted everyone was treated equally on the team regardless of ethnicity, and if you were good enough you played. He had a significant amount of respect for both other ethnic individuals on his team and other teams in the league. Even as games would become heated at times, he insisted that “…after a game, everything's nice, with the other team, you know. Socialize and be together you know.” Through the interaction with the ethnic individuals on his team and other teams, Player 1 was personally exposed to new social and leisure opportunities. Through “mixing” and “mingling” with other ethnic people through his soccer team, he attended dinners and dances held at other ethnic clubs and other family events that he otherwise would not have been introduced to if it were not for his involvement. “We went Teutonia (Club) to dance,” he said, “New Years celebrations we would go to Caboto
“(Club)” with Italian friends. This would go both ways, “Oh yeah…like a dance we go, you know, just to support them. They would come to our dances to support us.” As a result of such interactions, Player 1 was introduced to new foods and traditions of particular ethnic groups.

Generally Player 1 confirmed that the experiences and relationships surrounding his participation in soccer helped him adjust to life in Canada. Soccer was one of the only forms of interactions that he had with individuals outside the Serbian community. As a result he became more comfortable interacting with others. He established good friendships with those of other ethnic backgrounds, many of which he has maintained to this day. Being exposed to a number of different cultures, he gained a significant amount of respect for others through soccer and has become more accepting and understanding of other cultures. His command of the English language improved during his participation in soccer. He did not adopt any significant cultural traits of those he had relationships with through his team, though he had been introduced to them. On the other hand, he had a number of interactions, be it with new friends, other families, other communities, clubs, and cultures. Despite making it a point to attend some socials in other ethnic communities, he is still values his Serbian identity yet he does value his adopted home. “As matter of fact I'm Canadian but Serbian background.”

Player 2

Player 2 was born in 1946 also in the Serbian region of what was then Yugoslavia. In 1957, his family emigrated from Yugoslavia to Germany. He began playing soccer as early as he can remember on the street as a boy, but never in any
organized leagues back in Europe. In 1960, he and his family acquired the necessary documentation to immigrate to Canada at the age of 16, and settled in Windsor, Ontario. Although born in Yugoslavia, his family was of German descent, and he considered himself German upon his arrival in Canada.

Player 2 had several relatives in the Windsor area, which is why his family ultimately chose to settle in the region, living in close proximity to a number of people of German-Yugoslavian descent. German language, culture and traditions were fostered in his home, while his family also spoke fluent Yugoslavian. An uncle of his would also bring him to German social functions such as church, social events and picnics. He attended grade school when he first arrived in Windsor. It was in school that he first began to learn English, and eventually attended high school and college as well. When asked if he only valued his German culture when growing up, he said, “No, it was more diversified because when I came. I went to school and grade school and so on and so on, obviously you have to interact with Canadians.” As a result, he established friendships both in the German and “Canadian” communities. He continued to use German with other friends of German descent. When asked how he maintained ties to his ethnic background upon his arrival in Canada, he said, “Well I didn't really do too much in the sense until I joined the soccer group [Teutonia] and then it started, I guess, interaction with other German players and so on.”

In 1962, he began his participation in soccer in Canada with his brother, who brought him to a Teutonia team practice. While practicing with the team, managers of the club also offered him work at the club, “They gave me part time work as a waiter at banquets.” He would eventually obtain other work opportunities through the German
soccer team. As he grew up, individuals he met through his soccer team would find him work as a roofer and in a warehouse as well. Although soccer was not only an important part of the German community, he insisted that the Teutonia team that he first began playing with was probably more “diversified” than the other ethnic teams. As a result, he began playing with not only Germans, but individuals of all backgrounds.

He became involved with the Maple Leaf Soccer club in 1972 after he was approached by them and asked to play, and he was eager to, as it was one of the better teams in Windsor at the time. There was no preference for a particular ethnic background, and he still remembers how the Maple Leaf coach convinced him to play for them.

“His selling feature to me was that we have come to Canada to start a new life. And we didn't call ourselves Serbia or whatever it is. We called ourselves Maple Leafs which was a Canadian name, so that sort of sold me.”

Even though English was said to be the language spoken on the team, he stated, “We were very diversified, communicating any way necessary,” as more than one language was often heard amongst players on the team. He often acted as translator between the coach, who spoke primarily Serbian, and players who spoke only English. He also made a number of friends of all ethnic backgrounds, “On the Maple Leaf team, I would say is uh, the people you dealt with you get to know, even spectators. What you did is you created a lot of friendships, life long lasting friendships.” These new friends would broaden his horizons in regards to others and their backgrounds, “Being around different nationalities, ethnic backgrounds and so on, you learn you know, from people about their culture and so on, you know, their way of doing things.” Although there would be some
heated confrontations between other teams at times, he and his team had a great amount of respect for others in the league.

Player 2 mentioned that his participation in soccer initially strengthened his sense of being German, yet that faded through time as he became involved with more diverse teams such as the Maple Leafs. Although he began learning English in school, soccer aided in his mastery of the language as he played with others who spoke English. “You're speaking the language so it helped you propel the English language a little bit quicker than maybe if you just stuck towards your own nationality.” His participation in soccer also made him more accepting of others, “Through the interaction with other people, you feel Canadian,” he insisted. “But these people were also of an ethnic background for example: Scottish, English, Italians…that made me more diversified or flexible to accept you know or to fit in.” When asked if he adopted any cultural traits of other groups, he answered, “I don't know if you absorb. I think everybody absorbs…but you're more flexible, you know, to everybody's cause and situation. You know?” Today he still values his German culture and traditions but also takes part in social events in the greater community and he is still involved in soccer as a referee.

Comparison

There are many similarities and differences in regards to the two individuals who played for Maple Leafs in 1972. Although both came from the former Yugoslavia, one considered himself Serbian while the other identified himself as having German ancestry. While Player 1 and 2 both came at different ages, each had a different degree of exposure to languages, cultures and traditions of others here in Canada. In terms of cultural
assimilation, neither of the players indicated that they had adopted cultural traits or traditions of other ethnic groups through soccer, yet they were both introduced to them, became more aware of them and respected them. While Player 1 was introduced to a number of new traditions, leisure activities, and social events of other ethnic groups through the many contacts he made while a player for the Maple Leaf team, Player 2 had already been exposed to a number of cultural characteristics of others growing up in Canada from the age of 16. Both fostered their own culture and defined themselves as having a certain ethnicity.

In regards to structural assimilation, Player 1’s initial participation in the game of soccer was only with Serbians. This could eventually change over time because of the relationships he made through soccer, as this was one of the only ways he initially interacted with different ethnic groups. Player 2 immediately interacted with others, as the first team he ever played on, Teutonia, was more ethnically diverse. While both were introduced to many members of other communities and ethnic clubs, only Player 2 played for another ethnic team whereas Player 1 did not. Also, Player 2 was introduced to two new work opportunities through the individuals he met on his soccer team. Both interviewees made a number of very good friendships on their teams, many of which have been life long ones and they had a great amount of respect for others. Also, both said their interactions through soccer helped them adapt to Canadian life. Where Player 1 said his experience through soccer made him more comfortable interacting with others, Player 2 suggested his experiences gave him a better understanding of other backgrounds and helped him fit in.
An effort was made by both players to speak a language other than their mother tongue on the team. Although individuals of Serbian descent founded the team, both of the players indicated that it did not matter what ethnicity a player ultimately was. Both indicated that skill was more important than ethnic background on the Maple Leaf team, that they were open to accepting all players regardless of where they came from and that diversity was a common theme.

**Teutonia Soccer Club**

Of all the soccer teams associated with a particular ethnicity in Windsor, none have been around longer than the Teutonia Soccer Club (Appendix Q). The team was first established in 1929 and played under the title German Canadians. It was not until 1935 that the team changed its name to Teutonia. In the years that followed, it would become one of Windsor’s most successful and prestigious Soccer clubs, winning numerous championships in the area while attracting some of the best players. From 1967 to 1969, Teutonia was also the only team from the Windsor area to play in the professional National Soccer League and it still continues to play in the Windsor area to this day. Even with their longstanding history and illustrious success in the soccer community, the 1972 SWOSL was a disappointing year for the club. By the end of the season, Teutonia would finish dead last with 5 points (Appendix O).

**Player 1**

Player 1 was born in the eastern region of Germany in 1939. His first experience with the game of soccer was at age 12 in his village. He always had a keen interest in all things athletic and no one particularly influenced him to play soccer. In his case, it was soccer that ultimately influenced his final decision to come to Canada. While reading a
German Sports Magazine, a gentleman involved with the Teutonia Club of Windsor had placed an ad looking to recruit young soccer players to come to Canada, and in return the club would help them find lodging and a job.

“He was looking for German soccer players who were good soccer players. And, I answered that ad. He wrote me back and said the Teutonia Club is interested in having me.”

To that end, Player 1 eagerly left Germany all by himself and arrived in Windsor, Ontario in 1964 at the age of 24.

Upon his arrival he considered himself German, and lived with an elderly German couple who only spoke German in the home. As a result of immigrating by himself, he frequented the Teutonia Club where he hoped to meet other Germans in the Windsor community. That being said, he participated in countless social events put on by the German community, but he could not recall participating in any social events of the greater Windsor community at all. He attended English school for a brief period of time to learn the language, but had no formal education in Canada. Initially, he made only German friends, continued to maintain his German culture, foods, and traditions, and mentioned that playing for the Teutonia Club was a way in which he continued to foster his ethnic identity. Due to his keen in interests in athletics, he did attempt to follow a number of North American sports, particularly baseball, but they never surpassed his interest in soccer. Eventually, through his connections with the Teutonia Club, he managed to find work as a painter, and continued to work in this profession until he reached the age of retirement. He did work with some people of other ethnic backgrounds. Yet when asked what types of relationships or contacts he had with other
ethnic individuals when he initially arrived, he indicated “Very little. I contacted them through soccer games I would say.”

Player 1 first began playing soccer for Teutonia just days after his arrival from Germany. “I think the same week I played soccer. And I came on the 23rd of June.” He mentioned that once he made friends through the Teutonia Club and its soccer team, those individuals helped him with any difficulty he had in adjusting to life in Canada. “If I play soccer I meet other people,” he said. “We would become friends and they could help me out because I was new. I couldn’t talk English.” That being said, it was through soccer he would have his first encounter with the English language. “I learned it. I picked it up quick because after practice or after games you sit up in the club and English that is the main language.” He mentioned with the new friends he made in this way, he felt more confident.

In regards to the team in 1972, he did indicate that while there were a number of Germans on the team, it was in no way limited to that particular ethnic group. “Of course there were mostly German people. There were also some others... a lot of ethnic people came to the Teutonia club.” According to him, what mattered most was a player’s skill level, not their ethnic background, and if they were good enough they played. English was the language spoken on the team, while German could be heard as well. But there was no effort to speak any other languages. The Teutonia soccer team was open to anyone, and the German members treated those ethnically different players with respect and valued their presence on the team and in the club itself. He also indicated that he interacted with other players from other teams as well, and it wasn’t uncommon for him to attend banquets and picnics at the Croatian, Greek, and Italian community clubs.
While his team respected all the teams in the leagues, conflicts would still arise during games but that was said to be all part of the game.

Player 1 for Teutonia saw the team as an important outlet in expressing his German identity, but at the same time, he just wanted to enjoy himself. “I just wanted to play, I was young. I wanted to play, and have a good time.” So participating on the “German team” was the logical choice. It also helped him in mastering the English language as that was primarily spoken on the team. While he initially participated in soccer to meet other people in the German community, it ultimately provided him with the opportunity to meet a diverse group of people through the team. He agreed that through soccer, he was introduced to and became respectful of a number of different cultures, although he did not adopt any particular traits of any other ethnicity. “First of all, you met other people. You talk to them. They told you something, and you told them something…so you exchange a part of your lifestyle or whatever.” He made a number of friends with individuals of other ethnic backgrounds, taking part in new social activities and attending events. He did agree that it generally helped him integrate into Canadian society.

“Yeah, it did because it's like taking a course, or going to school…you played soccer with other young men. You learned a lot, because they told you something that you found, interesting, and helpful. You had a little bit experience for this and it was cheap. It was free.”

He valued these relationships and later even played on other teams such as the Hellenic soccer team. He continues to go to the Teutonia club for various social events, although he admits that he does not participate as much as he used to, and attends no social events in the greater Canadian community. Though he primarily considers himself Canadian now, he still continues to maintain his German traditions and culture.
Manager

The second person to be interviewed for the 1972 Teutonia team was actually the manager. He was born in 1936 in the Serbian region of Yugoslavia, although he was of German descent. He stated, “Even in Yugoslavia we were Germans.” He and his family soon moved to Germany where he was educated for 12 years. It was in Germany where he first began playing soccer, as he recalls, “After the war, we used to kick a sort of rag ball around. We didn't have no ball like things here…and we played in bare feet, and this kind of stuff.” In 1954, at the age of 18, his family ultimately decided to leave Germany for Canada, and on their arrival met up with an uncle who had been living in Windsor, Ontario, since 1929.

He was immediately introduced to the German community, attending German church and living only 3 blocks away from the Teutonia club. German was the only language spoken in his home, and his family continued to practice German culture and traditions in their lifestyle. He stated that he never adopted any Canadian customs or traditions, neither did he have any Canadian friends when he first arrived. His only friends were primarily those within his own family, which were of course German relatives, many whom were born here. He tried to speak English whenever he could, even with German friends, indicating that it was important to practice. His uncle, who had earlier established himself in Windsor, got him a job at a local bakery where he did work alongside Canadians and other people of different ethnic backgrounds.

He indicated that his first meaningful interactions with others outside the German community were initially through soccer. He had a Scottish neighbor who saw him
kicking the ball about in his backyard, who later brought him to practices of the Scottish team at the time. Eventually he played for them, but only because he arrived mid way through the soccer season and Teutonia already had a full roster. Soccer was a very big part of the German community and he would later look to become involved with the Teutonia club and played for them for six seasons, only quitting when he got married. His absence from the club did not last long, as the team then came to him and asked him to coach.

As a manager for the 1972 Teutonia soccer team, he insisted that he wanted players who were the best to play for him, regardless of whether they were German or of another ethnicity. The language spoken on the team was English, and he chose to use English as a coach. He had a significant amount of respect for others, and expected the same in return. He established close relationships with everyone on his team, mentioning specifically English, Scottish and Italian individuals. Of the other teams in the league, he indicated that the team had a good relationship with all the clubs, and although conflicts would arise on the field, they rarely carried over. “We had more rivalry between the first and second [Teutonia] teams than we probably had with most of the other teams.” The coach did suggest that he and the club tried to reinforce the German identity of the teams they had by having different teams for different age groups, thus bringing up youth players in the German community through the ranks, but that effort did not have a lasting effect.

Today, he continues to remain friends with a number of German and non-German individuals, many of whom he met through his playing and coaching career. Besides the fact that his initial involvement in soccer was with non-Germans, he never strayed away
from the Teutonia club afterwards. He would remain involved with them as a player or coach for the rest of his active career. He never did mention that he was introduced to other cultures and traditions on a personal level as coach. While he still is heavily involved in the Teutonia club members committee, he does not take part in other social community clubs or events, though he still has frequent contact with others outside of the German community. Today, he considers himself a Canadian first and foremost, and German secondly.

Comparison

The individuals who participated for the Teutonia club had somewhat different experiences in their involvement in soccer in Canada, and with the team in 1972. Both were young adults when they first arrived in Canada, and while Player 1 came alone with no support locally, the Manager had relatives in the area who may have aided in his overall integration and adjustment to life in Canada. In regards to cultural assimilation, Player 1 mentioned that soccer was not only his first encounter with the English language, but helped him master it. The Manager, on the other hand, began interacting with cousins who already knew the English language and made no mention that soccer aided in his use of English. Only Player 1 made any mention of sharing cultural exchanges with other ethnic groups, and learning from others through soccer.

These differences extended somewhat to the degree of structural assimilation through the game as well. While both made a number of friendships, only Player 1 was introduced to work opportunities through his soccer team. Also, Player 1 attended other club socials with other ethnic individuals, while the coach did not indicate he had done
the same. This is perhaps why only Player 1 suggested soccer aided in his integration in society, which was not the case for the coach. Both ultimately wanted to join the Teutonia Club because it was important for them as Germans to do so, and to meet others in the German community, yet they ultimately met people from a number other ethnic backgrounds. Player 1 and the Manager both said the team was open to all ethnicities, and they embraced and respected players of other ethnic backgrounds. English was the language of choice on the team, not German, and if a player was good enough he would play no matter his ethnicity.

**Società Sportiva Italia**

Società Sportiva Italia (Appendix R) came into existence in 1968, although a number of Italian teams had been established in the Windsor area as early as the 1950s. The team produced a number of talented players and won the Fireman’s Cup in 1969 and the Injured Players Cup in 1970. The club had a very steady following, and was supported by a number of local Italian businesses and supporters throughout the community. While the soccer club was the main focus, Società Sportiva Italia provided a number of other social activities for the Italian community in Windsor, Ontario. In 1972, S.S. Italia narrowly missed out on winning the SWOSL Championship to the Maple Leafs in a climax of a finish going down to the last league game. They finished 2nd in the 1972 SWOSL with 23 points (Appendix O).

**Player 1**

Player 1 was born in southern Italy in 1946. He first began playing soccer on the streets of his small town at seven years of age, and when he turned 14 he began to play
competitively. By the age of 18, he was playing for a semi professional team in one of the lower league tables of the day in Italy. In 1965, at the age of 19, he chose to come to Canada, and reunited with his sister who had already settled in Windsor, Ontario. Player 1 considered himself an Italian when he first arrived in Canada.

Upon his arrival, he immediately looked to get involved in the Italian community. He continued to foster his Italian culture and traditions, and only spoke Italian in the home and with his friends. With others he came into contact with, he tried to speak English. While he did not attend any formal educational institutions in Canada, he did attend night classes to learn English, where he did meet some new friends. His contact with the other ethnic communities at the time of his arrival was very limited. He became a member of the Caboto Club, attended Italian church, the Christian Youth Organization, and most of these social events were full with other Italians. All this was in an effort to make new friends. “Well, to be honest when I first came in here, I felt very alone here,” he said, “And at one point I wanted to go back to Italy.” He would eventually work in the auto repair field, and go into business with his brother-in-law, who was also Italian.

Player 1 began playing soccer within the first summer he arrived in Canada. Given the absence of an Italian team, he immediately began playing with a diverse group of people, many of them new to Canada like himself. “I was 19 when I came here, I was looking really to play soccer,” he said.

“So, my first thing was Croatia with a friend of mine who was Italian too, so I played for Croatia then, because at the time there was no Italian team when I came here in ’65. So, then I played Teutonia, I played for Maple Leaf, which Maple Leaf was with the Serbs. And in 1968 we form S.S. Italia.”

As soon as he began participating in soccer, Player 1 began to feel more comfortable in
his new surroundings and it helped fight his feelings of homesickness. “I started playing soccer and that was my goal, you know. I became relaxed. And here I am. I stayed 45 years.” When asked if he had many interactions with people of other ethnic backgrounds when he first arrived, he answered, “No, I started having contact with other ethnic communities when I started playing soccer, really.” He explained that he and his teammates used to communicate with other teams and their spectators at the games. “We used to do chit-chat, when, before the game or after the game. Or, like the group of Slovakian people or Greek people and German people.” This also helped him pick up the English language, and aside from night school, was his first “hands on” experience with the language. He said that through his involvement, he created for himself a “nice circle of friends” of all backgrounds.

His involvement with S.S. Italia began in 1968 when members in the Italian community created the team. From its creation, the majority of the team was of Italian descent, which was also the case in 1972 although there were players of other ethnic backgrounds on the team. Player 1 said they were treated equally and with respect regardless of what background they came from. He also mentioned that he learned about these individuals and their backgrounds, saying that it “…really improved me to understand the way they live.” It was not uncommon for the S.S. Italia to offer jobs to players in exchange for coming to play for their team. “Some of the players came to play because they were offered a job to go work some place.” The team used Italian most often when communicating amongst Italians players, but English was also used to communicate with non-Italians on the team. He insisted that generally, S.S. Italia had a good relationship with all the teams of the league, although they always had a heated
rivalry with Teutonia.

Player 1 agreed that he became much more understanding and accepting of other cultures through his interaction with others through soccer. As a result of interacting with a number of diverse individuals through soccer, he agreed that a number of cultural exchanges did occur. He learned from these exchanges, ultimately incorporating some into his own life as well. “From their culture…it's a good mix of ideas, getting from them which eventually, when it come to the time, we used it in life.” He continues to maintain his Italian identity through traditions and customs, and takes part in a number of social gatherings, clubs, programs and events in the Italian community today. Now, he has a number of friends of all different nationalities, many of which he made when he was playing soccer. He also enjoyed a number of organizations outside of the Italian community as a result of his soccer experiences. He became a coach after his soccer career for many different teams, and he has since been involved with the Windsor and District Soccer League, acting as an administrator for the community soccer league in Windsor today. Although he still consider himself Italian, Player 1 takes pride in being a Canadian citizen as well.

Manager

The second individual interviewed for S.S. Italia was a manager for the team in 1972. Born in 1943 in southern Italy, the manager became involved in soccer back in Italy when he first attended school. He mentioned that it was his first and only sport; all the children would play at school, and his brother influenced him to a certain degree. He moved to Switzerland in his teenage years for work, married, and in 1965, moved to Windsor, Ontario. Upon his arrival in Canada, he considered himself Italian.
When he arrived in Windsor, he immediately settled in the heart of Windsor’s Italian community located around Erie Street. In two years time, he became a member of the Caboto Club of Windsor and became involved in various other organizations of the Italian community and their political factions. He insisted that he also tried to take part in the greater Canadian society. “How can you survive?” he said, “You have to be part of the Italian community and part of the Canadian…In other words you go to a bridge. Go half way and they come half way…It’s no question, otherwise you’d be isolated.” He said it wasn’t very difficult to be involved; as a result of living in Switzerland, he was aware of the difficulty he would face in trying to integrate into the larger society. “It’s a transaction…you have to be prepared to meet it.” The manager attended English school, and less than a year after he arrived, opened up his own tailor shop along with his wife and a few employees who were also Italian. He spoke Italian at home and with his coworkers, and mostly English with those customers who were of another ethnicity. He stated that initially the majority of his friends were Italian, insisting that “When you come to a new country, this is priority number 1. Especially 45 to 50 years ago…Just to meet each other, know each other, and belong to the community.”

The manager mentioned, “I think soccer was very important to us especially in the Italian community. You know to get together and soccer was a very important sport for us.” That is why it was important for him to be involved as one of the founding members of S.S. Italia. He explained that various controversies in management was the reason why there had been no Italian team in Windsor for about 5 years prior to this time. Initially, the intention was to have a team for the best Italian players in the city. However, they were still open to any player who they believed was good enough. There
was a great amount of respect regardless if a player was Italian or from another ethnic background. The manager agreed that the interactions he made with other ethnic groups through soccer shaped his personal life. “Yes. It’s the combination of the organization to introduce each other and respecting your culture while you respect mine,” he said, “It teaches the only way you can survive in a society.” Both Italian and English were spoken on the team, and the manager even agreed that his English improved while he was in charge.

The manager mentioned that his involvement was important for a variety of reasons. He further established himself in the Italian community, and as a business owner promoted his business. This was also a valuable way of getting his name out into other ethnic communities as well. “The only way that you, you know, succeed even in your business is to be loud, knowing who you are,” he said, “not only in the Italian community, in the whole community.” Secondly, he promoted his Italian identity and the Italian community as a whole in Windsor, and tried to do so in the best light possible. “[I’ve] been involved with clubs you see doing good things for the community…the Italian community has been doing good things for the last 40 to 50 years.” Playing soccer provided a number of social opportunities. “We just had a very good time,” he stated, “We finished the game. We'd go and eat to get good food, entertain with your friends, and go to the house…it was entertaining it was something to the family.” He also believed his involvement made him accepting of other cultures and he gained a significant amount of respect for them. When asked if he adopted any cultural characteristics of other ethnic groups he said,

“Whenever we participated in any events that was not Italian, you know what, you have to accommodate them in your life. And they have to accommodate us… You
enjoy. You compliment. Because that's the way of the societies.”

When asked if he thought soccer helped him integrate into the greater society at the time, he responded, “100%, 100%.” Today he is very much involved in many Italian community organizations, but also takes part in many organizations in the greater community as well. Although he values his Italian heritage, today he considers himself a Canadian.

Comparison

The two individuals interviewed for S.S. Italia revealed many interesting details about their involvement in soccer and how it aided in their adaptation to life in Canada. In respect to their cultural assimilation, both made it clear that their involvement allowed them to practice speaking English with those who were not Italian on the team. This is aside from the fact that they both attended English school. The two individuals also noted exchanges of culture; while Player 1 insisted he learned and sometimes used what he learned in his own life, the Manager kept an open mind when faced with such exchanges while accommodating and respecting the cultures with which he came into contact. Both took part in new leisure opportunities and pastimes related to their involvement with the team.

In terms of structural assimilation, many examples can be found between the experiences of the two interviewees. While Player 1 indicated his team provided work opportunities to incoming players, the Manager specifically used his position on the soccer team to be a recognizable and respected businessman not only in the Italian community, but in the greater community as a whole. The Manager further stated that he had interactions with families of others, both Italian and non-Italian. Player 1 and the
Manager had numerous interactions with other communities, whether it be “chit-chatting” with spectators of the other ethnic groups after the game as experienced by Player 1 or through constant interaction on an organization level as the manager had done. Player 1 was also the only one of the two to be involved with any other ethnic soccer clubs, due to the fact that no Italian team existed when he first arrived. For Player 1, soccer was first and foremost a valuable pastime and helped him fight feelings of being depressed when he first came to Canada. For the Manager, he looked immediately to take part in the Italian community and greater community through soccer, as he saw it as a necessity to survive in a new country like Canada. Player 1 later became involved in soccer in the greater community as a manager and administrator. Both individuals made a number of new friendships within the Italian community and outside of it.

Both individuals became involved with S.S. Italia because they felt it was important to participate on a team that celebrated their ethnic background. Although the majority of players were Italian, both individuals fostered relationships with other ethnic groups and indicated that if a player was good enough, they were welcomed to join the team no matter what their ethnicity. English was also spoken on the team, not just Italian, and the team in general respected ethnic individuals they played alongside and throughout the league.

**Hellenic Soccer Club**

Just like the Italians, the Greeks were involved in creating soccer teams in the Windsor Ontario area as early as the 1950s. The Greek community established a team under the name Olympia in the 1950’s, which had off and on success throughout their initial years in existence. The team would later change its name to Hellenic (Appendix S)
and under this title, would make it to both the Fireman’s Cup Final and Injured Players Cup Final, only to finish runners up in both of the cup competitions in 1971. With that said, the Greek team finished mid-table in the 1972 SWOSL, coming in 4th place with 13 points (Appendix O).

*Player 1*

Player 1 was born in northern Greece in 1946. He explained that he began to play soccer back in Greece as a young child, and described that it was almost an obligation for boys his age to play soccer. At the age of 13, he began playing competitive soccer in his high school in Greece. Player 1 insisted if he had continued playing in Greece, he would have likely played for a team in the second division as he got older. In 1963, at the age of 17, he decided to come to Canada, and settled in Windsor, Ontario where he had a number of aunts, uncles and cousins who had left Greece some years before him. Player 1 considered himself a Greek Macedonian when he arrived in Canada.

He explained that when he first arrived, he lived in a predominantly Greek neighborhood on the west side of Windsor. He immediately began to take part in the Greek community in Windsor, attending the Hellenic Club for social events and attending the Greek Church. He did not attend school in Canada, as he needed to support himself and find work. Initially, his only interactions with others were with his Greek family members, friends of the family, and other Greeks and Macedonians in the community. Player 1 mentioned that he did not take part in any gatherings, club, programs or events of the greater community when he first arrived. He maintained the Greek culture and traditions, but at the same time did attempt to adopt some cultural traditions of Canadian
life. “You had to try and do something, you know, follow-up with your new life.”

Nevertheless, he still found it very difficult to participate and become involved in the larger society, and insisted that not knowing the English language was the main reason for this. He would speak English with Greek friends who had been here longer in an effort to learn the language, and expressed that some preferred to speak English with him. “Yeah, especially the young people didn't want to talk their foreign language.”

Player 1 began playing soccer in Canada less than a month after he arrived. A friend of his that he met through the Greek community asked him if he played soccer, and introduced him to the Greek and Macedonian teams of the time. When asked why he wanted to play, he said, “There was a lot of competition back in 60s. All the immigrants they had teams and all the nationalities they had teams.” He felt that it was important to represent his heritage on the field. Player 1 recalled how he landed his first job as an assistant cook in a local restaurant through the very same Greek friend who introduced him to the local soccer teams. “So, I met him in soccer, and then, I asked him if I could get a job. And he told me, I'm going to talk to my father, and sure a thing, I was hired 3 or 4 days later. I got the job.” He mentioned that soccer was important for both Greeks and Macedonians in Windsor at the time, which sometimes caused a divide in the teams and the communities. However, that did not matter much to Player 1,

“If I cared too much about politics I wouldn't have played for either team. But I played for both teams, I don't care what they think, I just focus on my game. And I had good success and that's why everybody likes me now. Both sides.”

As a result of his soccer skills, many other ethnic teams would offer him a spot on their team, and he eventually played with Croatia through a connection he had with his family doctor. “Dr. Deculic, he was involved. He's Croatian. He sponsored a team for about 10
years, so I played for him. He was my family doctor, so when I was going to the office, he said you will play with me next year.”

In regards to the Hellenic team in 1972, although it was a Greek team, Player 1 mentioned that everyone was welcome regardless of what nationality they were. They were trying to attract the most talented players to come play for them. He made mention of the team going as far as cities like Chicago to get players, while he also made mention of other nationalities and in particular an Argentinean fellow who played with the team. When asked if he picked up anything from other cultures, he answered, “Yeah…the foods, the language…like you fit in…you get familiar with it.” He agreed that he became exposed to what other ethnic individuals do on their own time, with their own friends, and in their own families. For instance, he recalls his fascination of the food and drink he was exposed to by another player.

“Their tradition, and the food, different food, you know, like, wine, you know homemade wine…you ask them, ‘How you make that? Give me the recipe,’ you know what I mean? It's an exchange, you know what I mean?”

The language that was most commonly spoken on the team was Greek, yet a number of languages could be heard on the team. While Player 1 spoke Greek, he was also able to communicate in Macedonian, and with people of Yugoslavian background. When asked if there was an effort to speak any other language than Greek on the team for those who did not know how to speak Greek, he responded yes. “Let's say if you're Italian, we have a Greek speak Italian… If a Macedonian played for the Greeks, I'll explain to him in Macedonian if I have the time.” He also said English was used as well, “We had some, like Scottish…players from England. So it was embarrassing for us…to use a foreign language, so we would speak English to communicate.” He insisted that his team had
very good relationships with other teams, even though conflicts sometimes arose on the field. He defended this by saying, “It's a sport just like today. If you have two Canadian teams, they still fight….fans want their team to win so. But after that it was all forgotten.” Player 1 insisted that his team encouraged relationships with other ethnic individuals and teams.

When asked how his participation with the Hellenic team strengthened his Greek heritage, he responded, “I didn't focus too much on the parts. I didn't really care if I was Macedonian or Greek.” For him, it was about playing the sport he loved to play, and not about a player’s nationality or politics. Although he insists that the customs and traditions he continues to have today are very much the same as when he first arrived. He is not as actively involved now in the Greek community and its clubs as he was earlier in his life. He agreed that his participation in soccer in Canada helped in his integration into society, as it familiarized him with other people and cultures in the greater community. While he still loves soccer, he has taken up other leisure activities such as golf with many of the friends he made during his involvement in soccer. Today he speaks more English than Greek in the home, and agreed that his participation in soccer reinforced his use of the English language since he was forced to speak it at times. His involvement in soccer in Canada made him realize that he wasn’t alone. “There's other people just like you from all over the world I guess,” he stated. His interest in soccer later opened the door for him to coach youth teams in the Windsor area. Today he considers himself a Canadian, of Greek Macedonian background.
Player 2 was born in 1948 in Greece, and came to Canada in 1951 when he was only three years old. His family came over after an aunt who had already been living in the Windsor, Ontario area made the arrangements to make their immigration possible. When they first arrived, they lived with a Greek family on a farm just outside the city, and a year later found a home of their own in Windsor in what was actually an Italian neighborhood. Growing up, the nationality that he primarily considered himself to be was not Canadian, but Greek.

Player 2 mentioned that his family was one of the early families that organized the Greek community in Windsor. That being said, he was always involved in a number of social gatherings, clubs, programs and events in the Greek community as he was growing up. “Oh yeah. Our group was mainly adults; we didn't have a lot of youth activities for the Greek kids but I was in the first Greek school, I was the first Greek altar boy, that kind of stuff.” When asked in what ways he attempted to maintain his Greek identity, he suggested mainly through family and church, which was where most of the customs and traditions of Greek culture were nurtured. His family would speak to him in Greek, and he was familiar with the Greek language, but he would respond in English. This would ultimately assist his parents in picking up the English language as well. As a result of coming to Canada at such a young age, he was very much integrated in society, and was involved in many of the same social gatherings, clubs, programs and events within the greater Canadian society as well. As such, he grew up very much in tune with the Canadian way of life, attending school from elementary to university level, watching Canadian televisions, and having Canadian friends of all backgrounds. “My brother and
I, we mixed right away with the Canadians. It didn't matter we knew Italians, Chinese, black Canadians….there was a lot of mixture.” While the neighborhood he grew up in was predominantly Italian, people of other ethnic backgrounds also lived close by and he had significant contact with them.

“I actually spoke Italian before I spoke English, and then picked it up…there was Jewish, there was a few black Canadian kids. Then there were also a lot of Serbs and Slavic Macedonians.”

Player 2 revealed that it was his father who influenced him the most to take up the game of soccer. He recalled that his father played for a Romanian team in Detroit when he first arrived in Windsor, and later played for Neerlandia, which was a Dutch team in Windsor. He would later become one of the founding members of the Olympia club for the Greek community. Player 2 first began playing soccer in elementary school, continuing to play straight through high school and immediately began playing with people of all different ethnic backgrounds. When he was 16 years old, he played for his first team in the community, which was primarily an Italian team, and later played for Teutonia.

In the late 1960s, the Hellenic team was created, with his father playing a part in its creation. Player 2 mentioned that soccer had a very big following in the Greek community in Windsor, and the team was important for the group. Through his father, the team approached him to play. Soon after, both he and his brother became part of the original team. Player 2 suggested that playing for Hellenic was a very important means by which he was able to reinforce his Greek identity.

“In senior high school I started playing soccer with the Greek team…previous to that my father played on the first Greek team here, Olympia. So I followed the games. But then as a player I started mixing with other Greek athletes.”
That being said, the team was not restricted to players of Greek ethnicity, and although administrators initially sought out the best Greek players in the area they were open to others playing for them.

“That actually most of the players who played were Greek. But it's not that they preferred it. I remember even my Dad's team Olympia…they always liked other cultures and there was always two or three non-Greeks on the team.”

Those of other ethnic backgrounds on the team were always treated very well and with the utmost respect. When asked if the relationships with other ethnic individuals influenced his personal life, he responded, “You begin to understand some of the language, you see a lot of things that are similar as well as the differences. In fact, you probably wound up seeing more similarities than differences.” Both the Greek and English languages were spoken on the team, “Greeks would speak Greek, but they would also want to speak English…especially the ones who came from Greece wanted to learn English. But I wanted them to speak Greek, so I could learn Greek better.” He insisted that although there were conflicts at times, it was all in the name of sport, and his team respected all others in the league.

Soccer was an important component of his life and allowed Player 2 to learn more about his Greek culture. “Personally, it exposed me more to the language” he said, “With soccer, there were many things I didn't know, so it made me want to learn more…Reinforced it and it opened up new avenues to culture.” He revealed that later in his life, no matter where he went, he continued to carry his Greek identity and would seek to play on Greek teams when he attended university and was living in other regions. While he continues to take part in Greek customs and traditions, he has also extended his interests in other aspects of Greek life such as following Greek media, and regularly goes
to visit his home country. He speaks Greek with his elderly family members, but English with his wife and kids. He recalled that his interactions with non-Greeks made him realize that cultures are more similar than different, and he gained a newfound respect for all of them. Today, he considers himself a Greek Canadian.

Comparison

The interviews with the two individuals from the Hellenic soccer team provided some of the most revealing information of the role of soccer in a particular ethnic community, which in this case was Greek. The players came at very different stages of their life. Player 1 immigrated as a teenager while Player 2 was born in Greece but was raised entirely in Canada. While some similarities could be identified from their experiences, there were also some very clear differences in the purpose of their involvement in soccer and the role it played in their lives.

In regards to cultural assimilation, Player 1 was shown to have experienced a number of culturally significant exchanges with others outside of the Greek community. He was able to practice speaking the English language, and attempted to speak other languages through his participation in soccer. He was also introduced to new foods, traditions, pasttimes and leisure activities, and he was exposed to what other ethnic individuals do on their own time, with their own friends, and in their own families. As for Player 2, he did not inherit any cultural traits of others through his participation, as a result of being very much culturally assimilated from growing up in Canada. Yet, he did use his involvement with the Greek team to learn more about his own Greek culture and learn the Greek language better. In term of structural assimilation, both Players 1 and 2
had a number of interactions with other ethnic communities, new clubs, and individuals within those communities. Player 1 indicated that he had help finding work through the connections and friendships he made through soccer. Player 1 also made more friendships through his involvement than Player 2, because Player 2 grew up in Canada and had already established a number of friends. Player 1 indicated that his involvement aided in his integration into Canadian society, whereas Player 2 was already significantly accustomed to life in Canada.

Although Player 1 demonstrated that it was important for him to play on the Hellenic Club, it was more about playing the sport he loved, whereas Player 2 put a significant amount of emphasis on retaining and fostering his Greek culture and language and playing with other Greeks. Both players respected those who were ethnically different on the team and even played for other ethnic teams at certain times in their career. The team was open to everyone, as long as they were good enough to play. While Greek was primarily spoken, the team made an effort to speak English or another language for those of other ethnic backgrounds.

**Anglo Soccer Club**

The Anglo Soccer Club (Appendix T) was formed in 1967 by a group of British immigrants who had been living in Windsor, Ontario. In just five years, the team won a total of 12 combined trophies in team championships and individual accomplishments. Aside from having rather consistent performances in the soccer leagues throughout Windsor, by the time of their entry into the SWOSL in 1972, they had won no championships or league titles in 1971. Nevertheless, the club was shown to have had a
number of talented players, some the best in the Windsor area, and some quite possibly the best in the country, at one time. Gus Moffat, who was actually a Scottish professional, played with Anglo in 1970 and led them to the Association Cup Championship, only to leave the club after the season to join the Toronto Metros of the North American Soccer League. A number of their players thereafter would go on to win numerous Most Valuable Player titles in the various leagues in which the club played. At the end of the 1972 SWOSL season, the Anglo Club finished in 6th place with 11 points (Appendix O).

**Player 1**

Player 1 was born in 1942 in northern England. As young as he can remember, he played soccer. He recalls practicing with a tennis ball kicking it against the wall when he was just a small boy. He had an uncle who would always bring him to the local stadium to watch the local professional team in the city where he grew up. In 1969, at the age of 27, he decided to come to Canada to find work. He came by himself and initially moved in with a friend of his that he used to work with in a tool shop in England. Upon his arrival, he considered himself British.

Player 1 lived with his friend for his first three months in Canada, and the neighborhood he lived in was very much a mix of all different ethnic backgrounds. He recalled how he arrived on a Wednesday and began work on Friday, as arrangements had already been made through his friend. He immediately worked alongside an ethnically diverse mix of people. While he never became a member of the Anglo Club of Windsor, he did have a number of other English friends. He mentioned that he never lost touch
with his British roots and still maintained the culture and traditions of his background. Given that he was British and already knew the English language, it was easy for him to adjust to life in Canada. He had no problems integrating when he first arrived. As a result, he stated that he became involved in other ethnic communities right away, and suggested that his participation in soccer allowed him to do so.

“I was with Teutonia and I met some terrific people there. In Canada it was an education because in England you don't get so many [ethnic groups] you do get a few, you might get some you know. But on a really small scale kind of thing.”

Player 1 revealed that he never expected to play soccer in Canada. He was surprised to find that Canada was not an “ice berg” as many people had insisted back home in England, and he was even more surprised to find such a thriving soccer scene in the city of Windsor. Through the English friend he initially moved in with, he was introduced to the goalie of Teutonia Club at the time, who was German. The goalie then introduced Player 1 to the Teutonia Club and its soccer team, where he would initially play. Three months after his arrival, the German goalie, who he had since been playing with, rented a room out to him where he lived for sometime afterwards.

Player 1 suggested that the Anglo Club played an important part in fostering his ethnic identity. Speaking about the English players of the league, he recalled,

“Most of them played for different teams. OK? And what we wanted to do, is let's all get together on one team, let's see what we can do. So the English guys, we all got together and… we went from there.”

English was the only language spoken on the team, and no significant effort was made to speak any other language for other players who may have been of another ethnicity. While English expatriates in the area created the team, Player 1 suggested that the team would accept players of other ethnic backgrounds if they were good enough. He
mentioned they had an Italian gentleman who played on the team for quite a long time, and would join the team from time to time. All other ethnic individuals on the Anglo club were treated with a great amount of respect.

As for relationships with other clubs in the league, Player 1 insisted they had a very good relationship with all of them. “After every training session or game, we was always invited back to the club...we always drank, we drank and ate together.” He recalls many instances like this. “We had pizza and it was really like a family affair, you know...when we played against Italia, some games, we always went back and had a few drinks if or when they invited us.” While sometimes fights would occur on the field, he expressed that it was all part of the game and never really extended beyond the field. He explained in further detail that through soccer, he interacted with a number of ethnicities and attended social functions within their community.

“Like I said, it was an education. You've got the Italians, the Germans, Greeks, the Serbs... had so many friends, and went to many, so many functions, and dances and dinners and...meeting such good families, you know?”

Player 1 also recalled the introduction to new foods as a result of attending these functions. “All this ethnic food, it was a joy for me. I was a meat and potato man until I came here, and it educated me. Food and wine and making wine, ya know? So I have to say, that...it broadened my horizons?”

Player 1 suggested that through his participation with the Anglo Club, he valued his own culture but also became more familiar with others. While he had already made a number of friends in the ethnic community through his time with the Teutonia soccer team, he later played for Croatia and Italia where he made many more friendships. He insists that a number of cultural exchanges occurred through his participation in soccer. “I
think we all picked something up from each other actually” he said. Player 1 became more accepting of other cultures through these interactions than he otherwise would have had been in England.

“To be in England, to be around English people you don't have that interaction especially with food and that kind of thing too…[here] you go to barbecues and the pig roasts and all that, and then after, they send in the music…I loved it.”

Today he is not particularly involved with the Anglo Club, and is not involved very much in the greater community. Yet he has a number of friends of all ethnic backgrounds, sometimes attending the community clubs of ethnic groups to watch soccer games.

Player 1 now considers himself primarily Canadian, and English second.

**Player 2**

Player 2 was born in western England in 1938. Just as the previous interviewee and teammate had mentioned, as young as he can remember, he played soccer. He remembers playing on the cobblestone streets outside of his home, which was in an area that was literally flattened by the German bombs during the Second World War. He recalls that his father used to play with him often, and along with their grandfather would go watch the local professional team play their home games almost every week. He played throughout his school days and even up to the technical college level in England, where he developed and became quite good at goal tending. In 1967, at the age of 29, he and his wife decided to move to Canada, and settled in Windsor, Ontario. Player 2 initially perceived himself to be British upon his arrival in Canada.

The immigration office in Windsor immediately found him work and a place to stay within days of arriving in Windsor. The neighborhood he first resided in was
predominately English, with others from the “old country” living in close proximity. He explained that the factory where he first began to work was full of other English immigrants. He recalled that, “They sent all the English guys to Dominion Forge because it's a horrible place to work!” He acknowledged that some other ethnic individuals worked there as well. He looked to become involved immediately with the Anglo Club, and began attending a number of its social events with people of a similar background.

He insists that a week didn’t go by without a party being held with all the English people he met through the club. He maintained a strong sense of being English and continued to foster the customs and traditions of the old country when he first arrived. While he described it as very easy integrating into the Canadian society and interacting with others in the greater community, he did not adopt what he considered Canadian customs and traditions.

Player 2 remembers why he wanted to start playing soccer in Canada. “After leaving your family and my wife's family in England, you know, you kinda look and say, boy we better make some friends soon.” Through the Anglo Club, he met other English men who were eager to put him on the club’s soccer team as they had been looking for a new goalie. Within three days of his arrival, he was playing for the Anglo soccer club. He explained that many of the team’s players were, astonishingly enough, from a 50-mile radius of his home back in England. As a result, his participation in soccer was almost entirely with individuals of British ancestry. He did mention one Italian gentleman, a barber, who played on the team; he established a close relationship with him and his family, regularly attending dinner parties and socials with him. Player 2 suggested that the team was open to anyone, regardless of ethnic background, and if you were good
enough you would play. “You respected them,” he said, “But you still maintained your Anglo identity.” By the time he arrived, the teams itself had been pretty much established with English players. English was primarily spoken on the team, and no effort was made to speak a language for those other ethnic individuals who may have played.

When asked what types of relationships or contacts he had with other ethnic communities in Windsor, he responded that they were primarily, “through the soccer.” While he only played with one other ethnic individual on the Anglo team, he was introduced to a number of other ethnic individuals and their teams through the games they played. He was introduced to a number of new clubs and their social activities through his participation. “We use to go to various nationality dances. Like…the German club, Teutonia club dances, Scottish club dances, and certain others. You know I can't remember off my hand…the Greeks…ah, the Hungarian dances.” He mentioned that the team would sometimes clash with the Germans. “They just didn’t like us,” he said. Although they had bitter rivalries with them on the field, he said the Anglo Club had a good relationship with all the teams of the league when not competing.

Player 2 insisted that his soccer team strengthened his sense of being an Englishman in Canada. “It strengthened my English upbringing, to a fact that I think I would have been back in England.” He also acknowledged that it introduced him to a number of different cultures, and more importantly made him more accepting of them. He became more accepting of people from within the other ethnic communities and made a number of non-British friends. He even played for the Scots team at the end of his playing career in Windsor. He also became a coach and referee in the
Windsor soccer community for many years. Today he continues to frequent the Anglo Club and its social activities and the majority of his close friends continue to be British. He now considers himself a Canadian of British descent.

Comparison

Both Player 1 and 2 of the Anglo team in 1972 revealed many similar findings in regards to their soccer experiences in Canada. Both came to Windsor, Ontario almost midway into their adult lives, and for both, there was no question as to how important soccer was in their lives back home in England and in Canada as well. Both of the players sought out and played their first soccer in Canada less than a week from when they arrived and had little trouble integrating into the social environment of their new home. Though their experiences through soccer in Canada are unique in the way in which they were introduced to other ethnic individuals, their initial contact with other ethnic communities were primarily through their participation in soccer.

In regards to cultural assimilation, Player 1 is shown to have experienced the most culturally enlightening experiences with others through his involvement. He was introduced to new foods, pasttimes and leisure opportunities, media, and experienced cultural exchanges all through his interactions with other ethnic individuals he came into contact with through the game. Player 2 was more limited, but did engage in some new leisure opportunities and was exposed to the culture and traditions of others. Neither Player 1 nor 2 made any significant mention of becoming familiar with or using a language other than English through their interactions. As for structural assimilation, Player 1 again noted the most relevant changes to his personal and interpersonal life. He
fostered a number of new friendships, became involved in a number of other ethnic clubs aside from his own, and interacted with other ethnic communities. He even found a place to live through the relationships he developed on his soccer team. Player 2 only made mention of making new friends, some interactions with other ethnic community clubs, and stated his involvement helped him adapt to life in Canada.

Both Players 1 and 2 suggested that playing for the Anglo soccer club helped them foster their English background. They spoke only English on their team, and although they valued relationships with others, they indicated that the vast majority of players on the team were English. Soccer was used to meet and play with other English people in the Windsor community and their participation created social opportunities for them after they played. They did, however, respect the other ethnic players and teams of the league and attended various social events that their community club held on a number of occasions. Both insisted that all were welcome to play and skill was much more important than ethnic background. Both interviewees made a number of friends with other ethnic individuals. While Player 1 played for a number of different ethnic teams and emphasized his valuing of diversity quite often, Player 2 would only eventually play for one other team, the Scots, and generally remained in the social circles of other British groups.

**Scots Soccer Club**

The Scots Soccer Club (Appendix U) was formed just a year prior to the creation of the 1972 SWOSL inaugural season. As was revealed in the interviews, there was a Scottish team in Windsor throughout the 1960s, but it caused discord in the Scottish
Initially, the team was named the Windsor Rangers, which back in Scotland was the team supported by the Protestant population in Glasgow. Thus, it is easy to see why some in the Windsor Scottish community at the time had trouble accepting this team as their own and representative of all Scottish in Windsor. As a result, members of the club decided it would be best to rearrange both the management and organization of the club. In 1971, the newly formed Scots Soccer Club played in its first competitions in Windsor. They experienced mediocre success in the SWOSL in 1972, finishing 5th place in the league table with 12 points (Appendix O).

Manager

The manager of the 1972 Scots team was born in 1934 in Scotland. He indicated that he first began playing soccer, jokingly, as soon as he could start using his feet. He had brothers that he grew up playing with, and as he got older himself, would frequent live soccer matches of his favorite team. In 1966, when he was 32 years old, he decided he would come to Canada in search of a better life for his family. Leaving his family in Scotland before he could get settled, he made the journey alone to Windsor, Ontario. Upon his arrival, he considered himself Scottish.

He came to Windsor with a Scottish friend and lived in a boarding house at first. He explained that since he arrived in the winter, and there was no Scottish Club in the city when he first arrived, his involvement in the Scottish community was initially non-existent. He recalls that he met eventually another Scottish gentleman who had a short wave radio that would pick up Scottish soccer matches, which is how they would spend their weekends. Eventually, he said the Scottish Club would open and that made it easier
to interact with others of the same ethnic origin. “It helped a little bit. Oh yeah, because we realized you weren't the only one. There were tons of Scottish people here but we didn't know anybody at the time.” As for taking part in the greater Canadian society, he stated that it was relatively easy for him as he spoke the language and really had no problem integrating. He found work the day after he arrived, through the immigration office, for a plumbing, electrical and mechanical wholesaler. He said he worked alongside Canadians, and there were no ethnic individuals who worked there. The coach recalled that his first interactions with other ethnic people would come in the summer time, through soccer. “We went and watched some of the soccer games at Teutonia. So we started to get into Teutonia Club, and you know, went to Italian clubs. You know, because of soccer.”

The coach mentioned that there was a Scottish soccer team in Windsor when he first arrived and he did play a couple games with them, The Windsor Rangers. Though he said, for a number of reasons, it did not last. “There was a resentment among the owner, and the people that run the club, and stuff like that, to make changes. So, the thing dissolved.” By the time it became defunct, the coach was already in his early thirties. “I had played a couple games [with the Rangers], and realized I was getting too old for the game, but I had always wanted to help coach a team.” So with him at the helm, they created a new, organized, team known as the Scots in 1971.

When asked how he went about recruiting players for the team, he recalls at first there was a preference for Scottish players. “You would hear somebody had just arrived, and you would go and check them out. See if they could kick the ball. If he was good, he played. [laugh].” Eventually, they would open up the team to other ethnicities. “Later on
as we got established, we started signing other nationalities that were good players. Real
good players.” English was the language spoken on the team, and there was never an
effort to speak another language for other ethnic individuals if they did play on the team.
The coach also mentioned that after a period of time, Scottish players began “jumping
ship” and going to play for other ethnic teams if they were good enough. “Well, after a
while the Croatian team which was a great team and the Italian team started signing our
better players.” He recalls that he and his players had good relationships with the other
ethnic individuals who did play for them, treating them with respect while introducing
them to new social events. “They went to the dances, and they went to the social
gatherings and things like that.” They would also attend socials at the Scottish club,
where they would be introduced to Scottish culture. “We'd take them up to the Scottish
club. But we’d try to make them Scottish, [laugh]. Instead of us learnin' from them, we
just made them Scottish.” He personally found the Anglo Club and its players the easiest
to interact with, as they were British and could relate with them. “Well we could all talk
the same stuff. Talk, you know. Relate to each other more.” Other than that, he recalled
that he made no close relationships with other ethnic individuals on other teams. “Always
very friendly with them,” he said, “…but not close.” He and the Scots had a trophy made
for each of the clubs in the league, honoring their participation. “We gave their clubs a
trophy because we knew that work is keeping soccer alive.” This was, and the coach
agrees, a sign of valuing the relationships with the other teams of the league. When
asked if the Scots had conflicts with particular teams in the league, he jokingly remarked,
“everyone” though he insisted it was never anything serious and all part of the game.
“Our group would fight and it would be over with. Next week we would be friends with
the guys. Maybe even see each other at the social gatherings.”

The coach agreed that for him, the Scots team reinforced his Scottish identity and he was proud to represent the Scottish in Windsor. He never did consider representing any other team but the Scots. At the same time, it helped him integrate with other ethnic groups in the community and exposed him to relationships and contacts in the other ethnic communities he would have otherwise never had, though they did not influence his personal life in any way.

“You got to know the Germans, you got to know the Hungarians, like the Serbs, the Greeks, you know…It's amazing because I know so many of them…you go into the grocery store, and somebody will wave you over and go ‘How's it going?’…and it's all through football.”

He felt less like an immigrant and more like he belonged. “But as I say, the more we were involved and the more people came out, we seemed to be the majority. [laugh]” Today, he still goes to the Scottish club quite often and is a member of the Celtic supporters club in the city. The majority of his close friends are still Scottish, but as was demonstrated, he knows quite a number of people from other ethnic backgrounds as well. Today, he considers himself a Canadian of Scottish background.

**Player 2**

Player 2 was born in Scotland in 1943. He began playing soccer as a schoolboy, as may of the boys did, and became quite good as a goalkeeper. By the time he was 14, he played for the junior club of the soccer team in his city. He revealed that a couple large European teams had their eye on him, though no opportunity to break into the professional leagues ever manifested itself. Nevertheless, he eventually entered a trade college where he continued playing for 4 years. At the age of 22, he decided that he wanted to move to Canada in search of work. In 1966, he immigrated to Montréal where
he initially lived with a girlfriend that came over with him. He did not mention that he played soccer in Montréal, though he did play competitive rugby with an Irish team. He resettled in Windsor, Ontario in 1970. Player 2 considered himself Scottish when he arrived.

Player 2 recalls he immediately began living in a mixed neighborhood, although there were a few other Scottish families in the area. Even still, he got to meet a number of other individuals like himself through the various Scottish social circles in the city. He did not find it difficult to maintain his Scottish culture and traditions in his own life. He surrounded himself with other Scottish people, especially those he met through soccer. “My social circle was basically all Scottish because I trained with those guys for football and, you know, stuff like that.” When asked if he found it difficult to participate or get involved in the greater society outside of the Scottish community, he insisted, “I found it pretty easy integrated into the ethnic mixes. It was easy for me.” Adjusting to life in Canada in general was not a difficult task for him as he described, “Well I found the culture here is very close to the UK and it's not a big step from the UK to Canada because the whole structure is very similar.” His work experiences in Canada introduced him to a number of people from different ethnic communities. Both in Montréal and in his first job in Windsor, he worked alongside Italians, Greeks, Scotts, Irish, English, and Germans, and always found it enjoyable working with them. “We had a lot of fun together actually.” Aside from work, his involvement in soccer was the only other outlet of communication he had with such diverse groups. “After awhile, I mean a year or two after playing soccer, you get to know everybody because you bump into everybody all the time.”
When asked how important soccer was in the Scottish community in Windsor when he first arrived, he suggested it was quite important. “Oh, extremely popular, extremely important, because it held us all together, you know, out there in that respect it was the glue.” He first began playing with the Windsor Rangers, but mentions there were many problems with this team. “It was called Windsor Rangers at the time, which caused a little bit of friction within the Scottish community because of the religious aspect of it.”

Back in Scotland, Rangers was the name of the team in Glasgow that Protestants followed, and Celtic followers were Catholic. Player 2 said none of this ever mattered to him, as he was never really religious.

Eventually, he and a number of Scottish friends that he ironically played soccer against back home in Scotland and reunited with in Windsor would help form the Windsor Scots in 1971. “It’s your own people, your background, you tend to gravitate to your own kind of people you know?” At the same time, though, he indicates that he would have played for anyone. “When I first came to Windsor, it never really mattered to me who I played for. The Windsor Scots was the team I played for because it was my group and I loved my group…but I would have played with anybody.” While he played with the Scots, his participation in soccer was not just with people of his own ethnicity. “There was other guys that played for us. Funny enough, there was two German boys that played for the Windsor Scots.” He insisted there was never a preference for only selecting Scottish players. “Well, we tried to get Scottish guys obviously… but we never said no to a player that wanted to play for us… If he could play football and he liked playing for us, that was good.” Player 2 insisted that other ethnic individuals were always shown a great deal of respect. “Well it opened up my mind to foreign, I hate to
use the word foreign, to different ethnic backgrounds…it broke me into all the different ethnic groups.” He agreed that the friendships he made with other ethnic individuals through his involvement influenced his personal life as well. While English was the language spoken on the team, Player 2 would go out of his way to try and speak the languages of the other ethnic individuals he played with. “I took German in school. I spoke very badly. [laugh]. But I picked up a bit because of people I met. Germans and even Italian. ‘Mia moglie e arrabbiata,’ Stuff like that. [laugh].” A number of the contacts that he made through his involvement in soccer became especially useful once he got into business for himself.

“When I started my business it was very helpful. Helpful because the Hungarian guy at tool shops, I did business with him, and because of soccer I knew him. So it was a good introduction. Same with the German guys…it was good to know guys that were doing business, and we were all in related businesses.”

He mentioned that while his team got along with all the other team of the league, they established a pretty good relationship with the Anglo Club, although they “hated each other” on the field. “We didn't really have super-duper connections with any of the teams. But we always had really good relationships and some a little closer than others.” Speaking in regards to all the teams, he said, “We had picnics with the other teams…mixed banquets…they came here, we went to theirs once in a while. Not all the time, but most of the time we were on good relations.” He did mention that whenever they met the Hellenic club, it was a really dirty game.

Player 2 insisted a number of times the Scots Soccer Club acted as a glue that helped keep the Scottish community together. He mentioned that he made a number of life lasting friendships, which carried over to his working life as well. He insisted that certain preconceptions he had of other ethnic groups were erased as a result of constantly
interacting with other ethnic individuals on the soccer field. “Yeah, changed a little. Yeah, it did a bit…I became much more accepting.” He recalls how he perceived Windsor when he first arrived.

“When I first came to this part of the world, the Windsor area, the ethnics were pretty violent. No, I hate to use the word violent, it was pretty intense, the games, and sometimes it got really intense. I'm talking about in the beginning. The nationalities stuff. You know, the English guys used to call the Scottish guys names and call the German guys names and the Italian guys names.”

But he insisted through the years, and through soccer, all that seemed to dissolve. “It was very nasty at times, but in general, as the years went by, it became more amicable…still a lot of tense rivalries, but less the ethnic stuff.” Today he admits that the ties to Scotland are not as strong as they once were. He has a number of friends from all different ethnic backgrounds, and now considers himself Canadian first, and Scottish second.

Comparison

The two individuals from the Scots team revealed many similarities in regards to their own experiences with the game of soccer in Canada and their involvement with the Scots soccer club in 1972. In regards to cultural assimilation, both individuals mentioned experiencing some sort of cultural exchanges with others while having been introduced to new pastimes and leisure opportunities with other groups through their involvement in soccer. However, only Player 2 revealed that he was exposed to new languages on the team. Neither of the players gave any indication of being culturally assimilated through the game any further than the above mentioned variable. As for how their involvement aided their structural assimilation, both players made a number of new friends, were welcomed into new clubs in the community, were introduced to new cultures on a personal level, and suggested their participation helped them adjust to life in Canada.
Player 2 revealed that the contacts made through soccer helped him with his own 
business endeavors when he started up his own business.

The Scots soccer club played an important role in keeping the Scottish community 
together. Both players suggested that the team itself helped them meet new Scottish 
friends, and the majority of those involved with the team were Scottish. The team’s 
existence was a way in which they could continue to foster their Scottish heritage in 
Canada. Player 2 mentioned that a rivalry with the English even surfaced on the playing 
field, though it never carried over to the player’s lives after the game was played. Player 
1 mentioned that although his team was aggressive with everyone on the field, especially 
the Anglo Club, they established friendly relationships with all of them while even 
honoring them with appreciation trophies. The Scots club also arranged a number of 
social events for the team, its players and other teams to attend. The team was open to all 
players, and the two individuals in question made a number of friends. The interviewees 
along with the other members of the team attended social events put on by other teams in 
their league. In the case of Player 2, he actually began to learn a couple of new languages 
other than English through these interactions. Both individuals mentioned that generally, 
the Scots club and its players had a great deal of respect for others in the league, 
establishing good relations with nearly all the other ethnic teams.

Croatia Soccer Club

By 1972, the Croatian Soccer Club (Appendix V) had been in existence for 10 
years and had already established itself as one of the most talented teams in the Windsor 
community. In this short period of time, the team had won several trophies such as the 
Essex Kent County Championship twice in three years, as well as the Walter Lomas
Championship. A number of their players were nominated and won an array of individual accomplishments on an annual basis. Furthermore, the team had a very strong following in the community. Croatia finished an impressive 3rd place with 14 points in the 1972 SWOSL league table (Appendix O).

Player 1

Player 1 was born in 1953 in the Croatian region of what was then Yugoslavia. He began playing soccer as a young boy, before he ever enrolled in school. Eventually, when he did attend school, he would play with the boys in the grades above him because he was very talented. By the time he turned 17, his family decided to come to Canada. He immigrated to Windsor, Ontario in 1970 with 7 of his family members.

Player 1 and his family arranged to stay with relatives who had already immigrated years before. He found it easy to maintain his Croatian heritage when he first arrived. While there were not very many Croatians in his neighborhood, there was a very large Croatian community in Windsor at the time. His relatives soon introduced them to the Croatian social circle. Every Saturday there were festivals, dances, picnics, and other events, while he also attended the Croatian church. As a result, his first friends were limited to other Croatians in the city. Player 1 spoke Croatian with family and friends, and the only school he attended in Canada was two weeks of night school to attempt to learn English. Aside from his limited schooling, he went straight to work as he recalled everyone had to contribute to support the family. While jobs were easy to come by, he usually jumped from place to place always looking for something better. He began working as a shoeshine boy and eventually landed a job as a butcher at a meat market.
Through his various jobs, he interacted with other ethnic groups in the community. Player 1 mentioned it was difficult for him to take part in the greater community when he first arrived due to his inability to speak English.

In 1970, two weeks after his arrival in Canada, Player 1 first began playing soccer at the age of 17, although he did not play any competitive games until the following season. Since he arrived in July, the Croatian team was already halfway into the season. Despite his mid-season arrival, he immediately began practicing with the Croatian team. He revealed that the team would get up to 30 to 40 people just at practice. “I played only with Croatia,” he said, “They were never just Croatian. They were all mixed…we had at least three, four other players…Didn't matter…German…Hungarian.” He insists that aside from work, soccer was his only other contact with people from outside his own ethnic community.

These interactions only intensified by the time he played for the team in 1972. “Through the games, I met a lot of other people, like Italians and Greeks.” When asked if the Croatia team ever had a preference for recruiting Croatian players only, he responded, “You know, they needed certain spots, or whatever. They went out, and looked if they could get somebody…they didn't have to be Croatian.” According to him, a lot of friendships were made this way. Indicating that he, “met lot a good players and good people and they definitely extended to your personal life because through the friendships you made,” he stated that he learned a thing or two about them and where they came from.

“Well you learn about the other people this way too because everybody brings something with them. No matter where they go, they are always going to bring something with them. So, you learn things…everybody does.”
Player 1 revealed that he ultimately found his father a job through a relationship he had established with someone on the Croatia soccer team. “He went into Fords, he got in it…because of my soccer…you know through people I knew.” He agreed that his involvement on the team also helped him improve his English abilities. “Well, it has helped me, with the other people you know? You learn. You have to go with somebody that doesn’t speak your language if you want to learn something.” He insisted that English wasn’t the only language used on the team, as Croatian among others was spoken. He described that players would attempt to speak other languages for those of different ethnic backgrounds. “Because we had 3,4,5 sometimes, different players…You didn't wanna be ignorant, and well you have to speak whatever. Sometimes you get made fun of but [laugh] what are you gonna do?”

He described the relationship he and his team had with other teams in the league as generally good, and while the games were “tough” afterwards they would usually go for a drink with their competitors. He did mention one team that Croatia did not particularly gel with and that was the Maple Leafs, noting that it was considered a Serbian team. “Well, those days we had a lot of, between us and Serbs, a lot of conflicts. Conflicts, little fights, things like that. But that was all probably brought from back home.” Nevertheless, Player 1 generally felt that his team valued and encouraged relationships with other groups.

Player 1 suggests that playing for Croatia strengthened his sense of being part of the Croatian community. “I was proud of what I was, so that’s where I wanted to play.” He also agrees that his participation made him more accepting of other cultures he encountered. Today, he has friends from all ethnic backgrounds. This, he suggests, can
be attributed to his time playing soccer. He continues to maintain the very same Croatian customs and traditions he was brought up with, although he does not frequent the Croatian community club often. He will, however, go from time to time to the other ethnic clubs in the community, and insists he will always find a friend there. Soccer also helped considerably with his English, as he said the only way he could have learned it was “getting out” there and forcing himself to speak the language. When asked how different his life may have been if soccer didn’t exist when he first came to Canada, he indicated that he probably would not have interacted with other ethnic groups. “Soccer made, I think, things go easier on me. Just because it provided that door to get to them. It opened that door.” He now considers himself a Canadian Croat. “I love where I come from. But, I love it here now, too.”

Player 2

Player 2 was also born in 1953 in the Croatian region of what was then Yugoslavia. He began playing soccer as a very young boy, and then became involved competitively around the age of 10. In 1970, when he was 17 years old, his family decided to reunite with a grandfather and his brother who had already immigrated to Canada at different times, and they settled in Windsor, Ontario.

His grandfather had been in Canada since 1923, and as a result introduced him to many of the Canadian customs and traditions in his household. His family also maintained his Croatian culture and traditions, and their language was spoken in his home. His brother, who also played soccer had arrived two years earlier, and helped him adjust to life in Canada as he became accustomed to life in the city. He held his Croatian culture and traditions close, attended their church frequently, continued to listen to
Croatian music, and read a weekly Croatian newspaper that he would receive by mail.

Player 2 explained that the language barrier is really what stunted him from fully integrating into society. “The language was the hardest part. Because I didn't speak good English...I mostly went to the church or Croatian gatherings at the Croatian club so that I could talk to people in Croatian because I didn't speak English.” He would attend English school for the first 6 months in Windsor, and then he found a job with a local collision business. “Well the first people I got to know once I started school for English…and then once I got a job, then you meet a lot of other people.” He worked alongside Italians at work, though there was another Croatian gentleman working with him. The majority of his friends were Croatian when he first came to Canada. While he did meet people while attending English school and work, he recalls how he met his close friends. These friends came from, “Around the clubs, soccer club, and then the social club and the church.”

Player 2 revealed that he arrived in Windsor in the spring and in April he immediately began practicing with the Croatian team. His brother brought him to practice as he thought it would help relieve his homesickness. “A lot of people used to come out, just to watch the practice,” he said, “So then this way, you know, oh, there's a newcomer. You know, this guy just came. So you get you know everybody. Everyone comes around and wants to meet you and that's how I got to know a lot of people.”

Player 2 revealed that soccer in the Croatian community was not only important, but it was a freedom of expression.

“Well, it was very important because back home, it was a communist government. Fans or people couldn't really express themselves and here was more of free country. So, with soccer we tried to express our political views.”
He did, however, play for the Italian team first when he arrived, as the collision business where he worked had sponsored a team and the Croatian team had a number of players to choose from. He would go on to play for the Croatian soccer team by 1972. For him, it just made sense, as he was Croatian and wanted to represent them and he could communicate with others more easily in Croatian since he didn’t know English very well.

Speaking in regards to the team in 1972, he revealed that the team always had people of other ethnic backgrounds at practices.

“There’s Hungarians, and Slovak people. They just, in between practices, would show up and then you just go there, come over, and, you know, you join one side. There was a lot of people involved besides ours.”

Player 2 indicated that the coach had many people from which to choose a team, as there were many Croatian soccer players, and he would even choose players from other ethnic backgrounds if they were good enough. “To be the best, you had to get from other nationalities or whatever countries. There are some players that are good players that could help out, so that's why we did it.” If chosen, other ethnic players were not only treated with respect, but the Croatian players and fans often went the extra mile to make sure they were treated better. Both Croatian and English was spoken on the team, and while it helped Player 2 with his English, it also forced the ethnic others on the team to learn a bit of Croatian. He mentions that interactions with other ethnic individuals extended to his personal life as well.

“Yeah, we went around to different halls. And then you see whenever they have something on, we would go, you know…it was no problem. Even though you play for a different team, we use to go there, and get together…introduced to other people the food, the culture, and everything.”

He also recalled how players on his team helped newcomers in the community find jobs.

“Especially newcomers, you know. If they came, and were married, they had family, a
kid or two, they needed a job right away.” He insisted that they were willing to help with little hesitation. “People came out, stepped up… some of them maybe they weren't even qualified to do it. But they helped them out for a while, and you know, in a couple of years they learned the trade, they got their papers.” As for relationships with other teams, he expressed that for the most part, his team had good relations with the other teams of the league, though a constant feud existed with the Serbians. “Strictly on politics. Whatever was happening back home, regional differences.” Despite the feud, he said he never would get involved, as he did not want to risk losing time at work over an injury or getting into trouble. The fights and riots were not uncommon when the two teams met, but it was the spectators that usually were the ones to initiate the conflicts.

Player 2 revealed that he was very proud to wear the colours of Croatia for his soccer team, and strengthen his sense of being Croatian, mainly because he could not do it back home in Yugoslavia. It allowed him and others of Croatian descent to distinguish themselves, which was an impossible task back in their home country. He still maintains his Croatian culture and traditions to this day. His participation also introduced him to a number of cultures, and extended his initial friendships with mainly Croatians to others of different ethnic backgrounds. His participation in soccer helped him with the transition when coming from a foreign country to Canada. “It helped, yeah…like I said, you get to know a lot of other people. Customs, the things they did…their foods and, it helped. Even their music.” It also affected his personal life to a degree. “You pick up a little bit from everybody and try to pass it on, or use it in my own life.” He agreed that his participation aided in his integration into society, much more than if he hadn’t played at all. He found it more comfortable interacting with others, which translated into his everyday life.
“When you were involved in [soccer] and you get to work everybody would ask you. You talk to people about the game, you know… there was something to talk about. Even though it was hard, for a while it was really harder, like I said I didn't know the language. But slowly, I was getting better at English and it helped.”

Player 2 later became involved as a coach in the soccer community in Windsor. He now has a number of friends of all different backgrounds, not just within the Croatian community. He considers himself first and foremost Croatian, but is now a Canadian citizen.

Comparison

Both of the individuals who were interviewed from the Croatia soccer team provided a great comparison for this particular team, as both were originally from the exact same region, born in the same exact year, and came to Canada at the same exact age as a teenager. Both mentioned that they were actively engaged in the Croatian community when they first arrived, and both found it difficult to integrate as a result of their difficulty mastering the English language. The two individuals also had interactions with others at work, however, both mentioned that participating in soccer was one of the first ways they made such interactions.

In terms of cultural assimilation, the two individuals agreed that they experienced a number of cultural exchanges through their participation. Also, their involvement in soccer not only helped them learn the English language, but both suggested that they attempted to speak languages other than English and Croatian on the team for those teammates who were ethnically different. Only Player 2 made any significant mention of being introduced to or adopting new pastimes and leisure activities, foods, and new media particularly in the form of popular Italian music at the time. As for structural
assimilation, both were either personally affected or witnessed other players help find work for other individuals in the ethnic community. Player 1 and 2 agreed that they made a number of new friends through their participation in soccer, not only within the Croatian community but with others. As a result, they were introduced and invited to the other ethnic clubs in the city, and exposed to their ethnic cultures. In both cases, it assisted Player 1 and 2 in adapting to their new life in Canada. It helped them get out and meet new people. This was particularly important in the case of Player 2, as it helped him combat homesickness.

The two individuals felt that it was important to play for the Croatia soccer club because that is where they came from, and they felt proud doing so, since they could not be openly expressive of their Croatian culture back home in Yugoslavia. While they encountered other Croatians through their participation with the team, they also met many non-Croatians and respected players of other ethnicities. Both agreed that soccer was used in a way that resurfaced conflicts from back home, particularly with the Serbian representation in the league, and it was an outlet for demonstrating their political differences. Nevertheless, the Croatian team was open to all players, regardless of ethnic background, and all players were treated with respect. If a player was skilled enough, he would be chosen to represent the club.

**Hungaria Soccer Club**

The Hungarian community, just like their European cousins from Germany and Italy, were amongst the first of the ethnic communities to establish soccer teams in the Windsor, Ontario region. This particular team, the Hungaria Soccer Club (Appendix W), was itself established in 1968 under the name “Attila,” only to change its name to
“Hungaria” in 1969. By the time they entered the SWOSL in 1972, the team had won the Essex Kent Second Division West Championship along with the Eastern and Western Division Playoff Championship. At the end of its first season in the league they made a less than favorable finish at 7th place with 10 points (Appendix O).

*Player 1*

Player 1 was born in Hungary in 1952. He began playing soccer back in his home country as a boy, but recalled that he was never really considered “that good.” In 1965, at the age of 13, his family decided to come to Canada and reunite with a grandfather who immigrated some time before them and settled in Windsor, Ontario. Only when he arrived in Canada did his participation become more pronounced, as he recalled he was better than most children his age. Player 1 considered himself Hungarian when he first arrived to Canada.

In his neighborhood, there were some other Hungarian families, but it was predominantly mixed with families of different ethnic backgrounds. When asked if he took part in the culture, traditions and overall Hungarian community in Windsor, he answered,

“Very much so. Especially in the beginning. My grandfather was here for 30 years, so, he was sort of one of the founding people in some organizations. So we were more or less expected to and forced to, even if you didn't want to [laugh], get involved in the ethnic [community].”

Despite his involvement in the Hungarian community, he didn’t get involved in the greater community as much. This, he suggests, was particularly because he did not know the English language very well. “Lot of the associations were with members of the Hungarian families with children my age that were born here. So, they were, more or
less, speaking both languages.” He explained that in the home, his parents remained very much tied to their roots as well, as they did not speak any English and all their contacts were with others in the Hungarian community. The same could be said for Player 1, “A lot of my friendships and whatever in the beginning developed through our ethnic community.” After entering elementary school, where teachers forced him to repeat grade 7, he learned the English language relatively quickly. He would even join a local community youth group. “I got into the CYO. I wasn't even Catholic but I got involved,” he recalls. Aside from this youth group, he said that he did not really get involved in other factions of the greater community. “Got involved in some of the things but as I said, not so many extra curricular other than sports and maybe, you know, just bumming around, playing a little bit of ball at the schoolyard.”

It was through sports, particularly soccer where he would make a number of friends. He immediately began playing soccer from the moment he attended school.

“As an immigrant…there was a lot of Italians…some Germans, and what not. And then, most of those people ended up somehow playing soccer. So, we did become friends, mostly through soccer.”

Player 1 insisted his love of soccer is how he made one of his most significant friendships when he first came to Canada. “Well one of my close friends who played soccer came to Canada about six months earlier and he was Danish, and he loved soccer,” he recalled. “So we became very close friends for a long time because of, you know, the fact that we were both immigrants, Danish and Hungarian, and we played soccer together a lot.”

Once he entered high school, he recalled being better than most the players he went to school with. He became captain of the high school team, while his teachers held him back another year saying that his English was not yet good enough.
Player 1 began playing for a team in the Hungarian community at the age of 15.

The only team he wanted to play for was the Hungarian team.

“I was so heavily involved in the Hungarian community with other things. Like some of the soccer people were involved in other activities, you know like the church, the Hungarian Club…there really was no other option for me.”

He revealed that soccer was a very important part for the Hungarian community in Windsor at the time.

“It was a big thing for the Hungarian Club, because there would be soccer banquets, and then people would bring their family around. And then there was a way of integrating a lot of people from different walks of lives. And then, there was a few people that owned businesses… they all would…throw money in the kitty. And of course the fun part was after every soccer game there was a nice meal somewhere and all the booze you can drink.”

He insisted that the Hungaria soccer club would usually have people of other ethnic backgrounds on the team. While the language most commonly used on the team was Hungarian, an effort was made to speak English for others who did not understand.

“Definitely…if there were 3 or 4 of those guys around of course, we would definitely speak English.” The Hungaria team was open to recruiting individuals from the other ethnic teams, usually because their teams were flooded with talent.

“We had a German fellow who wasn’t good enough to make the German team at Teutonia…he was a very conscious, physical, hard working type of individual…then we had an Italian fellow that always wanted to play center forward, but he wasn’t good enough to be number one center forward on the Italian team but he was good enough to be center forward on our team…there was a couple of Macedonian Greek fellows that really didn't like the way the Macedonians or Greeks did their operation, so they ended up gravitating to our team.”

Player 1 mentioned that these ethnically different individuals were usually shown more respect on the team due to the fact that the team was happy and fortunate that they chose to come play with them. He made a number of friendships, not only with the other ethnic
individuals on his team but throughout the league, as he stated that the Hungaria team pretty well got along well with all of them. They also influenced his social life. “The parties, you go to the parties that they throw, you're involved in the celebrations that they have.” Player 1 also experienced cultural exchanges that he otherwise would not have had through his interaction with such individuals on his team and in the league. “Well you learn about how they live, their foods, what they drank… I guess you do learn and appreciate and understand where they come from and what they did.” While sometimes games would become heated confrontations, Player 1 insisted it was all part of the game. “Even if you played rough, when the game was over you shook hands and that was it.”

Player 1 agreed that playing for the Hungaria team strengthened his sense of being a Hungarian. “Well, in one sense, it did. You know, it kept the identity, it kept the relationships, it kept the language… it did foster relationships with more Hungarians.” He went on to say it also fostered relationships with other groups. “There was a large Hungarian [presence] but, I think it was intermingled with the other social relationships, too.” He also noted that he made some great friendships as well. “Some of my closest friends became friends because of our involvement in soccer. Because when you train, you play, you travel, you do spend a lot of time together.” He agreed that through his experiences through soccer and with others, he became more accepting of other cultures, and more open to understanding where they came from. Today, he does admit that his Hungarian culture and traditions aren’t as pronounced in his family life as they once were. After his involvement with the Hungaria soccer club, he refereed for a period of time in the soccer community in Windsor. Today, he considers himself a Canadian of Hungarian heritage.
Player 2

Player 2 was born in Hungary in 1935. He first took an interest in soccer around the age of five when he would go to the local park and admire the older children as they played. As he got older, he played throughout his school years, but never at any elite level. In 1957, at the age of 22, he came to Canada and settled in Montréal. There, he lived with a French Canadian family where he learned English and French for the first six months in Canada. As soon as he felt comfortable enough with the languages, he moved out on his own. He moved to Windsor in 1966 with a friend and found a job as a chef. He considered himself Hungarian.

Upon his arrival in Windsor, he immediately tried to meet other Hungarians in the city, and the way in which he did so was through the Hungarian Club. He met a number of people by attending the Hungarian church, and attending the picnics and social gatherings the club organized. In two months time, he exclaimed that he met everyone there was to meet in the Hungarian community. “You know, once you get into the club, you met the guys. They introduce you to everybody.” He placed quite an importance on maintaining his Hungarian identity and culture, and even when he had kids made sure they attended a Hungarian school to learn the language. Having just arrived in Windsor, the majority of his friends were Hungarian, as initially he only had contact with other individuals through the club. He did not take part in the greater community in Montréal, or when he first arrived in Windsor since both cities had quite a large Hungarian community, thus he never had to stray too far away from that community. He spoke Hungarian both in the home and with his friends, as they were all Hungarian. As his English was better than most, typically his friends who did not speak very well would use
him as a translator and interpreter when interacting in the greater community.

Player 2 first played soccer in Canada in Montréal. He recalled the first thing he and his friends, who were also Hungarians, did when summer arrived was grab a ball and head to a local park to play soccer. It was this kick about that would begin his soccer career in Canada, as a local Italian team in Montreal took notice and approached him.

“The first summer we went out to the park…couple of friends of mine, all Hungarian…we brought a couple of soccer balls…just kicking them around, fooling around, and the Italian team was practicing there. Probably they saw me play [like] the Italian guys, and one guy came over and talked to me about if I would like to play for them. I said sure, why not.”

For the next 8 years in Montréal, he would play for Italian teams such as Montréal Italian and Cantalia, where he made a number of friends outside of the Hungarian community.

Player 2 remembered one of the first conversations he had in the Hungarian club when he arrived in Windsor, which ultimately began his soccer career in this area. “They asked, what are your favorite sports…and the first thing I said was soccer. Well, we have a soccer club, would you like to join us? Of course I would [laugh].” He mentioned that he had no contact with any of the other ethnic groups in Windsor until he began playing soccer. By 1972 soccer in the Hungarian community in the city was a very important social event. “It kept us together more, even socially. Any time you went to a social event, most of the time they were talking about the soccer game; what's going to be, how it was, who played well, who played not-so-well, and stuff like that.” Players were usually recruited from within the Hungarian community by word of mouth. He noted that the more players came out the better since the players on Hungaria, along with the other teams of the league for that matter, usually worked shifts and could not make it all the time. In his own opinion, everyone was welcome to play on the Hungaria soccer
club. When asked if they only accepted Hungarians, he answered, “Not really, it depended on the quality of the player, or the man. Do you like soccer, or if he had any talent at soccer, or he was good enough to play. If he was good enough, he played.” He also stated that those ethnic others on the team were treated better just for playing with the Hungarians.

He established a number of close relationships with other ethnic individuals in this way. “Yes, a good friend of mine was a Scotchman. He was really one of the nicest guys I’ve ever met. We became friends. We socialized together, and our families would get together on weekends and stuff like that.” He recalled that he would often attend dinners, dances, and other family socials with many of the people he met through his involvement in soccer. He even insisted that generally, his experiences in soccer helped others and even himself initially with the language.

“When you were with the Hungarians you spoke mostly Hungarian. When you were with different nationalities, then you used English, because everybody talked the same thing. Even if you weren't that good in English, you still tried to speak English…it helped.”

He also pointed out that the younger players on the team, who did not speak the language, would learn due to the other players speaking Hungarian on the team. It also introduced the players of other ethnic backgrounds to the Hungarian language. He witnessed players either receiving help or obtaining work through their relationships on the team as well.

“Yeah, in a few occasions…they needed some help so we passed the bucket around to the other guys. If you knew anybody who needed a job, because we had a couple of sponsors, so a lot of the players would actually go and work for them.”

Player 2 suggested that playing for the Hungaria soccer club generally strengthened his sense of being a Hungarian. “When you stayed with the Hungarians you
always tried to keep the Hungarian tradition going. If you went to another ethnic group to play, for example, you wouldn't have done that.” While other teams such as Teutonia showed an interest in him, he never left Hungaria. He also agreed, however, that soccer made him more accepting of other cultures and traditions and was an important vehicle introducing him to other ethnic individuals. “Yeah, because that's how we met the other ethnic groups, through soccer most of my life. If it wasn't for the soccer, I probably wouldn't have met that much you know?” Through these relationships, past preconceptions of other ethnicities were erased as well.

“The Serbs, for example, we thought they always were wild…that’s what my father used to say. I don’t know why, because when I met them, I just liked them. They were just like me. I think some of them even had a better nature than mine…You never know until you meet them, and you talk to them.”

While he was introduced to a number of culturally different social events and traditions, he never adopted other cultural traits in particular, yet he respected them. Today, he still maintains his Hungarian culture and traditions, but considers himself primarily a Canadian. When asked how his participation in soccer aided in his integration into Canadian society, he responded, “Yeah, soccer did, because you met all the nationalities and different groups, and you see, they’re all living here in peace and try to get along. So that, to me, that's the Canadian spirit.”

Comparison

The two individuals of the Hungaria Soccer club had a significant amount of interaction with others by the time they played in the 1972 SWOSL. The two players came to Canada at very different times of their life, as Player 1 was just a 13 year old child while Player 2 was in his early twenties. The two were also very different in age, as
Player 2 was born well before Player 1. Nevertheless, they both shared some very similar experiences on the soccer field when they arrived in Canada. In terms of cultural assimilation, both of the players recalled having experienced cultural exchanges from their relationships made through the game. While Players 1 and 2 both learned English either at school or in the home, they both agreed that their participation helped them with the language. Both of the players were introduced to new traditions and new leisure opportunities and social events, while only Player 1 made any particular mention of being introduced to new foods. As for structural assimilation, both indicated they made a number of friends through their involvement in soccer, not only with Hungarians but also with people of all different ethnic backgrounds. Player 2 was the only one to mention that he observed people obtaining work from their participation. He noted that the team sponsors often gave newcomers work if they needed assistance. Both Player 1 and 2 were introduced to new clubs and cultures within the city, attended banquets, dinners, and picnics, while Player 2 had established good relationships which carried over to include family interactions with others. Player 1 and 2 both agreed that their participation made adjusting to life in Canada easier.

Both of the individuals used the Hungarian soccer team not only to interact with other Hungarians, but also to foster their Hungarian heritage and culture. They commonly spoke Hungarian on the team and held their own social functions for others to attend. At the same time, the team was never an exclusive club for Hungarians only, and all were welcome to join. If a player was good enough to play a position he would be selected by the team. Both players insinuated that although they never played for any other teams in Windsor, they were open and willing to play with other ethnic individuals,
and had a great deal of respect for them. In the case of Player 2, even some past preconceptions were erased as a result of his participation. Additionally, both Player 1 and Player 2 attended social events of other ethnic groups through involvement with the Hungarian team.

**Newspaper Analysis**

The newspaper articles from the *Windsor Star* archives, while limited in depth, still proved useful when compared to what was revealed by the individuals interviewed. The *Windsor Star* provided regular coverage of the SWOSL in 1972, as it reported on upcoming games, results, standings, and key match ups on a bi-weekly basis. While league games were played on Tuesdays and Thursdays, match reports were usually available on Wednesdays and Fridays respectively. Updated League standings were printed almost on a daily basis. When a pivotal match was to be played, a lengthy article on the teams would usually follow, along with a spotlight on key players on the opposing teams.

One particular article highlighting the diverse soccer atmosphere in Windsor at the time demonstrates how important the game was not only for the players on the field, but the spectators as well. With the headline, “Soccer Continues to Excite its Fans,” the opening line reads, “They’re still coming out, old and young alike, but mostly of ethnic backgrounds, to witness the soccer that has been played for years at Wigle Park and now has moved to a second setting at Windsor Stadium.” Speaking in regards to the high level of competition between the teams of the Essex-Kent County Soccer League and the South-Western Ontario Soccer League, the article then provides descriptive information on the spectators.
“Italians continue to make up the largest percentage of the crowds at Windsor soccer. But the Teutons, Croats, Serbs, Hungarians, Macedonians, Slovenians, Slovaks, and Poles – among others – are there to offer vociferous cries of happiness…or disappointment…or anguish…whenever their respective clubs see action.”

This tends to support what many of the interviewees suggested about the SWOSL during the interviews, soccer was a predominantly ethnic game and a very important part of the ethnic communities in question.

A review of the article available found that the Windsor Star reported a limited number of confrontations on the field between the players themselves through a review of the article available. This verifies what many of the interviewees indicated, that although matches would be become quite competitive and physical, it was all part of the game. While such “rough housing” and rivalries did occur on the field on numerous occasions, there was only one particular instance that reported a conflict involving players forcing the eventual abandonment of the match.

“Croatia and Italia lasted only 42 minutes before a pushing match turned into a fight between a couple rival players and then everybody was into the action….As officials got one scrap stopped another would begin and fans entered the fray.”

Throughout the interviews, such mêlées were more often reported to have involved spectators rather than players. Many of the interviewees indicated that the fans seemingly initiated conflicts more between the ethnic groups than the players on the teams had themselves. This contention was supported by the fact the Windsor Soccer referees threatened to strike and even canceled matches, as they feared for they’re own safety. One article retrieved revealed that a Fireman’s Cup double-header was called off by the referees due to their concern of fan violence. According to newspaper reports,
decisions like this were not uncommon in the Essex-Kent League, while only one instance of this was reported in SWOSL play. Nevertheless, based on the behaviors of spectators throughout Windsor’s soccer community at the time, one thing becomes apparent. The game of soccer was used more as a vehicle of separation by the spectators, whereas the players used the game to integrate with others they came into contact with.

Discussion

The primary objective of this study was to provide a historical account of how soccer was used as a vehicle aiding or inhibiting the adaptation of ethnic groups into society in Windsor, Ontario. Furthermore, it was to determine the value that ethnic groups of the 1972 SWOSL placed in regards to maintaining their own culture and identity, creating and maintaining relationships with other ethnic groups, and comparing how the adaptation strategies differed across the teams of the league. The 1972 SWOSL yearbook was used to identify those involved with the Italian, Hungarian, Greek, German, Croatian, English, Scottish, and Serbian teams who competed at the time. Two randomly selected individuals from each of the eight teams were chosen to participate. The information retrieved through one-on-one, semi-structured interviews with two individuals from each of the teams revealed the degree of cultural and structural assimilation experienced by their members. In addition, an accurate account of the way in which each ethnic team generally addressed the questions posed in Berry’s model of adaptation was revealed.

*Cultural Assimilation Through Involvement in Soccer*
As was previously indicated, Cultural assimilation or acculturation refers to “...the adoption by one ethnic group of another’s cultural traits” including such things as language, clothing trends, religion, diet, etc. It is the cultural changes that are a direct result of continuous intercultural contact between individuals. The analysis of the interviews revealed the adoption of different cultural traits experienced by the individuals as results of their involvement in soccer.

James McKay’s 1975 study of Italian-born soccer players in Toronto revealed that players were acculturated to a certain degree through soccer.10 John C. Pooley’s 1968 study demonstrated that cultural assimilation was reportedly poor amongst members of ethnic soccer teams in Milwaukee.11 Robert D. Day found that integrated rosters of the teams reflected increased levels of cultural assimilation amongst the groups examined.12 The analysis of the data collected for this investigation revealed that the individuals of the 1972 SWOSL were exposed to a number of different cultural traits of others as a result of their involvement in soccer. Between the 16 individuals interviewed, adoption of the cultural variables identified in the matrix (Appendix N) appeared quite significantly, a total of 105 times.

All but two individuals interviewed from the SWOSL in 1972 reported some type of cultural exchange between themselves and other players. Individuals described learning about other player’s backgrounds and cultures, where they came from, what they did, how they lived, and getting new ideas while incorporating them into their own lives. The most frequent mention of the adoption of a particular cultural trait was the introduction to new languages. While in most cases the individuals who did not speak English were introduced to it through their experiences with soccer in Canada, it also
aided in their retention of the language. A majority of individuals reported to have been introduced to a language other than English through soccer. Interestingly, however, the two individuals on the Anglo Club indicated that they had not been introduced to any new language through their involvement. This difference is due to the fact that they were already fluent in English and expected those on the team to speak it as well. The Anglo representatives may have felt it less necessary to accommodate other cultures they came into contact with, as their own Anglo life style was similar to that which was considered Canadian.

Less then half of the interviewees indicated that they had been introduced to new traditions and incorporated them into their own life, and the same number made mention of being introduced to new foods through the various interactions they made with others. The second most evident cultural assimilation variable was the introduction to new pastimes and leisure opportunities. All but five of the interviewees mentioned that they had attended some sort of new social function, whether it was in the form of a picnic, banquet dinner, or dance hosted at a club or locale by another ethnic community. The least number of individuals, five in total, noted being exposed to new forms of media through their involvement, usually in the form of ethnic music or following a professional sports league of another ethnicity. Soccer was useful in changing the perceptions new ethnic groups had of others in the community as well. Exactly half of the individuals interviewed mentioned it changed their perception of other ethnic groups or their feeling of belonging within the greater community. Many of the individuals indicated that they now consider themselves Canadian. While none of the interviewees stated that they
experienced this change in their own ethnic identity solely through their involvement in soccer, it was shown to be a contributing factor in their transformation.

*Structural Assimilation Through Involvement in Soccer*

Structural assimilation refers to the varying degrees that ethnic groups interact with society, in both a personal and impersonal environment. Day reported that German and Dutch groups were assimilated the most into the core society, while Polish, Italians and Hungarians expressed high levels of assimilation and lastly, Croatians, Portuguese and Greeks assimilated the least. McKay’s 1975 study, argued that although Italian-born soccer players in Toronto experienced structural assimilation, it was less pronounced than cultural assimilation accounted for. Pooley’s 1968 study suggested that ethnic teams inhibited structural assimilation of its members, perhaps as a result of the restricting policies put in place by the ethnic teams themselves. The analysis of this particular type of assimilation (Appendix N) demonstrated that the items representing structural assimilation appeared during the interviews much more frequently than items classified as cultural assimilation, 165 times. Cultural assimilation was, however, still a significant occurrence amongst players as a result of their participation.

Nine of the individuals interviewed from the SWOSL of 1972 revealed that they either found work for themselves through their participation in soccer, found work for someone else they knew, made business contacts, or witnessed others obtain work through their involvement in soccer. For instance, while one individual began working as an assistant cook through a friend he met on the team, two others used soccer as a way of getting their name and business out into the ethnic communities and establishing
relationships, while another found his father a job at the Ford plant who was 40 plus years of age. This was particularly evident with the individuals from the Italia and Croatia teams. In each case, the players on these teams reported this item.

Across the entire study, no cultural or structural assimilation item appeared for more individuals or more frequently in the interviews then introduction to new friendships. All but one individual stated that through their participation, they not only made new friendships with others of the same ethnic group and outside of it, but in most cases, friendships would last a lifetime. Only Player 2 from Hellenic made no specific mention of being introduced to new friends. It can be speculated that this was due to the fact that he was raised in Canada from the age of three and had already established friendships while growing up, and thus did not need to rely on his involvement in soccer. All of the other individuals interviewed arrived in Canada either in their early to late teens, or as adults, which is more than likely the reason they relied heavily on their involvement in soccer to meet new people and establish relationships. Only four individuals indicated that they established close enough friendships through their involvement that it extended beyond friendship and included family-to-family interactions. These exchanges included hosting dinners, attending outings and other functions between families.

The vast majority indicated interactions with other communities other than their own, and were introduced to new clubs in other ethnic communities. The same can be said for individuals who had interactions within other ethnic communities. Only the representatives of the Croatian and Hungarian team did not report anything significant in this regard. Significantly, all but two of the individuals interviewed agreed that their
participation aided in their adjustment to life in Canada. Some suggested that it made their transition into the greater society easier, while two individuals said it even combated homesickness and the feeling of wanting to return to their country of birth. Regardless of how their involvement in soccer helped, the majority of interviewees felt more comfortable interacting with others and less a stranger to Canada as a result of their involvement. Soccer helped significantly in creating a welcoming environment to interact with others and eased their integration into Canadian society.

Cultural Retention Throughout the League

As was previously discussed, many factors were shown to impact the degree of cultural retention existing amongst ethnic groups living in Canada. From that list, it became quite apparent that language retention, social networks, self-identification and the ethno-cultural repertoire of particular ethnic groups were all prevalent within the soccer teams of the SWOSL in 1972. The analysis revealed that items indicating cultural retention amongst players of each team in the league appeared 142 times during the interviews (Appendix N).

Nigel Chamberlain’s 1983 study revealed that soccer was indeed a “symbolically meaningful activity” for the Italian group he examined.16 Tina O. Walter’s 1988 study of Italian and West Indian soccer clubs in Toronto revealed that soccer played an important role in maintaining ethnic identity, more so for West Indian teams than the Italian.17 For this study, the interviewees revealed that soccer was not only an important part of the ethnic communities in Windsor, Ontario at the time in question, but was valuable in fostering the ethnic identity and culture to varying degrees for each ethnic community.
All but three individuals suggested that they played alongside friends and other individuals of the same ethnicity on their team. Only Player 2 from Teutonia, Player 1 from the Scots and Player 1 from Hungaria gave no indication of this. One significant finding was the ethnic make up of each particular team. The individuals from Italia, Hellenic, Anglo, Scots, Croatia, and Hungaria all mentioned that the majority of their team was indeed comprised of players within their own ethnic community, though none of the individuals stated their team neglected relationships with the other ethnic groups on their team or in the league. When cross referenced with the 1972 SWOSL year book, these teams in particular did exhibit rosters where the vast majority of last names are recognized to be of Italian, Greek, English, Scottish, Croatian, and Hungarian origin. Walter gives an explanation in her study as to why maintenance of ethnic identity throughout the teams she examined may have existed in amongst West Indian and Italian clubs. In 1988, groups from the West Indies were still in a stage of large-scale immigration to Canada, whereas Italian immigration had slowed considerably. In 1972, the teams of the SWOSL that were shown to maintain a majority of players from within their own group were still experiencing large scale immigration to Canada as well.

The Maple Leafs Soccer Club and Teutonia Soccer Club were shown to have placed least emphasis on preference for players from within their own ethnic community. Again in reference to the 1972 SWOSL yearbook, both of these teams exhibited rosters with last names indicating a more diverse make up when compared to the other six teams of the league. In regards to Teutonia, perhaps this is attributed to the fact that the German community had been established in Windsor for a significantly longer period of time than the other ethnic communities represented in the league, along with the fact that
its soccer team had been created in 1929. As for the Maple Leafs, the intent of creating an “All Star” team, as was revealed in the interviews, may have over ridden the intent to maintain a “Serbian” base of players.

All the individuals interviewed, except for one player from Teutonia, indicated that the language of their particular ethnic group was spoken or could be heard on the team. Only the Anglo club representatives and one half of the Scots spoke only English on their team, as the remaining teams investigated used both English and their mother tongue. This finding is quite similar to what Day reported. In London he found that the Dutch club spoke English exclusively, Greeks, Portuguese and Polish preferred their mother tongue, and the German, Italian, Hungarian, and Croatian clubs spoke English and their original language.20

All but one of the individuals insisted that they used their participation on the team to meet people of the same ethnic group when they first came to Canada, or for those who grew up in Canada, as they matured. As the sole outlier, Player 1 of the Maple Leafs may have appeared this way as he revealed that he just wanted to play soccer and was very competitive. At least one individual on all the teams mentioned that ethnic conflicts occurred at matches, but only one conflict was found to be significant. Both Player 1 and 2 of the Croatia team said that significant conflicts occurred between themselves and Serbians in the league. Both individuals suggested that in Canada they were free to demonstrate their political independence and separate identity from one another and used soccer as a vehicle to do so.21 Nevertheless, confrontations between the fans were much more frequent than conflicts between the players themselves. The game of soccer was used much more as a vehicle of separation for the spectators from within
the different ethnic communities, whereas the players seemingly used the game to integrate with others.

The teams themselves were a useful way through which the ethnic groups of the league fostered their cultural identity in Canada, as it was the most frequently mentioned item in terms of cultural retention, appearing 36 times in the 16 interviews. With the exception of the Maple Leafs, all the soccer clubs were created, first and foremost, by and for individuals of the ethnic community in question. Exactly half of the individuals interviewed said that they attended social events put on by the ethnic community they belonged to through their soccer club, as these events served the important purpose of keeping the ethnic community together.

A significant observation regarding one’s cultural maintenance through soccer was demonstrated in the experiences revealed by Player 2 from Hellenic. Given that he arrived in Canada as an infant from Greece, he grew up already very much integrated into Canadian society. As a result, he used his involvement with the Hellenic Club as a way of fostering his Greek identity more so than any other individual interviewed, all of who arrived much later in their adult lives and seemingly emphasized creating new relationships. As a result, Player 2 from Hellenic used soccer to strengthen ties to his Greek culture, learn the language better, and increase his participation in the Greek ethnic community. Those who arrived later in life also maintained their culture through their soccer team to varying degrees, but they placed a significant amount of emphasis on using the game of soccer as a vehicle aiding in their integration to life in Canada.
Creating and Maintaining Relationships Throughout the League

The analysis examining whether each of the individuals interviewed created and maintained relationships throughout the league was perhaps the most revealing of all. Throughout each of the interviews, the individuals most frequently reported creating, maintaining and valuing relationships with other ethnic individuals and teams in the league. These were mentioned a total of 242 times (Appendix N).

Chamberlain provided significant evidence that soccer aided in the process of socialization, insisting on the role sport had in the transformation of social relationships among Italians in Edmonton.\textsuperscript{22} Ilena Molle’s 2007 study argued that soccer helped Chilean men establish social networks acting as an important “...means of settlement in Canadian society.”\textsuperscript{23} The ethnic groups and their teams of the SWOSL were found to have valued and respected relationships with other ethnic individuals on their own team and other teams, to the extent that it aided in their integration into the greater society.

Just over half of all individuals emphasized diversity on their teams, although the interviewees on the Scots, Croatia, or Hungaria teams specifically used this term. At least one individual on all of the league teams suggested that if a player was good enough he would be a welcome addition to their team. Each interviewee indicated that their team was not only open to all players regardless of ethnic orientation, but they also had a great deal of respect for those of a different ethnicity on their team and on other teams throughout the league. In Day’s study, when accepting new members, all clubs expressed an “open-door policy” throughout the league, whereas Pooley’s study noted ethnic clubs with mixed policies in regards to recruitment.\textsuperscript{24} As was previously stated, the only
variance to these findings existed in the relationship between Croatians and Serbians. The most significant mention of relationships with others was the mention of friendships created with players throughout the league.

The most significant indicator that involvement in soccer fostered relationships with other ethnic groups was the existence of friendships that were made, which was reported the most. All but one individual, Player 1 from Hellenic who already had friends in the community prior to his participation, created a number of new friends from outside their own ethnic group through their involvement. This is similar to what Molle found in her 2007 study. She reported that Chilean men in Toronto initially began to play soccer to be with other Chileans, but also to make new friends from outside the ethnic community and to integrate with other Canadians. All the ethnic teams of the league made an effort to speak either English or another language other than their own. The only exception to this was indicated by the Anglo team and expressed by one half of the Scots. At least one individual on all of the teams said they were either open to playing for other teams in the league themselves, or had in the past, with the only exceptions being the representatives from the Scots. Only two individuals made specific mention of establishing relationships with spectators, although it was revealed by many of the individuals that a large number of spectators were always present at the games. Lastly, all the teams had at least one individual who attended social events of other ethnic communities through their involvement in soccer.

*Relation to Berry's Model of Ethnic Group Adaptation*

Based on the conclusions drawn from this study, the data gathered from interviews with each of the individuals from the teams of the league can quite easily be
related to J.W. Berry’s Model of Ethnic Group Adaptation (Appendix I). As may be recalled, the basic premise of this theory is that ethnic groups within culturally plural societies will be influenced in one way or another by the contacts they make within it, and asks the following: 1) Do members of the group perceive value in maintaining their cultural identity and characteristics?; and 2) Is there value in maintaining relationships with other groups?

In their extensive 2006 study on the adaptation strategies of ethnic adolescents, Berry et al. revealed that a high number of youths preferred integration over the other adaptation strategies, which mirrored earlier studies examining adult immigrants. The high percentage of marginalized youths, and low numbers favoring assimilation deviated from previous past results. For the individuals interviewed in this study, all suggested in one way or another that their team valued and maintained the cultural identity of the ethnic group in question. However, the teams shown to place the least emphasis on this value and maintenance of culture through their soccer teams were the Maple Leafs and Teutonia. The significance and frequency for cultural maintenance themes amongst the members of Italia, Hellenic, Anglo, Scots, Croatia and Hungaria were all more prevalent. Nevertheless, all teams maintained their cultural identity through soccer in some way or another. Addressing question number two of Berry’s Model, it can be stated that there is no question that all the individuals interviewed in this study not only created relationships with other ethnic individuals through their involvement with their team, but maintained them as well. Both the frequency and significance of the items suggesting that relationships were created and maintained through the participant’s involvement in soccer. Yet all the individuals, in one way or another, valued both their own cultural
identity and maintaining relationships with other ethnic groups through their soccer team. 
This would indicate that all the individuals examined favored an adaptation strategy of 
integration within Berry’s Model of Ethnic Group Adaptation. This allowed the 
individuals of the league to maintain their own culture while they also became part of the 
greater community at the time.
NOTES

1 The Ontario Cup is the amateur provincial soccer championship for teams within Ontario. It was created in 1901. The Eastern Canada Championship was competed for amongst the champions of each respective soccer league in Eastern Canada. The Essex-Kent Soccer League First Division preceded the South-Western Ontario Soccer League in the Windsor area. The Firemen’s Cup, Star Cup and Carling Cup were all individual play-off competitions ongoing throughout the soccer season for amateur teams in Windsor and surrounding area.

2 The 1972 Challenge Cup was held in Vancouver, British Columbia. Vancouver Eintracht defeated Maple Leafs S.C. 3 to 1. The Canadian Amateur Soccer Championship, or Challenge Cup, was first held in 1913 and is one of the oldest continuing soccer championships in Canada. It is still in existence today.

3 Bob Beety, MVP 1970; Gerry Maguire and Jim Archer, Goalie’s Award 1970; Ian MacLean, Tony Boyle, Dave Thomas, and Mike O’Mahoney, Ontario All-Stars.

4 Named after the professional Scottish club team Rangers F.C., the name had a protestant affiliation.

5 Windsor, ON, University of Windsor’s Tony Techko Sports Archives, Moriarty Soccer File, Accession Number 96-030, Box 50; Item 1348 (Microfilm).

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 The match involved Sicilia of the Essex-Kent Soccer League and Hungaria of the SWOSL.

9 S.S. Italia, Hellenic, Croatia, Hunagria, Teutonia, Anglo, Scots, Maple Leafs were the teams of the 1972 SWOSL.

10 James McKay, “Sport and Ethnicity: Acculturation, Structural Assimilation, and Voluntary Association Involvement Among Italian Immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto” (Masters Thesis, University of Waterloo, 1975), i.


13 Ibid., 46.


18 Ibid., 147.


21 A number of crises and conflicts plagued the Yugoslavian state post World War II, and tensions between groups such as Serbians and Croatians were at a constant; Daniel Bethlehem and Marc Weller, The 'Yugoslav' Crisis in International Law: General Issues (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xix.


As revealed by 1972 SWOSL Yearbook, various newspaper articles in *The Windsor Star*, and information collected from the one-on-one, semi structured interviews, spectator attendances were very high at the SWOSL games in 1972, sometimes reaching over 1000 people.


Ibid., 324.
Chapter 5

Conclusions and Future Recommendations

Conclusions

The findings of this study revealed that the ethnic individuals interviewed experienced varying degrees of cultural assimilation as a result of their involvement in soccer in Canada. Involvement in soccer proved useful in introducing and/or aiding in their retention of a language other than their own (i.e., English), and introduced them to new pastimes, leisure opportunities, foods, media, traditions, and cultural preferences of others. While some may or may not have adopted specific cultural characteristics of others, they were introduced to them, became familiar with the culture of others, and respected them.

Structural assimilation as a result of involvement in soccer amongst the ethnic groups of the study was apparent as well. The vast majority of the individuals in this study suggested making a number of new friends with other ethnic backgrounds, were introduced to new cultures, community clubs, and work opportunities otherwise not available through interactions with others. Furthermore, all but two of the individuals revealed that their participation specifically aided their integration into the greater society. Generally, for the ethnic groups examined in this study, involvement in soccer aided in their structural and cultural assimilation based on the information gathered through the interviews, though structural assimilation seemed to be more apparent amongst them.

Soccer was not only revealed to be an important part of the ethnic communities in Windsor, Ontario at the time in question, but also a valuable vehicle in fostering the
ethnic identity and culture for those of the ethnic community in question. It was even, at times, referred to as “the glue” which kept the ethnic communities together. It was an extension of the ethnic community where they could meet friends of the same ethnic background, speak their language, and arrange to take part in social activities much as they would have back in their home country. Spectators and local businesses from the ethnic communities which they represented heavily supported their teams.

In addition to this, while soccer was an important part of each of the ethnic communities identified, no one soccer team was exclusively comprised of individuals of one particular ethnicity. All the ethnic groups and their teams in the league were found to have valued and respected relationships with other ethnic individuals on their own team and other teams. One of the most significant findings was how individuals who immigrated to Canada as adults used their involvement in soccer much more as a vehicle for integration and creating and maintaining relationships with other groups when compared to the lone individual who grew up in Canada, who placed a significant amount of emphasis on identifying himself as Greek, retaining and fostering his Greek culture and language and playing with other Greeks through his soccer team.

While many players of a particular ethnicity began playing with people of the same ethnicity, this ultimately set the stage to meet and interact with other ethnic people in the soccer community either on their own team or through other teams of the league. Even though a number of ethnic rivalries were reported, the Croatians expressed the most significant discord with the Serbians in the league. The team was used as a means of representing their independence and political agendas, which they could not express in Yugoslavia, but could be expressed on the soccer field in Canada. While the game of
soccer was used more as a vehicle of separation by the spectators, the players themselves used the game to integrate with others. All of the ethnic groups and their teams suggested that they were open to having other ethnic individuals represented on their team, and the skill of a player was considered more important than their ethnic background when being chosen to play for a particular team. As a result, all the teams of the 1972 SWOSL were shown to have favored an adaptation strategy of integration, within J.W. Berry’s Model of Ethnic Group Adaptation.

Involvement in soccer influenced how each of the identified ethnic groups of the 1972 South-Western Ontario Soccer League adapted to Canadian society in a clear way. Soccer created a platform from which new interactions and exchanges could take place, both within the ethnic group and outside of it. Such interactions may have usually first occurred within the ethnic community, and created a feeling of belonging and comfort that aided with their transition into their new home, Canada. At the same time, involvement in soccer was a platform where interactions outside the ethnic community emerged as well, resulting in varying degrees of cultural and structural assimilation for each of the individuals. The soccer field acted as a common ground, and aside from work and sometimes school, was identified as the only way the interviewees interacted with others outside of their own ethnic group on a personal level. The exchanges reported by the interviewees with others outside their own ethnic community would have taken a significant amount of time to occur on their own, if at all, if not for their involvement in the game of soccer.
Recommendations for Future Research

There are a number of avenues for future research that would be valuable to consider, thereby shedding more light on the role of sport and its influence on the adaptation process of new ethnic groups into societies. While this study examined two individuals involved with eight different ethnic teams of a particular league, perhaps it would be beneficial to examine the players of only one ethnic team to generate a better sense of how that particular ethnic group adapts into society. While this study used a relatively large sample of 16 people throughout eight teams across the league, in reality, 16 interviews within one particular ethnic group may provide clearer and more accurate data revealing the experiences had through playing soccer for a particular group.

Also, it would be beneficial to conduct a study to examine how second or third generation individuals of a particular ethnicity utilize the game of soccer to establish ties or reconnect with their ethnic background. As was shown in this study, the sole individual who migrated to Canada at a very early age, placed a significant importance on engaging with the Greek team in an effort to identify more with that group and strengthen his ties to his background. Those who arrived in Canada as adults also valued their background, but experienced a greater amount of integration as a result of their involvement. As many second and third generation ethnic individuals are now prevalent in Canada, and with many of these individuals being involved in soccer teams established by ethnic community clubs, an examination in this group would be most revealing.

This study’s purpose was to garner information from the individuals on their experiences 38 years ago. Over the course of time events and their experiences may have
influenced the way they looked back on their experiences at the time. Thus, the way they may have answered the questions posed in this study may very well be different than the way they would have answered them in 1972. As time passed, other life experiences may have changed their perspectives on the relationships they had, generally influencing the position they took on how they valued maintaining their own culture or how they valued the culture of others.

That being said, it would be interesting to conduct this very same study in a contemporary setting with an ethnic soccer team or league today. As immigrant trends have changed significantly over the past 20 years, the soccer field has undergone another unique transformation. Numerous immigrants from Central and South American, the Middle East and Asia are now prevalent in the sporting circle of the cities and towns across Canada, with many engaging in the game of soccer just as before. Therefore, it would be interesting to compare and contrast the similarities and differences between what occurred 40 years ago to what is occurring today in terms of how these ethnic groups adapt to society through the game.

The final recommendation to be made generally addresses the use of sport as a vehicle for ethnic group adaptation into a society. A contemporary study examining other sports leagues that individuals new to the country may participate in would further support or refute the value of sport in aiding new immigrant populations in adapting to society. Sports such as hockey, football, and baseball could be used much in the same way soccer was in this study. While it is very likely that the teams would be comprised more of a Canadian population, it would be interesting to see how ethnic individuals on these teams interact and exchange with others on the team, and assimilate on both a
cultural and structural level.
APPENDIX A

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX C


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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
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<th>Japanese</th>
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<th>Spanish</th>
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APPENDIX E


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<th>SUBPROCESS</th>
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<td>Cultural assimilation or acculturation</td>
<td>Change of cultural patterns to those of host society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural assimilation</td>
<td>Large-scale entrance into institutions of host society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital assimilation or amalgamation</td>
<td>Large-scale intermarriage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identificational assimilation</td>
<td>Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude assimilation</td>
<td>Absence of prejudice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioral assimilation</td>
<td>Absence of discrimination.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civic assimilation</td>
<td>Absence of value and power conflict.</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX F

Park’s Assimilation Cycle (Driedger, 2003, p. 24).
Linear Model of Acculturation (Castro, 2003, p. 15).

Figure 1.1
Linear Model of Acculturation

APPENDIX H


Figure 1.2
Acculturation—Biculturalism Model

Cultural involvement

Monocultural
(Americanized or Hispanicized) individuals.

Bicultural involved individuals.

Monoculturalism

Highly Americanized individuals who reject their Hispanic cultural background.

Biculturalism

Marginal individuals who are equally uninvolved with either culture.

Marginality

Source: Reprinted with modifications from International Journal of Intercultural Relations, vol. 4, Szapocznik, J., Kurtines, W. M., & Fernández, T., Bicultural involvement and adjustment in Hispanic-American youths, Figure 2, p. 362, Copyright 1980, with permission from Elsevier Science.
APPENDIX I


**Figure 1.3**

<table>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Acculturation Strategies</strong></th>
<th><strong>ISSUE 1:</strong> Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?</th>
<th><strong>ISSUE 2:</strong> Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other ethnic groups?</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>YES</strong></td>
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<td>YES</td>
<td>I INTEGRATION</td>
<td>II ASSIMILATION</td>
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<td>NO</td>
<td>III SEPARATION</td>
<td>IV MARGINALIZATION</td>
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</table>


*Note:* As pointed out in several publications, evaluative responses to these issues can be measured through a continuous scale from “totally disagree” to “totally agree.” However, for the present conceptualization they are taken as dichotomous “yes” and “no” responses (see Berry, 1984, 1995, 1997).

**Figure 1.4**

**IAM Model**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>HOST or MAJORITY COMMUNITY</th>
<th>IMMIGRANT or MINORITY COMMUNITY</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>Integration</td>
<td>Consensual</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>Problematic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Segregation</td>
<td>Conflictual</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exclusion</td>
<td>Conflictual</td>
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<tr>
<td>Individualism</td>
<td>Problematic</td>
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</table>

*Source: Modified from Figure 4 in Bourhis et al. (1997, p. 382).*
APPENDIX K

Map of Windsor, Census Tracts, 1971 (Statistics Canada, 1974, p. i.).
## APPENDIX L


### Table: Population Characteristics by Census Tract, 1971

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<td>1,285</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>890</td>
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### Diagram: Population Totaels

- **Line of emigration and immigration**
  - **To Canada**
  - **To the exterior of Canada**
  - **Arrived in Canada after 1960**

- **Groups ethnic**
  - **Asian**
  - **African**
  - **Indian**

- **Religion**
  - **Christian**
  - **Jewish**
  - **Muslim**
  - **Other**

- **Population totals**

- **Statistics Canada, 1974, pp. 2-5.**
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<td>35</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
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| Religion | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Anglican | 526 | 665 | 410 | 565 | 355 | 595 | 145 | 1,170 | 650 | 795 | 595 |
| Baptist | 175 | 90 | 165 | 75 | 135 | 140 | 90 | 215 | 160 | 151 | 75 |
| Greek Orthodox | 255 | 350 | 125 | 225 | 125 | 255 | 35 | 65 | 35 | 135 | 255 |
| Jewish | 55 | 10 | 30 | 55 | 35 | 10 | 65 | 15 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Lutheran | 130 | 80 | 160 | 325 | 75 | 130 | 20 | 80 | 70 | 115 | 55 |
| Pentecostal | 30 | 35 | 25 | 50 | 10 | 75 | 20 | 40 | 55 | 15 | 50 |
| Presbyterian | 300 | 330 | 180 | 210 | 165 | 365 | 130 | 390 | 420 | 235 | 500 |
| Roman Catholic | 3,890 | 2,135 | 1,320 | 2,925 | 1,675 | 2,095 | 1,065 | 3,590 | 1,675 | 2,630 | 1,415 |
| Salvation Army | 35 | 35 | 25 | 35 | 15 | 65 | 15 | 45 | 35 | 45 | 25 |
| United Church | 1,035 | 285 | 620 | 365 | 330 | 620 | 142 | 435 | 385 | 375 | 410 |
| No religion | 175 | 390 | 100 | 115 | 65 | 225 | 65 | 195 | 135 | 125 | 65 |

<p>| Winnece, e. | | | | | | | | | | |</p>
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<td>3,885</td>
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<td>4,965</td>
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**POPULATION TOTALE**

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<td>6,475</td>
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<td>3,885</td>
<td>5,075</td>
<td>2,515</td>
<td>4,965</td>
<td>4,495</td>
<td>9,180</td>
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<td>Arrivé au Canada après 1945</td>
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**Groupe ethnique**

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APPENDIX M

Interview Questionnaire

Interview Questionnaire

Subject Profile:

Name: ____________________________ Title: ____________________________
Address: ____________________________
Telephone #: ____________________________
E-mail Address: ____________________________
Interview Date: ________________ Time Started: ________________ Completed: ________________

Team Name: ____________________________

Briefing Paragraph:

What will follow is approximately a 60 minute interview. Please note that you have the right to refuse to answer any of the questions. As was previously stated, your confidentiality will not be guaranteed as it is your input and authority that this study relies on.

Briefing Checklist:

Right to Refuse

Informed

Please answer YES or NO to the following statements.

1. I, ____________, consent to participate in this interview.

Signed Consent Received:       Verbal Consent:

Yes    No       Yes    No
2. I give consent for this interview to be audio recorded.

    Consent to Audio Record:
    Yes    No

3. I would like to review a transcription of this interview.

    Review of Transcript requested:
    Yes    No

Questionnaire Outline:

First, I would like to ask you some questions about yourself prior to Participation In Soccer.

1. Where were you born and in what year?

   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

   • If not born in Canada, What year did you come to Canada?
     __________________________________________________________
     __________________________________________________________

   • Where were your parents born and what year did they come to Canada?
     __________________________________________________________
     __________________________________________________________

2. What nationality did you perceive yourself at the time of your arrival in Canada/as a youth?

   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

3. Did you and/or your family reside in close proximity to other people of the same ethnic group at the time of your arrival to Canada/as a youth?

   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
4. Did you take part in social gatherings, clubs, programs, or events, which had been established in your ethnic community? (i.e. Ethnic community clubs, churches, educational, etc). Give examples.

• Shortly after your arrival or later? At what Age?

• Did you take part in the same social gatherings, clubs, programs or events of the same kind within the greater community when you first arrived/ as a youth?

5. In what ways did you maintain your ethnic identity when you first arrived/grew up in Canada?

6. Describe the customs, traditions, foods, social networks, media usage, of your ethnic group that you would take part in/use around the time you first came to Canada/as a youth?

• What Canadian customs, traditions, foods, social networks, media usage did you take part in/use when you first came to Canada/ as a youth, if any at all?

7. Upon your arrival/as a youth in Canada, how difficult was it for you to participate or become involved in larger societal institutions such as schools, obtaining work,
banks, involved in government institutions, etc. Explain your thoughts.

8. Did you work when you first moved to Canada/as a youth?

- Primarily, what ethnic groups were employed at this place of work, or any other occupation you may have had?

9. What type of relationships or contacts did you have with the other ethnic communities in the area when you first came to Canada/as a youth?

10. What language(s) did you primarily speak at home?

- What languages did you primarily speak with friends?

11. Did you attend any school(s) in Canada?

12. What ethnicity were your friends and peers when you initially arrived/as a youth in Canada?
• Were did you meet them (i.e. school, work, neighborhood, elsewhere in the community)?

• Did this change as you got older?

Participation In Soccer

13. Where and at what age did you first become involved in the game of soccer?

• Did anyone influence you or encourage you to become involved in the game?

14. At what age did you first get involved in the game of soccer in Canada?

• What was your motivation for getting involved?

15. How important or prevalent was the game of soccer in the overall ________ community?
16. Was your initial involvement in soccer in Canada strictly with individuals of your ethnicity? If so, explain why.

• If not, with whom did you participate and why?

17. How did you become involved with the _______ Soccer Club in the South-Western Ontario Soccer League?

18. To the best of your knowledge, how did the team go about recruiting players for this particular club?

• Was there a preference for recruiting players from within the same ethnic community of the team?

19. To the best of your knowledge, what was the attitude towards recruiting individuals of other ethnic groups on the team? (Important, very important, not important at all?)

• If favored, why were they recruited to play for your team?
• If not favored, what was the reason why other ethnic groups were not recruited to play?

• In your opinion, were any of the other teams of the league open to accepting other ethnic player in joining their team?

20. How were individuals who were not of another ethnicity on the team treated by others on the team?

21. Thinking back to before you chose to play with ________, did you consider playing for any other team in the South-Western Ontario Soccer League? If so, which team and why?

• In what way? (Friends, Work opportunities, leisure time activities, etc?)

22. If you did establish close relationships with other ethnic individuals on your team, did they influence your personal life in any way?

• In your opinion, were any of the other teams of the league open to accepting other ethnic player in joining their team?

23. Do you feel that there were any cultural exchanges with the other ethnic individuals on your team? Explain.
24. Was your first encounter with the English language through your participation in soccer?

25. What language was primarily spoken amongst players on the team?

• Was there an effort to speak a language other than ________ on the team for those players who primarily spoke another language?

26. Did you establish close relationships with other ethnic individuals on other ethnic teams?

• Did they extend to your personal life and in what way? (Friends, Work opportunities, leisure time activities, etc?)

27. Of the other teams in the league, were there any that you felt your team particularly established relationship with? And if so, why?
• Were there any teams that you felt your team conflicted with? And if so why?


28. Do you feel your soccer team valued and/or encouraged relationships with other ethnic groups (if at all)? Explain


Post Participation in Soccer

29. How do you feel your soccer team strengthened the culture and traditions (such as language, customs, traditions) and other aspects of ________ social life with and between players on the team, if at all.


30. Describe the customs, traditions, foods, social networks, media usage, you now use or take part in.


31. Do you feel your participation in soccer made you more accepting of Canadian culture and traditions (such as language, customs, traditions, media usage) and accustomed to the “Canadian” way of life? Explain


32. Do you believe that the experiences, relationships and interactions with others through soccer helped you integrate into Canadian society in any way? Explain.


• Compared to when you first arrived/were a youth in Canada, did you find
it easier to participate in larger societal institutions such as schools, the work place, government institutions, etc, as a result of contact and experiences with others in the community through soccer?

33. In what ways do you believe your involvement in soccer at the time in question changed your views and relationships towards other ethnicities in the community from the time you came to Canada/ as a youth up to now?

- Do you believe that you adopted any traits or behaviors considered to be distinctly “Canadian” or of a particular other ethnicity as a result? Explain.

34. Do you continue to take part in social gatherings, clubs, programs, or events, established, in your ethnic community? (i.e. Ethnic community clubs, churches, educational, etc). Give examples.

- Are you now involved in any of the above noted gatherings, clubs, etc. in the greater “Canadian” community that you were not involved in during your youth and time in the SWOSL? Give examples.

35. Currently, what ethnicity are your friends and peers?

- Based on the experiences you had with other ethnic individuals at the time you played soccer, were you more open to relationships, friendships and
contact with other ethnicities later on in your life?

36. What language do you use at home and with friends at the present time?

• If different from when you first arrived/grew up in Canada, how had your participation in soccer aided in the use of this new language, if at all?

37. In what ways do you feel your participation in soccer and experiences with others made you more of a “Canadian,” if at all.

38. What nationality would you now primarily consider yourself? Why?

• If different from before, how did your involvement in the game of soccer influence this transformation in identity, if at all?

Concluding Question:

39. Is there anything else regarding your experiences, both as an __________ - Canadian or during your participation in soccer in 1972 SWOSL that you would care to comment on?
Thank You for your time, it is greatly appreciated!

**If participant requested to review transcript, read the following**

Over the next few weeks, I will transcribe this interview and forward you a copy for your review and approval. Following completion of your review, please email or mail your approval, edits, comments, and any other information that you feel pertinent to this study.
## APPENDIX N

Data Analysis Matrix

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<td>Rel. w/ Spec</td>
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<td>Social Events of Oth.</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX O

SWOSL Final Standings – 1972 (Windsor, ON, University of Windsor’s Tony Techko Sports Archives, Moriarty Soccer File, Accession Number 96-030, Box 50; Item 1348).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Team</th>
<th>WIN</th>
<th>LOSS</th>
<th>TIE</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>GA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maple Leafs</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.S. Italia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hellenic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scots</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>Hungaria</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teutonia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX P

Maple Leaf’s Soccer Club (Soccer ’72: The Official Yearbook of the South-Western Ontario Soccer League, 1972, p. 19).

Back Row Left to Right — Joe Urakalo, Dimitar Satapa, Frank Mora, Ian McLain, Gordy Caldwell, Alban Clarke, Nick Karaboulas, David Thomas.

Front Row Left to Right — Neil Stewart, Alex Tufegdzic, John Carno, Billy Lee, A. Vacias, Tony Mora.
APPENDIX Q

Teutonia Soccer Club  (Soccer ’72: The Official Yearbook of the South-Western Ontario Soccer League, 1972, p. 21).

TEUTONIA SOCCER CLUB

Back Row Left to Right — Felix Lupke, Ossy Wolf, Arnold Steffen, George Breckner, Frank Baumert, Pat Marrocco, Eddy Mielke.

Front Row Left to Right — Paul Richards, Kurt Makowski David Fielding, Peter Lauderbach, Manfred Michael, Thomas Dearie.
Società Sportiva Italia (Soccer ’72: The Official Yearbook of the South-Western Ontario Soccer League, 1972, p. 17).

ITALIA SOCCER CLUB

Back Row Left to Right — Mike Vonella (Manager), Marco Pietrancomo, Vince Carlini, Nick Guerra, Italo Vadori, Alberto Deggi, Elio Bontorin, Joe Casaldil, Frank Spizzirri, Frank Urbano, Nick Pellitteri.

Front Row Left to Right — Nemezio D’Agnillo, Alfredo Letteri, Renato Baggo, Salvatore Aiello, Tony Martire, Rafaele Turchi, Nando Gisellini, Mario DiMarco, Alfonso Falduto, Alastair Crawford, Agemon Ferreira.
Hellenic Soccer Club (Soccer ’72: The Official Yearbook of the South-Western Ontario Soccer League, 1972, p. 13).

HELLENIC SOCCER CLUB


Front Row Left to Right — F. Michailidis, W. Zuniga, N. Efthimiou, J. Vakratsis, P. Lanza.
APPENDIX T

Anglo Soccer Club (Soccer ‘72: The Official Yearbook of the South-Western Ontario Soccer League, 1972, p. 9).

ANGLO SOCCER CLUB

Back Row Left to Right — Frank Patton, Brian Johnson (Coach), Brian Mills (Trainer), Tom Conley, Dave Raynor, Beb Beesty (Capt.), Geoff Cook, Frank Cochrane, Jack Richardson, Derek Bamford, Neville Jones, Bob Bewick (Pres.), Phil Bryan.

Front Row Left to Right — Keith Lord, Pete Fanella, Doug Adamson, Jim Archer (Goalie), Bob Ross, Chris Bellamy, Steve McCullough, Frank Butterworth.
APPENDIX U

Scots Soccer Club (Soccer ’72: The Official Yearbook of the South-Western Ontario Soccer League, 1972, p. 23).
APPENDIX V

Croatia Soccer Club (Soccer ’72: The Official Yearbook of the South-Western Ontario Soccer League, 1972, p. 11).

CROAT SOCCER CLUB

Back Row Left to Right — Mike Daraisch, James Smith, James Hill, Mario Tiberia, Milan Plesa, Vlada Kunstl, John Vicek, Slavo Brajak.

Front Row Left to Right — Wilson Ferreira, Werner Machnik, Ivan Hrvat, Zlatko Krizmanic, Vlado Krcinic, Jadian Vukorep.
Hungaria Soccer Club  (Soccer ’72: The Official Yearbook of the South-Western Ontario Soccer League, 1972, p. 15).

HUNGARIAN SOCCER CLUB

Back Row Left to Right — Alex Schreindler (Manager), Van Niferos, Austin Magnion, Eddie Dalhai, Steve Toth, Bela Frenczi, John Gomber, Nick Munkacs, Kalman Peto (President).
Front Row Left to Right — Lajos Stokey, Alex Harris, Dino Biotto, Dragan Nesterovic, Tom Mosonyi.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Recent Immigrants in Metropolitan Areas; A Comparative Profile Based on the 2001 Census. Ottawa, ON: Strategic Research and Statistics, 2005.


Windsor, ON, University of Windsor’s Tony Techko Sports Archives, Moriarty Soccer File, Accession Number 96-030, Box 50; Item 1348 (Microfilm).


VITA AUCTORIS
SERGIO GINO PERCIBALLI

IDENTIFICATION

Surname: Perciballi
Given Names: Sergio Gino
Nationality: Canadian
percibas@uwindsor.ca

EDUCATION

SEPTEMBER 2008 - OCTOBER 2010
MASTER OF HUMAN KINETICS,
University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, Canada

SEPTEMBER 2006 - APRIL 2008
BACHELOR OF HUMAN KINETICS,
University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, Canada

SEPTEMBER 2003 - APRIL 2006
SPORTS & RECREATION ADMIN. ADVANCED DIPLOMA
Lambton College of Applied Arts & Tech., Sarnia, Ontario, Canada

HONOURS AND AWARDS

- Social Sciences & Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Bombardier Research Grant.
- Human Kinetics Graduate Alumni Award 2010
- Human Kinetics Graduate Research Excellence Award – Sport Management 2010
- Canadian Italian Business and Professional Association’s Student of Italian Origin Scholarship.
- University of Windsor Post Graduate Full Tuition Scholarship recipient.
- University of Windsor’s “Dean’s Honour Roll” student.
- 2008 Faculty of Human Kinetics “Undergraduate Research Excellence Award” recipient.
• 2006 Lambton College Alumni Association Male “Excellence Award” recipient.
• Lambton College’s “Dean’s Honour Roll” student.
• Ontario Colleges Athletic Association’s “All Academic Award” 3-time recipient.

ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP

North American Society for Sport History (2008 – Present)
Golden Key International Honours Society (2006 – Present)

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS AND POSTERS

May 28-31, 2010
North American Society for Sport History Annual Conference – Orlando, FL
The Origin, Evolution, and Unique History of the Modern Olympic Football Competition, 1896 to 1928.

May 13, 2010
Bodies of Knowledge Conference on the Study of Sport – Toronto, ON
Who Do You Play For? An Examination of Ethnic Group Adaptation in Society Through the Game of Soccer; Windsor, Ontario, 1972.

December 2-4, 2009
Sport Mega-events and their Legacies Conference – Cape Town, South Africa
Once in a Lifetime: Legacy of the FIFA U-20 World Cup Canada 2007.

May 21-24, 2009
North American Society of Sport History Annual Conference – Asheville, NC

March 21, 2009
University of Windsor - Human Kinetics Research Day – Windsor, ON

March 24, 2008
University of Windsor - Human Kinetics Research Day – Windsor, ON
Once in a Lifetime: Legacy of the FIFA U-20 World Cup Canada 2007.
PROFESSIONAL TEACHING EXPERIENCE

SEPTEMBER 2008 – SEPTEMBER 2010
UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR – FACULTY OF HUMAN KINETICS
Graduate Teaching Assistant; Windsor, Ontario, Canada

Courses Assisted:
Sport Marketing; History of the Modern Olympic Movement; Crises, Politics and Commercialism in the Olympic Movement; Strategic Planning of Sport Events; Sport and Government in Canada; Canadian Sport History.

LANGUAGES

ENGLISH – Native

ITALIAN – Speaking and Reading