German Migrants in Montreal

Uses and Meanings of an Ethnic Category

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Abstract

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This thesis will describe and analyze the uses and meanings of a German categorical identity among German migrants in Montreal. Rather than limiting itself to a mere description of an ethnic group, it questions its very existence by exploring when and if, how and by whom a German categorical identity is ascribed and enacted. More precisely, it will examine if being German is at all relevant for German migrants in Montreal and, if so, in which periods of time, locations and social contexts it has relevance. Different interpretations and experiences of the category by various individuals who might be labeled "German" will be explored and their impacts on the mobilization, circumvention or rejection of the category or particular versions of it analyzed. These similarities and differences in meanings and practices will be investigated in their relationship to other forms of identification such as linguistic, national, regional, and generational forms of affiliation and German migrants' local and transnational ties, practices and attitudes. This thesis establishes that the mobilization of a German categorical identity is considerably limited by obstacles and barriers arising from important variations in its use and meaning among German migrants in Montreal.

Acknowledgements

For my parents and Yoan
who are always there for me

Table of Contents

Table of Tables

1. Introduction

Research Questions, Theoretical Framework, and Methodology

June 13th, 2010.

The mass is to start at 10:00am on a sunny Sunday morning in mid-June. Arriving at the street corner where the German church is located, out of breath after a rush through half the city by bike during which I thought I would be late, I see to my relief that the main entrance door to the brick building still stands open. From across the street, I can see a car stopping at the traffic light right in front of the main entrance: Doors opening, children jumping out of the car, running towards the doors, the driver's window lowering, and the mother calling after her children: "Pick up a Mappe[1]! Pick up a file!" It is great to see that Germans are always on time.

Entering the church, I hear a woman reading out the announcements for the upcoming week. The mass has not started yet. I sit down on a wooden bench at the back and let my view wander along the high walls with arched windows to the colorful paintings on the walls surrounding the chancel and take in the smell of old wood and stone. I now recognize that the woman speaking as Christa[2] whom I met a few days earlier and who had invited me to come. I then look in the opposite direction at the four rows of benches filled with parishioners and am struck by their numbers. There must be at least 120 of them including children. Christa finishes and retreats to the sacristy. Shortly afterwards a door opens. Christa, carrying a cross, steps out again followed by

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[1] German for *file*. The file here designates the binder containing texts and songs for the mass.
[2] The names of all people, associations, and institutions I collaborated with as well as any other information that could too easily identify them have been changed in order to ensure confidentiality.

the priest, two boys as servers, another woman, and a number of children marching in twos. From the organ loft, the notes of an organ and the voices of a choir can be heard. The mass begins.

Throughout the mass, texts are read and songs are sung by children and adults in both English and German. Thus, half of the intercessions are read in English, the other half in German. One of the two readings is in German, the other one in English. The Lord's Prayer is first sung in English, then spoken in German. One of the parish members later tells me how lucky the parish is to have a priest whose grandmother spoke German and who seems to remember more and more German through his service in the parish. Nonetheless, he mainly speaks English throughout the mass; the German texts are mostly pronounced by different parish members.

The mass being over, everybody moves out of the church onto the sidewalk and through another door leading into the basement of the building where a social get together is taking place. Pictures of other German parishes across Canada decorate the walls, as well as group photographs of this parish's members in the past. Here, where people sit at tables and have coffee and cake, Christa introduces me to Marion. We chat and enjoy our pieces of cake. Marion, who would become one of my interviewees later on, begins to tell me: "Am Anfang war es hier sehr schwer für meine Familie. Meine Eltern sprachen ja kein Englisch und wir mussten die Reise bei meinem Onkel zurückzahlen *[At the beginning, it was very difficult for my family here. My parents didn't speak English and we had to pay back the journey to my uncle]…*"

This vignette of my first visit to this particular German parish where a German mass was attended by the parish members reflects well some of the aspects of being

German in Canada, more precisely in the city of Montreal. Or does it? What does it mean to be German? Always being on time? Having a particularly well-developed taste for cake? Being either catholic or protestant and attending mass every Sunday morning? And what does it mean to be German in Canada? Knowing how to pray to God in both English and German or inserting a German word in an English sentence every now and again? Having a dramatic migration story to tell? Feeling connected to other Germans in Canada and belonging to a German association?

Although there might be some basis in fact even for these tentative and stereotypic answers, I want to gain a more nuanced understanding of what it means to be German in general and what it means in a context of migration to Canada in particular[3]. More precisely, I want to examine if being German is at all relevant for German migrants in Montreal and, if so, in which periods of time, locations and social contexts it has relevance. I want to explore how being German is interpreted and experienced differently by various individuals who might be labeled "German" and who among those Germans might draw on this category, circumvent or reject it. I want to investigate how these similarities and differences in meanings and practices relate to other forms of identification such as linguistic, national, regional, and generational forms of affiliation and identity and how they are influenced by German migrants' local and transnational ties, practices and attitudes. In this introductory chapter, I want to lay out the theoretical framework from which I approached these questions as well as the methodology that I used in order to pursue these issues. I will then offer my own observations and analysis in the following four ethnographic chapters.

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[3] See pp. 89-90 for details on numbers of German migrants to Canada from the 1950s to the present day.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

1.1.1 A Categorical Identity

In order to establish the theoretical framework I will draw on in this thesis, I want to begin by elucidating the question of what being German means conceptually. In its most general sense, *German* is a category in a system of classification. Depending on the purposes of its usage and its definition, the foundations of this category might by ethnic or national in nature. Both types of foundation have, according to Fenton, much in common. They share their reference to the idea of a people based on a common origin and a shared culture. Common descent - or rather the belief in a common descent - constitutes the very core of conceptualizations of both ethnicity and nationality. The claim to share a culture is next in relevance (Fenton 2010:12-13, 19-20). In these claims to a shared culture, culture is generally conceived of as list of attributes which members of a category have or possess and that define membership, eligibility, and access to the category. This list can include characteristics such as language, dress, kinship, ritual and custom, and lifestyle (Fenton 2010:12, 21, Jenkins 2008:10-11). As I will show in chapter 3, many of my interlocutors draw on the belief of a shared descent and a common culture in order to make the claim of forming a distinct category.

While these two kinds of foundations of the category share a common core, they diverge from each other through "notable and important differences at the periphery" (Fenton 2010:12). The most basic distinction between ethnicity and nation is that nations are associated with a precise territory such as a state, while the ascription of ethnicity is not necessarily geographically located. Indeed, as ethnic groups are frequently defined as minorities different from some majority that is presumed not to be "ethnic", they are

often considered as a sub-set within a nation-state (Fenton 2010:22, Olzak 2006:38-41). Of course, Germans could be defined both in terms of nationality or national origin and in terms of ethnicity. I am mainly drawing on a definition of the category *German* based on ethnicity. All of my interlocutors belong to a German category based on ethnic criteria, but not all of them would have belonged to it if it was based on nationality. This is because a definition based on ethnicity is, in this particular case, broader than one based on nationality and thus allows me to look at the interplay of nationality and ethnicity. A definition based on ethnic criteria can potentially incorporate so-called ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and German-speakers from Austria and Switzerland. This broader conceptualization is in accordance with the literature on German immigrants to Canada where Germans are most commonly defined as people who acknowledge their German cultural and linguistic heritage, regardless of their geographic origin (Bassler1991: vii, 6-8, Grenke 1989:1, McLauglin 1985: 3). More importantly, this coincides with the views held by most of my interlocutors who consider themselves to be German first and foremost by their language and culture as I will outline in chapter 3. Although language and culture are, as I have outlined above, central to both the concepts of ethnicity and nationality, the origin of Germans from a precise national territory is of secondary importance in these broadest possible definitions put forth in the literature and by my interlocutors. The primary foundation of the category in this context of migration to Canada is ethnicity.

1.1.2 Ethnicity

Since ethnicity in general and language and culture in particular are the foundations of the category German most often claimed by my interlocutors and referred

to in the existing literature, the concept of ethnicity deserves some further elaboration. I am adapting a conceptualization of ethnicity and the related term ethnic group as social constructions. In contrast to a conceptualization of ethnicity and ethnic groups as primordial entities, as a substantial and fundamental reality, social constructionist models use ethnicity as a more diffuse identity which is situationally defined, strategically manipulable, and capable of change, both individually and collectively (Fenton 2010:2, Jenkins 2008:46). These social constructionist models of ethnicity do not deny the actuality of ethnicity, but they situate it in the realm of human understanding, interpretation and interaction (Karner 2007:11). So, while I have outlined above that ethnicity is a social identity evolving around ideas of descent and culture, ethnicity is more accurately conceived of as the social construction of descent and culture, its social mobilization and meanings (Fenton 2010:3). Neither ethnicity nor culture nor shared ancestry is something that people possess.

> They are, rather, complex repertoires which people experience, use, learn, and "do" in their daily lives, within which they construct an ongoing sense of themselves and an understanding of their fellows. Ethnicity, in particular, is best thought of as an ongoing *process* of ethnic identification (Jenkins 2008:15).

The foundations of a social constructivist approach to ethnicity are usually attributed to Fredrik Barth. In his introduction to the 1969 volume of *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Barth famously defined ethnicity as a form of social categorization established through group boundaries which members of different groups draw between each other based on differences which they perceive as salient. Through the drawing of these boundaries, ethnicity becomes most adequately described as an act of self- and other-ascription (Barth 1969:13). The criteria of differentiation, Barth pointed out, are not merely given by nature, but actively established by members of interacting groups:

It is important to recognize that although ethnic categories take cultural differences into account, we can assume no single one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. The features that are taken into account are not the sum of "objective" differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant. […] [S]ome cultural features are used by the actors as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied (Barth 1969:14).

A precursor of such a constructivist approach can already be found in Max Weber's *Economy and Society* which was first published in 1946. Similar to Barth, Weber had already pointed out that ethnic groups are based not on the actual fact of common ancestry but on the established belief of sharing common descent. He defined ethnic groups as

those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists (Weber 1979:389).

The advantage of a constructionist perspective is that it opens up a space to examine variations of the saliency and meaning of ethnicity from person to person, from context to context, and over time. From a constructionist model of ethnicity, I want to analyze what different people believe or think ethnicity is and what they do with their thoughts and convictions. This thesis, then, is dedicated not to a mere description of an ethnic group, but to an exploration of when and if, how and by whom ethnicity is invoked as the foundation of a categorical identity and enacted as an experience of that identity. Moreover, it seeks to investigate different ways in which ethnicity is expressed and lived which are not necessarily limited to group affiliation. This is the central set of theoretical questions I want to analyze in this thesis: if, when, how and by whom is a conception of German categorical identity based on ethnicity drawn on. Before I turn to an elaboration

of the theoretical underpinnings of each of these questions, a few precisions of the context in which these questions are considered are of necessity. I will explore these questions in the context of German migration to Canada through which Germans hold ethnic minority status.

1.1.3 Migration

In order to frame this context of migration and its impact on ethnicity theoretically, I am drawing on transnationalism as a paradigm of migration. Transnationalism conceives of migration as a form of mobility in which migrants and their descendents operate in social fields which cross geographic, political and cultural boundaries and which allow migrants and their descendents to interact and identify with multiple states, often simultaneously. Transnationalism distinguishes itself from neo-classical migration theory and historical-structuralist approaches to migration which conceive of migration in bipolar models as a linear process in which settled individuals move from a sending country in order to resettle in a new receiving country and which usually constitutes a rupture in migrants' life **(**Basch et al. 1994:7, Brettel 2007:47, 2008b:120-123, Gardiner Barber 1997, 2008, Glick Schiller 2005a: 455, 2005b: 28, Levitt 2001, Olwig 2003b, Olwig and Nyberg Sørensen 2002:2, Winland 1998)**.**

The theoretical framework of transnational migration bears several benefits for the study of German migration to Montreal and the exploration of the construction and enactment of a German categorical identity in this context. To begin with, it offers a very flexible notion of belonging, identity and ethnicity. Thus, migrants are conceived of as having multifaceted, malleable, provisional, contingent and sometimes conflicting forms of identification (Gardiner Barber 1997, 2002:41, Guarnizo and Smith 1998:20-21, Levitt

2001:5, 204, Olwig 2003a, Winland 1998). As one of these identities, ethnicity is likewise dynamic and malleable. It is not simply fixed and unchanging through a tie to a country of origin; rather it is rooted in relationships to people and localities that might themselves be in flux. Ethnicity is both a from of belonging and a way of being which is enacted and articulated through migrants' engagement in a variety of social relationships, interactions and setting (Brettel 2008b: 129-135, Glick Schiller 2006:614, Olwig 2007). Glick Schiller defines transnational ways of belonging, on the one hand, as the ways through which people identify with individuals who are geographically elsewhere but are linked together through the notion of shared experiences and destiny. It is thus the conscious relation to a particular group and the highlighting of this relation and the resulting identity. Transnational ways of being, on the other hand, are the ways in which people live their daily lives across borders. These are actual practices and social relations that people engage in rather than identities associated with these actions and relations (Glick Schiller 2004: 458, 2009:31, Glick Schiller and Levitt 2008).

The paradigm of transnationalism is further useful because it allows, with a few limitations, for an exploration of some of the same questions as a constructionist model of ethnicity. Firstly, it allows us to consider migration in a wide time frame. This is because migration is conceptualized as a continuous process rather than a single event. The paradigm of transnational migration underlines the immigrant's continuous engagement, alternate or simultaneous, in at least two localities. This aspect of migration becomes especially obvious in the concept of simultaneity. This concept holds that individuals can live in more than one place and participate in activities and identities of more than one locality at the same time. Migrants can be incorporated into a new country

while keeping some kind of transnational ties to their place of origin. (Basch et al. 1994:22, Glick Schiller 2004:454, 462, 2009:35, Jaworsky and Levitt 2007:129, Levitt 2001). With this concept, transnationalism focuses therefore on continuity rather than the rupture of ties to the homeland. Such a conceptualization allows us to accommodate an examination of how migration is experienced at different stages in life and by which factors it is shaped. This in turn, enables us to explore the question of when the migration background and the ethnic background which might be related to it become salient in a migrant's life. However, theories of transnationalism in general and the concept of simultaneity in particular have a tendency to overemphasize the ideas of continuity and the equal salience of the place of origin and the place of settlement in a migrant's life. Rather than simply taking a continued saliency of the place of origin for granted, we need to ask whether or not this is the case. In order to do so, a more nuanced understanding of the concept of simultaneity, a critical stance towards continuity, and a consideration of the possibility of the weakening or discontinuity of transnational ties are of necessity in order to adequately analyze the question of whether or not the migration and ethnic backgrounds are and remain relevant at all.

Secondly, this framework allows us to take into consideration the agency and heterogeneity of migrants rather than conceptualizing migrants as uprooted, passive reactors to the world capitalist system. This in turn allows for an examination of the questions of who invokes and enacts a specific ethnic category in which ways. Transnationalism often conceives of transnational actors in broad terms including individuals actually crossing borders such as politicized transmigrants, migrants and refugees as well as actors who do not themselves cross borders but who live in

transnational social fields such as some descendants of migrants or members of transnational businesses (Glick Schiller 2004:461, 2009:30, Levitt 2001, Winland 2007:6). An emphasis on actors and various kinds of practices is helpful for the consideration of the enactment of an ethnic category by various individuals in the context of migration. However, an overemphasis of the heterogeneity of transnational migrants can be observed in some of the literature which turns the notion of transnational migrants into a catch-all category. Rather than automatically attributing transnational characteristics to all migrants – and even non-migrants – we need to critically investigate who among these migrants actively maintains what kinds of transnational ties and the actual implications of these ties.

Taking the context of transnational migration into account, the set of questions I want to examine here, are more adequately specified as when, how, and whether ethnicity is invoked and enacted and by which members of ethnic minorities. When and how do German migrants invoke and enact a German categorical identity in Canada if at all? I will now turn to the theoretical framework I use to explore each of these questions.

1.1.4 How?

As from a constructionist model, ethnicity is not something that exists naturally, but something that is constructed, it requires some form of social validation. Members as well as nonmembers of an ethnic minority achieve this validation by pointing to specific ethnic markers, which indicate that they possess a number of shared physical and social characteristics (Olzak 2006:35). Here, a basic distinction between two processes of social validation needs to be drawn. One relies on an ascription of ethnicity, the second on an enactment of ethnicity. This distinction is crucial because it leads to very different

outcomes in terms of the meanings attached to ethnicity. In the first case, when ethnicity is ascribed, ethnicity constitutes the foundation of a category. Jenkins describes categories as externally defined according to specific criteria in a process "during which one person or set of persons defines the other(s) as 'X', 'Y', or whatever." (Jenkins 2008:55). But categories can also be self-ascribed (Amit and Rapport 2002:60) such as when a person or a set of persons self-defines as "X", "Y", or whatever. An ethnic category as a category is only one division in a system of classification and coexists with others such as religious, racial, national or gendered identities. Thus, any person or entity can belong to many different categories (Amit and Rapport 2002:18) which might reinforce or contradict each other.

In the second case, when ethnicity is enacted, ethnicity becomes an experience and a practical meaning. Ethnicity is lived and becomes alive. In a transnational paradigm, ethnicity or any other kind of mobilized category can be enacted through migrants' ties to the homeland. These ties might be used in different domains and therefore result in the interplay of various forms of identification. Jaworsky and Levitt (2007) identify five domains of identification and interaction with the homeland: economics, politics, the social, the cultural, and the religious. In terms of economics, migration involves economic incorporation in the host society and economic interconnection between the migrant's place of origin and settlement e.g. in the form of remittances. The political aspects of transnational migration can be observed in political behavior such as activism, voting and claims to rights and responsibilities both in the homeland and the place of settlement. Concerning the social domain of migration, transnational connections manifest themselves in kinship and family ties resulting in

transnational social fields. In terms of culture, it can be noted that migrants can remain connected with their original cultural background while also incorporating cultural elements of their new place of settlement into their life. Religion might link migrants to coreligionists in the home or host countries as well as to members in different parts of the world (Jaworsky and Levitt 2007:137-141, Levitt 2001; cf. Glick Schiller and Levitt 2008, Guarnizo et al. 2003, Smith 2003). An exclusive focus on transnational interactions with the homeland in these domains would, however, neglect a whole range of practices through which ethnicity is enacted on a local level which I will explore in the second chapter. These practices occurring for example in ethnic associations and institutions which are local in nature need to be taken into consideration and the paradigm of transnationalism also needs to accommodate practices which are not transnational in nature in order to adequately address experiences of migrants. Enacted ethnicity in whichever way typically involves a collective experience and an ethnic category needs some degree of shared meaning. I will now turn to the question of how ethnicity is a collective experience and who can be considered as the agents of this collective experience.

1.1.5 By Whom?

As a collective form of social identity, an ethnic category can hardly exist in isolation; it needs to be based on shared meanings which in turn are produced, validated, and reproduced through social interactions and relationships (Jenkins 2008:14, Olzak 2006:35). If ethnicity as its foundation is constructed, ascribed and enacted, it clearly requires human agency. Ethnicity is frequently associated with a collectivity that enacts it. This is obvious in such terms as *ethnic group* or expressions such as *the German*

[Italian, Portuguese, Greek, etc.] community. And ethnicity is frequently depicted as occurring in ethnic groups more or less formally organized into associations and organizations and engaging in ethnic festivals and cultural events. Indeed, a category can be the foundation on which a group bearing the same name is built. This group in turn - through the actual social relationships and activities that it involves – can render the identity that it embodies deeply meaningful to its members (Jenkins 2008:56-57).

In transnationalism, transnational communities are likewise perceived as one major way for transnational migrants to engage with their homeland in various domains of life. Transnational communities are associations of individuals to form a collectivity. Levitt discusses three types of transnational communities. First, transnational villages arise "when large numbers of people from a small, bounded sending community enact their lives across national social groups through their enduring ties" (2001:213). Second, an urban to urban social group emerges when migrants leave one urban area for another. A third type of community arises initially from shared geographical ties and gradually matures into a social group based on migrants' common identities, occupations and values that people from a common region share with each other (2001).

But an ethnic category is not the same as an ethnic group or a community. When considering ethnicity, category and group indeed need to be carefully distinguished and slippage between them avoided (Amit and Rapport 2002:18, Brubaker 2004:12). A category is first and foremost a shared name. A group is first and foremost a collective experience and a practical meaning (Jenkins 2008:58). As such, a group has much more emotionally charged connotations than a category. The notion of a group frequently evokes "a mutually interacting, mutually recognizing, mutually oriented, effectively

communicating, bounded collectivity with a sense of solidarity, corporate identity, and capacity for concerted action" (Brubaker 2004:12). The notion of community might communicate these connotations even stronger: "[I]t is easy to see why the word 'community' feels good. Who would not wish to live among friendly and well-wishing people whom one could trust and on whose words and deeds one could rely?" asks Bauman (Bauman 2001:2).

A category such as ethnicity can perfectly well exist and be claimed without a substantial group, let alone community (Amit and Rapport 2002:60). Being a member of a particular category does not mean that this category will be drawn on for the mobilization of social relations (Amit and Rapport 2002:18). At best, a category is "a *potential* basis for group-formation or 'groupness'" (Brubaker 2004:12, emphasis added). But even if it is the basis for group-formation, belonging to the same category is by no means sufficient to create groupness or community. Rather, this commonality needs to be combined with two other central conditions. First, there needs to be a connectedness (Brubaker 2004:47) or a joint commitment (Amit 2010:359). Both concepts involve relations and interdependence that link people. Second, there needs to be a *Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl* (Brubaker 2004:47) or a form of affect-belonging (Amit 2010:360). Both concepts refer to a feeling of belonging together and a sense of connection. These three elements – a commonality, relatedness and a feeling of belonging together – do not necessarily go together, nor is community the only possible outcome of their combination (Amit 2010:361-362). Other forms of sociation might arise from their intersection. I will now turn to another possible outcome, namely social networks.

Ethnicity can also have a much less performative character and be an unremarkable aspect of family background. In these cases, ethnicity can be part of everyday life and experienced through intimate relationships (Olwig 2007:2, 24-25). Thus, as an alternative to, or in combination with, the enactment of ethnicity in and by groups, it can be enacted by individuals in their ties to family and friends. These ties – together with other social relations a person has - are part of this person's social network. As they radiate from an individual and depend on his or her efforts, experiences and background, networks are ego-based (Amit and Rapport 2002:23). These networks can be interpreted by focusing on three different orders and their interplay. Ethnicity might constitute the categorical order of networks; ties of kinship and friendship, the structural order; and the individuals involved in these relationships, the personal order (Mitchell 1969:9-10). Of course, the composition of a network is not limited to any one category or structure. Like social groups, personal networks might render a category such as ethnicity meaningful through the social relationships that it involves. Thus, ethnicity might be lived through relationships to family and friends (Amit and Rapport 2002:22, 61) and people might associate ethnicity with these intimate relations (Olwig 2007:2, 25).

Networks are also central to the paradigm of transnationalism. Through a specific form of networks – social fields – transnationalism reminds us that these networks might be locally situated or extend nationally or transnationally. Social fields connect migrants, return migrants, and nonmigrants through kinship, friendship and attachment to a shared place of origin. Thus they link a migrant's country of origin with various social, cultural, religious, economic, and political contexts**.** This link allows us to conceptualize migration not as a rupture in life, but as a process involving the creation, maintenance and

redefinition of relations **(**Glick Schiller 2004:457, 2005b:28-29, 2006:614, 2009:29, Glick Schiller and Levitt 2008, Jaworsky and Levitt 2007:134-141, Levitt 2001, Olwig 2007).

1.1.6 If?

If ethnicity is considered as ascribed or enacted it also leaves open the possibility for this ascription or enactment not to happen or to happen to varying extents. Central to a social constructionist view of ethnicity is thus the assumption that individuals have some degree of choice to emphasize or, on the contrary, to refrain from doing so or even to de-emphasize these markers (Olzak 2006:35) and consequently rendering their ethnicity invisible. I am working with the concepts of social visibility and invisibility of ethnic minorities and the continuum that lies between them in order to account for the enactment of varying degrees of ethnicity reaching from the very intense to the nonexistent. Given that many German migrants consider themselves and can often be described as an invisible ethnic minority, I want to start here with an exploration of the extreme of the continuum which constitutes invisibility.

In its broadest sense, invisibility can be defined from the point of view of the person who is invisible as

> an experience of not being perceived by others at all, or an experience of being in
> a sense *mis*perceived; that is, one feels oneself to be recognized as present, but at
> the same time, one experiences oneself as having an inner world, with a certain
> particularity, that is hidden from the other person (Scotland-Steward 2007:2).

This distinction is an important one as it acknowledges that "the concept of 'invisibility', when applied to migrants [or minorities generally], is in a physical sense, absurd" (Watson 2003:100). Invisibility is always relative and might be situated on a scale with

the total experience of not being seen on one extreme and the partial experience of not being seen for who one is, of certain aspects of the self not being seen on the other.

In this thesis, I am concerned with one particular kind of invisibility – a form of social invisibility due to the low (ethnonational) profile of members of a minority. This kind of invisibility is also referred to as "anonymity" (Amit Talai 1989:93, 95, 96, Maxwell 1997:1 Steinert and Weber-Newth 2008:225). This is an incomplete form of invisibility which is characterized by the fact that members of ethnic minorities appear much like the majority population and are not recognizable as ethnic minorities (Gingras 2010:31-32, Kopnina 2006:116). As has been shown for Russians in Montreal (Gingras 2010), Russians in London and Amsterdam (Kopnina 2006), Armenians in London (Amit Talai 1989), French in Toronto (Maxwell 1977), British in Scotland (Watson 2003) and Germans in Britain (Steinert and Weber-Newth 2008) this social anonymity is most often facilitated by such factors as phenotypical invisibility and the heterogeneity of the ethnic minority. The factor of phenotypical invisibility demonstrates how one type of invisibility might increase another. In terms of heterogeneity, it has been pointed out that "the more heterogeneous the migrant group, the greater is its diversity and propensity to be absorbed by, and hidden amongst the host community" (Watson 2003:84).

These factors which are not immediately under the control of members of ethnic minorities are complemented by the deliberate effort of at least some of these members to create and keep a low profile. Strategies employed focus mainly on dissimilating or dissolving boundary markers, aspects that might distinguish members of a minority from the majority. These might be common signifiers of ethnicity such as, food, clothing, and language. In this way, social invisibility is not merely coincidental but also intentional

(Amit Talai 1989:80). By intentionally striving for invisibility, members of an ethnic minority refrain from enacting this ethnicity and seek to avoid being ascribed an ethnic category. To achieve visibility, members of an ethnic minority need to do exactly the opposite. They need to enhance and emphasize those markers that distinguish them from the majority and purposefully deploy such signifiers of ethnicity as food, clothing, and language in order to mark their distinctiveness. By actively seeking visibility, in turn, members of an ethnic minority ascribe an ethnic category to themselves and intentionally enact their ethnicity.

I also use the related continuum of audibility and inaudibility. It is the audible counterpart to visibility and invisibility and as such focuses most specifically on language as a signifier of ethnicity. With this concept, I explore how members of a minority use language in order to either enhance or de-emphasize their belonging to an ethnic category. Strategies and techniques such as the avoidance of speaking the ethnic language and working on reducing accents might increase the inaudibility of an ethnic minority whereas using the ethnic language openly might increase their audibility. Again, whether ethnicity is ascribed and enacted is related to the degree of audibility of members of an ethnic minority.

These variations in the degree of emphasis and enactment of ethnicity are also reflected in the social interactions through which ethnicity is experienced and acquires meaning. If the enactment of ethnicity can involve an ethnic group, it needs to be noted that the ethnic group is by no means constant and definitionally present. It is for this reason that Brubaker advocates for an approach to ethnicity without groups. Instead, Brubaker advocates to take groupness as a basic analytical element of ethnicity.

Groupness allows us to take into account varying degrees of cohesion and collective solidarity reaching from the very intense to the nonexistent. Therefore, groupness is not constant and definitionally present, but rather an event that occurs in particular instances in particular domains (Brubaker 2004:11-12). A similar observation can be made concerning the concept of ethnic communities. Community, too, should be conceived of as an entity that is enacted by certain people in certain contexts. Defined in this way, community as such does not exist as a whole, as a total experience. Rather there are moments when community occurs (Kopnina 2006:109-110).

Just as a group or community associated with an ethnic category might not be constantly mobilized, so might there be variations in the mobilization of ethnicity in personal networks. First of all, it is important to remember that personal networks do not necessarily comprise individuals from only one ethnic category. Thus, ethnicity might be of varying relevance within different sections of the network (cf. Amit 2007). Secondly, a "personal network exists situationally" (Mitchell 1969:26). This is because, Mitchell argues, networks are based on the recognition by individuals of a set of obligations and rights in relation to other individuals. These obligations and rights might at times become relevant and mobilized for specific purposes. This means that some relationships within a network can have a constant nature. This is, however, only one extreme of the possible durability of networks. On the other extreme lies the mobilization of social ties for the duration of a single occasion (Mitchell 1969:26-27). Most social relations might lie somewhere in-between these two extremes of constant and momentary mobilization. There is thus variation of social interaction within a person's networks in terms of the duration of this interaction.

Third, Mitchell notes that there is likewise variation over time in the composition of a person's network. He writes: "The underlying set of consciously recognized rights and responsibilities out of which a particular personal network may be realized […] is itself constantly changing as people build up new acquaintances, make new contacts or lose touch with others" (Mitchell 1969: 26-27). This aspect is often neglected in the literature on transnational migration where transnational social fields are considered as the principal institution allowing for continuity in connection to the homeland. This conceptualization of the role of social fields "has more often asserted the enduring strength of these ties rather than actually demonstrating it in terms of ongoing and regular contacts" (Amit 2007:68) Amit critiques. On the one hand, this understanding of transnational social fields can thus be critiqued for the strength that is uncritically attributed to these social ties. Amit has demonstrated that transnational migrant networks might take on a "weak" character over time and that it is precisely through "weak" rather than "strong" social ties that individuals maintain a connection to various places and people (Amit 2007). I am therefore drawing on a notion of social relationships comprised in personal networks varying along a continuum of strength reaching from very strong to very weak. On the other hand, it can be critiqued for presuming the continuity of these ties. In contrast, Amit proposes "embracing disjunction" (Amit and Rapport 2002:26) as a concept to take into consideration the possible discontinuity of social relationships. Therefore, I am also taking into consideration a second continuum when considering social relationships: one of duration reaching from continuity to disjunction. These continua applying to both social groups and personal networks can accommodate the

question of whether an ethnic category is drawn on as they also allow for the possibility that this might not happen.

1.1.7 When?

Social constructivism therefore focuses on the significance of the specific situations and contexts in which ethnicity does occur. This means that people take ethnic identity very seriously in some contexts and regard it as trivial or unimportant in others (Fenton 2010:6, Karner 2007:21). It is therefore important to examine under which conditions ethnicity becomes important and under which it is de-emphasized. One way of framing the situational relevance of ethnicity is according to different spheres and domains of life. On the one hand, it can frequently be observed that ethnicity is less relevant or even perceived as an obstacle in the public sphere in particular societies such as Canada. Hence ethnicity is less likely to be enacted and visibly manifested in domains of work, education, and settlement. On the other hand, it can also be observed that ethnicity might gain more relevance in the private sphere and be enacted and visibly manifested in the domain of leisure. The same has been observed for the use of the ethnic minority language which can be a signifier of ethnicity and a medium through which it is constructed and expressed. This distribution of languages by domain is especially obvious in bilingual situations marked by diglossia. These are situations in which two (or more) languages or language varieties coexist in a speech community in such a way that they are functionally distributed according to domains. One of the varieties is typically reserved for public, formal, and learned domains whereas the other is used in informal, popular, and intimate domains (Eckert 1980:154, Schiffman 1997:205, 207-208). I want

to explore here some of the dynamics underlying these varying degrees of relevance of ethnicity according to domains of life.

In the public realm, members of an ethnic minority such as people belonging to a specific migrant population might derive important benefits from not enacting or de-emphasizing their ethnic identity. One of them is the opportunity to move and maneuver freely among the majority or to acquire what Rosaldo calls "full citizenship" (Rosaldo 1989:198-199). Low visibility of group differences between members of the ethnic minority and the majority increases the economic, residential, and educational integration of members of a minority. Ethnicity is therefore relatively irrelevant in domains of work, education, and settlement.

Social mobility is an important motivation for ethnic invisibility in these domains which Rosaldo refers to in pejorative terms as "deculturation" (1989:209) or "a process of cultural stripping away" (1989:201). Gingras demonstrates for Russian migrants in Montreal that invisibility was considered as a success, a demonstration of capability and intelligence. Invisibility created by the adaptation of the majority's lifestyle allowed them to become upwardly mobile and educated like the majority (2010:126, 129-130). This adaptation to the majority's lifestyle bears resemblances with the adaptation of what Bourdieu calls "taste cultures". The middle class distinguishes itself from other classes through particular "tastes" or a particular lifestyle. Through the expression of tastes associated with the middle class, migrants can claim their part in that social class (Reed-Danahay 2006:133).

The life style or taste associated with the middle class and social mobility in many contemporary societies is one characterized by an expression of individuality (Harrison

2006, Reed-Danahay 2006). Kopnina identifies individuality as precisely one of the factors motivating migrants not to enact ethnic categories. In her study, "new" Russian migrants belonging to a recent wave of migration during the 1990s would pursue individual objectives rather than collective ones as they were frequently in a situation of competition among each other (Kopnina 2006:111). Kopnina and others further related this striving for individuality to aspirations to independence and self-sufficiency in spheres such as accommodation, employment and education (Amit Talai 1989: 80, Kopnina 2006:112); the mutual indifference towards each other related to the wish to experience the culture of the host society (Gingras 2010:21-22); and the mutual antagonism between members of an ethnic minority based on regional and class differences (Kopnina 2006:112, Gingras 2010:21-22).

In the private realm, however, ethnicity might have more relevance and this might be, paradoxically it may seem, related to its irrelevance in the public realm. Refraining from enacting ethnicity in the public realm may reflect a decrease of commitment towards the ethnic minority. This decrease in commitment is influenced by the degree of integration as an increase of commitment in which ethnicity is successfully secondary or irrelevant results into a decrease of commitment towards the ethnic minority. The degree of commitment, in turn, influences the degree of the circumscription of ethnic identity and with it assimilation in such a way that the loss of commitment would be equated with complete assimilation (Amit Talai 1989:95, 103, 112-114, cf. Maxwell 1977:10).

Thus, with increasing integration and decreasing commitment towards the ethnic group, ethnicity might be more and more circumscribed. Becoming conscious of the impending ethnic circumscription and increasing assimilation and the role of commitment

in this process may lead to a reversal of the first trend which was characterized by the decrease of commitment towards the ethnic group. Now, an increase in the commitment towards the ethnic group can be observed which manifests itself in the efforts of minority group members to enhance the symbolic delineation of social boundaries of the ethnic minority to the majority (Amit Talai 1989:112-114).

The first of these trends results from the awareness of minority group members that social invisibility and the resulting successful integration leads to the advantage of increased maneuverability, the second, from the awareness that successful integration bears the perceived risks of ethnic circumscription. In sum, as assimilation is in process in the first trend, the second trend to counteract assimilation evolves. It should be kept in mind that the two trends mainly occur in distinct domains, the first trend occurs in the domain of education, settlement, and work, whereas the second can be observed in the domain of leisure. By consequence, the first trend has relegated ethnicity to the domain of leisure where it flourishes due to the second trend. The combination of the two trends has turned ethnicity into a part-time commitment (Amit Talai 1989:3) characterized by the situational relevance of ethnicity according to public and private domains.

1.1.8 Unresolved Issues in Research on Ethnicity

The theoretical framework that I have outlined in order to deal with the questions of when, whether, by whom and how an ethnic category is drawn on clearly demonstrates that the mobilization of an ethnic category can occur to varying extents, in varying circumstances, in varying ways and by certain people. One might conclude from this - as I have pointed out above - that ethnicity is a process, an event, a part-time phenomenon.

These conceptualizations contribute to a better understanding of ethnic categories and qualify their use and meaning.

But while I have shown that ethnicity conceptualized as an event also draws attention to the fact that the mobilization of an ethnic category might not happen, the focus of these four questions still remains on positive occurrences of mobilization. However, a lack of mobilization of the ethnic category is likely to occur more often among German migrants in Montreal than actual mobilization. The lack of mobilization is not merely an exception that confirms the rule; it needs to be investigated on its own right. Rather than merely describing the outcome of ethnic mobilization and varying degrees of its success, I want to focus on the process of mobilization as such. This involves not only an analysis of facilitating and motivating factors accounting for instances of ethnic mobilization, but also requires analytic attention to be shifted to inhibiting and de-motivating factors illustrating the actual difficulties in the mobilization of an ethnic category. Observing, contextualizing and analyzing the mobilization of ethnic categories only shows one side of the coin – that of successful mobilization – even if varying degrees of mobilization are taken into account. The other side of the coin – that of the many obstacles and barriers for mobilization – equally deserves analytical attention.

In a paradigm of transnational migration, the mobilization of ethnic categories is likely to be observed as occurring across national boundaries. However, the very fact that transnational social fields cross national boundaries often imposes a major restriction on their mobilization. Although frontiers might not constitute direct barriers for German migrants in Montreal, the spatial distance between the place of origin and the place of

settlement that they symbolize might very well constitute a major obstacle. Although social and actual physical distance need to be distinguished, they are not completely separable. Especially over extended periods of time, social and physical distance tend to converge more and more and become harder and harder to separate. Spatial distance and time passed since migration therefore need to be taken into consideration as major obstacles for transnational mobilization of ethnic categories in personal networks.

But transnationalism, in order not to be subject to similar criticisms as scholars of transnationalism have advanced against methodological nationalism, also needs to take into consideration processes and events which are not transnational (cf. Nieswand 2006). As I have mentioned above, it therefore also needs to take into consideration local forms of mobilization of ethnic categories occurring in ethnic associations and institutions as well as during events and festivals. Here a major obstacle consists of the very heterogeneity of those who might fall under a categorical identity. It is not sufficient to look at instances when people who theoretically qualify to belong to the same ethnic category seek similarities between them; instances when they seek differences between them are of equal importance. In the case of German migrants in Montreal their heterogeneity stems from such factors as differences in age, period of migration, conditions and implications of migration, regional and national identities, linguistic affiliations or religious orientations. Ethnic mobilization can only succeed when these differences are backgrounded or rendered irrelevant. However, backgrounding these differences occurs far from automatically and concentrating on similarities is far from obvious. Even when the circumstances for mobilization are positive as outlined above, tremendous difficulties in overcoming these differences might jeopardize this

mobilization or limit its effectiveness. People belonging to the same categorical identity are at least as likely to create differentiations among themselves as they are to create links among each other.

It is therefore not enough to consider who draws on an ethnic category in which ways and under which conditions. We also need to acknowledge the considerable feat that this mobilization actually constitutes and the limitations imposed on this mobilization. The obstacles and barriers that those who participate in this mobilization overcome as well as the reasons and motivations of those who refrain from participating in this mobilization need to be taken into consideration.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 My German Interlocutors

My interlocutors were people who considered themselves to be German. In accordance with the foregoing theoretical investigations, the definition of the category *German* was not primarily based on German nationality. Indeed some of my interlocutors were not born in Germany and resided in Germany, if at all, only for a limited period of time. Thus, Martina has Austrian citizenship, whereas Marion, Ernst, Franz, and his wife Angela grew up in Eastern Europe where they lived in settlements which were hardly exclusively German but where Germans constituted a considerable proportion of the population. But all of them could identify with the category *German*. I am therefore drawing on a definition of *German* which is based on the German language and culture and not limited by criteria of nationality. The belief to share a common German language and culture can, as I have pointed out above, constitute the foundations of a categorical identity which is conceived of in ethnic terms. This definition allows us to extend the

category to German-speakers of Austria and Switzerland like Martina as well as to the so called *Volksdeutsche* like Marion, Ernst, Franz, and Angela. The term *Volksdeutsche* is commonly translated as *ethnic Germans* and designates people who consider themselves as German in ethnic terms and who reside(d) outside of Germany mainly in ethnic enclaves in Eastern Europe. This broad definition of *German* based on ethnic criteria rather than national boundaries which potentially encompasses individuals from a wide range of regions and a number of countries allowed me first of all to analyze how ethnic identities relate to regional and national identities. Although ethnicity is the foundation of the category German that my interlocutors most often referred to, it is not the only one and might at times be challenged by other criteria such as nationality or it might be of secondary importance compared to regional identities.

Whereas all of my interlocutors were first generation immigrants and directly experienced migration to Canada, they were born in different periods. The oldest person I interviewed, Ernst, was 79 years old at that time; the youngest, Katharina, was aged 25. My interlocutors migrated in different periods of time involving different socio-historic contexts which I will explore in more detail throughout the following chapters. Six of my interview partners immigrated during the 1950s and 1960s, one during the 1970s and ten during the last 20 years. I decided to work with people who were born and migrated in different periods because this would allow me to identify how generational identities intersect with ethnic identities. Moreover, it offered me the possibility of dealing more adequately with the question of whether ethnicity is enacted and if this is the case when it is enacted. The span of ages and the different stages in the lifecycle my interlocutors were in could contribute to an understanding of (a) variations in the enactment of ethnicity

over time during the life course and (b) of variations across generations. I am using the term *generation* here in its general sense where it designates people of approximately the same age, but also in the particular sense it takes in the context of immigration such as in *1st* and *2nd generation* where it designates people born outside of Canada or born in Canada.

Moreover, there was also variation in the degree of affiliation to German associations in Montreal among my interlocutors. Some of my interlocutors were involved in several German associations whereas others completely refrained from participating in any German club. Among those who were involved in German associations there was, of course, some variation in the degree of their involvement. On the one hand, this relates to the number of associations they participated in. Some participated in activities and events organized by different associations whereas others exclusively attended those organized by only one of them. On the other hand, this relates to the nature of their involvements. Whereas some have made an active and sustained effort to create, maintain, and foster "their" association, others did not extent their involvement beyond attending a few meetings or events. By collaborating with people who are involved to different degrees in German associations, I was able to further explore the question of who the agents enacting German ethnicity were i.e. whether they were groups or individuals. This also involves an examination of the relationship between organizational affiliations and ethnic identity.

The table below provides an overview – admittedly simplified – of the variations in terms of country of origin, age, period of migration and involvement in German associations found among my interview partners.

Name	Place of Birth[4]	Age	Year of Migration	Affiliation to German Association
Angela	Czechoslovakia	76	1958	Yes
Ernst	Yugoslavia	79	1952	Yes
Eva	Germany (Northwest)	35	2006	No
Franz	Poland	76	1952	Yes
Gustav	Germany (South)	76	1958	Yes
Ingeborg	Germany (Northeast)	74	1967	Yes
Jörg	Germany (Northwest)	38	1997	No
Katharina	Germany (South)	25	2004, 2005[5]	No
Magda	Germany (North)	46	2000	Yes
Marion	Yugoslavia	73	1952	Yes
Martina	Austria	31	2002	No
Matthias	Germany (South)	35	2000, 2004	No
Nina	Germany (East)	39	2005	Yes
Ralf	Germany (Northwest)	55	2001	No
Reinhard	Germany (Northwest)	73	1973	Yes
Sandra	Germany (North)	44	1992, 2002	No
Theresia	Germany (North)	17	2000	No

Table 1: Variations among Interview Partners

Despite the wide variations in country of origin, age, period of migration, and affiliation to German clubs and associations of my interview partners, some general trends might be observed which can also be applied to other German migrants in Montreal I met and talked to. With the necessary abstraction, it can be said that I worked with three broad types of people. First, there are those German migrants who migrated to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s from a homeland shattered by the recent experience of the Second World War where they did not see any future for themselves and their children. Many of these older Germans are part of German associations and some even had a role to play in their creation. Second, there are those migrants who came to Canada in the

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[4] Country as designated at time of birth
[5] Two dates means that people migrated to Canada twice, both times separated by extended stays in other countries

1970s originally on a temporary basis in order to advance their professional careers through a work experience abroad. Some of these migrants who fall in the same age range as the first type participate in the same German associations. Third, there are those German migrants who migrated rather recently consider their migration as temporary. This migration is often motivated by a cosmopolitan worldview or their relationship to a Canadian citizen. These different types of German migrants have very different experiences of migration and very different interpretations and usages of the category *German* which are sometimes compatible with, or complementary to, each other but often irreconcilable, conflicting or clashing with each other. This, then, allowed me to explore how different Germans use and interpret the category in different ways and which implications these differences might have on their identification and interaction with each other.

1.2.2 Recruitment

In order to recruit people of these various backgrounds, I mainly used two methods. My two approaches reflect two ways in which ethnicity can be enacted in social relationships i.e. through ethnic associations and through personal networks as I have outlined in the theoretical section above. Montreal hosts several German schools, churches, clubs, and associations most of which either offer opportunities for Germans to socialize and converse in their mother tongue or which explicitly aim to maintain German culture and language in Canada. My first method of recruitment consisted of attending meetings or special events organized by German associations and institutions such as the mass described at the beginning of this chapter. At these meetings and events, I was able to meet German migrants in face-to-face interactions, to introduce myself and my

research project, to get to know people and to let them get to know me before interviewing them, and to answer any questions related to the project. But relying solely on this strategy of recruitment would have resulted in choosing interlocutors who are all affiliated to a German association and who are all of approximately the same age.

Therefore, I chose to combine this approach with a second strategy which relied not on ethnic groups but on personal networks. Prior to my research, I had noticed that many of my acquaintances knew another German or know of somebody else who knew one. I therefore sent a message to people I knew in Montreal containing an outline of my research project and an invitation to potential interview partners to contact me and asked my acquaintances to forward my e-mail to their respective networks. With this approach I was able to contact many Germans who were not involved in German associations and who mainly were of a different age than those who were. I chose these two methods precisely because they would allow me to more fully examine who is drawing on German categorical identity and in which kinds of social relationships it is lived and expressed.

1.2.3 Responses

Both strategies of recruitment worked well and complemented each other. Thus, some of the individuals I met led me to different German associations or to other Germans in their network and whenever I went to an association I got to know new people who again would lead me to other people or to new associations. The response by Montrealers of German origin was positive – overwhelmingly so. People were calling me, sending e-mails to me or directly addressing me in order to suggest other individuals who they thought would be interesting for my research. A few weeks after the start of my

research, I had three times as many potential interview partners as I could possibly talk to.

Generally, there was a high willingness and sometimes even enthusiasm to participate in this research project. I want to illustrate this through an excerpt from my fieldnotes describing my visit to a meeting of a women's group to which the wife of one of my interview partners, Reinhard, had invited me.

May 20th, 2010

Shortly after my arrival at the women's meeting, the thirty or so people are taking their seats around the big table set up in the left part of the room. As everybody is seated, Reinhard gets up and asks the president of the group for permission to make an announcement. The permission accorded, he introduces me to the group and invites me to explain what my project is about. Hardly do I have the time to say that it is "on German immigrants" that a woman sitting a few seats to my right interjects: "Do you have a tape recorder?" Her voice is immediately joined by others: "Yes, we have a lot to tell." When I try to explain that I am "interested in-", I am again interrupted, this time by a voice coming from the far left end of the table: "We also have a German choir!" The vice-president applies the brakes to the storm of requests for immediate interviews and promotions of other associations and institutions by suggesting that this should be done by appointment at another time. The pile of freshly printed business cards that I had brought along is soon reduced to zero.

During the meal, several people approach me to offer the juicy bits of their biographies, or those which they think to be juicy in relation to my project. "I am a former president of the deutsche Solidaritätsgemeinschaft *[German Solidarity*

Community]. The first female president ever. Oh, and do you know Manuel Meune[6]? I have been interviewed by him" says one of them before handing me her business card. *Another one insists: "I arrived in 1960 by boat and had no help whatsoever in getting settled here." And a third one, opting for another strategy, simply gives me a piece of paper with her contact information, adding humbly: "If I can be of any help…"*

Many of my interlocutors were very happy to be given a chance to talk about themselves and their experiences. They were also genuinely interested in the experiences of other German migrants. They informed me about these experiences, wanted to hear my own story, or asked me to provide them with a copy of my thesis - and indeed continue to remind me of this more than a year after my actual research took place – in order to read about other Germans in Montreal.

My own German background and the fact that I speak German as my mother tongue certainly were of assistance in establishing rapport with my interlocutors. Many of my interlocutors, especially those who were not part of any German association or institution, appreciated and admitted that part of the reason why they wanted to participate in my research project was that they were given the chance to speak German for an hour or two with a native speaker in a face-to-face interaction, an opportunity some of them rarely have. Being German myself also facilitated gaining access to various German associations and institutions especially so as many German associations were desperately seeking young Germans to join their members. While being German myself constituted a considerable advantage in accessing the field and establishing rapport with German migrants in Montreal, it also constituted a minor obstacle. This is namely

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[6] Manuel Meune is the author of *Les Allemands du Quebec*, a book resulting from his PhD research on Germans in the province of Quebec.

because my German background and my interest in Germans and German associations raised the hopes of some of my interlocutors that I would join their members and contribute to the persistence of their clubs. This, however was not my original intention and although I had taken care to point this out from the beginning, some disappointment was inevitable.

1.2.4 Research Methods

In order to conduct my research, I mainly used two research methods. First, I used participant observation which seemed to constitute the ideal method for investigating people's practices and thus the questions of how, when, and by whom German ethnicity is enacted. I used participant observation mainly in German associations and institutions. Over the course of my research, I attended events and meetings held in the three German parishes in Montreal, I repeatedly visited one of the German schools, I attended regular meetings of three associations, went shopping in German shops, and took part in special events and celebrations. I was also able, in some cases, to conduct participant observations in people's home or workplaces preceding or following interviews I conducted or when people simply invited me to their home.

In addition to taking part in these activities and engaging in informal conversations through participant observation, I used in-depth interviews. Interviews complemented my observations in that they could provide an insight into German migrants' attitudes towards the practices observed and thus tackle ideological, symbolical and emotional aspects of life. This allowed me to investigate part of the question of why German ethnicity might be enacted in the contexts where it is enacted and by the persons who enact it. In total, I interviewed the 17 German migrants I have briefly introduced

above. I want to emphasize that in addition to the formal interviews I also engaged in a number of informal conversations with these and other individuals.

These interviews were conducted with one person at a time, with the exception of two interviews where a family member became interested in the interview and decided to join. This was the case for Franz's wife Angela and for Magda's daughter Theresia. Most interviews, with the exception of one, were conducted in German and the excerpts used throughout this thesis were subsequently translated from German[7]. Interviews typically lasted between one and two hours and I interviewed most, although not all, of these interview partners twice. A typical interview started in an open-ended manner by asking my interview partners to narrate their migration experiences and to situate them within their life stories. After asking my interview partners to elaborate further on certain aspects that came up during their narration, I proceeded with semi-structured interviews in which I asked participants more specific questions concerning their social fields and affiliations to German associations, their cultural, economic, political, and religious activities, their identities and places of belonging, and their language use and linguistic affiliation.

1.3 Structure of Thesis

In the four ethnographic chapters that follow, I explore these questions of if, when, how and by whom German ethnicity is enacted in the context of migration to Canada. I do so from a variety of angles and each chapter draws on a different key concept or set of concepts. In the second chapter, *"Germany is Part of My Being Here"*, I describe and analyze how German migrants enact their Germanness and express their

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[7] I wish to thank Corinna Langer for her help with the translation of a part of these.

belonging to a German homeland in ethnic associations and in their friendship and family ties. I use the concept of simultaneity which I have described above in order to investigate – and challenge – the idea that German migrants can be both German and Canadian and belong to both their homeland and Canada at the same time and continue to do so over time.

In the third chapter, *Young Blood*, I outline further the foundations of this Germanness and focus on the community that it sometimes evokes. By exploring the impact of ethnicity, nationality, language, and culture on the category *German*, it will become obvious that the point of connection underlying this community is most often defined in terms of adhering to the German language and culture. It will also emerge that some Germans cannot, do not want to and do not need to identify in the same ways and therefore exclude themselves from this community. The concepts I am drawing on in this chapter are those of groupness and community as event as outlined above. I will establish that the German community is not constant and definitionally present, but enacted in specific moments in specific contexts, by specific individuals and thus does not inhibit the integration generally strived for. It is in this chapter that the difficulties in mobilizing an ethnic category are most explicitly addressed.

In the fourth chapter, *When to Wear Lederhosen*, I explore which parts of German ethnicity are highlighted or de-emphasized in which contexts. Through the concepts of visibility and invisibility, I explore when, how, and why German ethnicity is rendered invisible or visible. It will emerge that German ethnicity is only enacted and accorded relevance on a part-time basis in some specific domains of life. In order to account for

this variation, I take immigration policies, the composition of the German immigration to Canada, and some of the strategic ways to use or not to use ethnicity into account.

The fifth chapter, *"We Speak Half and Half"*, is dedicated to language use and ideology and will deal with aspects of being German audibly. By using the concept of bilingualism and the notion of diglossia, I examine when, how, and why the German language is used or not used. It will become obvious that a particular kind of bilingualism is valued among German migrants that leads to the distribution of the languages spoken according to the same contexts and domains as ethnicity generally. I will investigate the dynamics underlying this distribution through the concept of inaudibility. In general, then, all four chapters will explore the basis of the category *German*. They will also investigate who accepts or rejects the claims being made on the basis of this category and how, if and when it mobilizes individuals or fails to do so.

2. "Germany Is Part of my Being Here"

Connections to the Homeland

2.1 Introduction

In the introductory chapter, I have already outlined that I used transnationalism as the framework of migration from which I approached the question of German migrants (defined in terms of language and culture rather than nationality) in Montreal. As will be recalled, this paradigm conceives of migration as an ongoing process in which migrants as active agents interact and identify with two or more states simultaneously (Basch et al. 1994:7, Brettel 2007:47, 2008b:120-123, Gardiner Barber 1997, 2008, Glick Schiller 2004: 455, 2005b: 28, Levitt 2001, Olwig 2003b, Olwig and Nyberg Sørensen 2002:2, Winland 1998)**.** This paradigm seemed to accommodate well the experiences of many of my interlocutors. For these German migrants, migration to Canada did not constitute a rupture with their place of origin. Quite on the contrary, many of them maintained social ties, engaged in cultural activities, made economic transactions, and were interested and involved in the politics of their homeland. At the same time, I noticed that the classic bipolar models of migration – which conceive of migration as a linear process in which settled individuals move from a sending country in order to resettle in a new receiving country and which transnationalism rejects - suited another part of my interlocutors much better. These were those migrants who "had burned the bridges behind them", hardly interacted directly with their place of origin, and concentrated on establishing a new center of life in Canada. Given the broad temporal spectrum of sixty years during which my different interlocutors migrated to Canada and the very different conditions and

circumstances of their migration, it is not surprising that not all the German migrants I talked to fit the same model of migration.

However, while not all my interlocutors are best described as transmigrants as understood in the transnational paradigm, I noticed that some of the dynamics that transnationalism uncovers and explores are also present among immigrants as understood in bipolar models. The sense of being German and belonging to a German homeland while primarily living in Canada is similar for transmigrants and immigrants; what differs is the way it is contained and expressed. In this chapter, I want to describe and analyze how different German migrants experience similar dynamics while expressing them differently, thus exploring not only the differences between transnational migration and bipolar immigration, but also their similarities. Following Glick Schiller's distinction of "transnational ways of being" and "transnational ways of belonging" (Glick Schiller 2004: 458, 2009:31, Glick Schiller and Levitt 2008) – without insisting on the "transnational" - I first explore how German migrants are German in actual practices and social relations and, second, how German migrants relate to and identify with their place of origin. Both sections look at how German migrants keep a connection to their place of origin – on a practical and emotional level. While the first two sections largely focus on broader similarities overarching the differences, the third section focuses on how the existing differences create a disjunction between transmigrants and immigrants. It will become obvious that the overarching similarities are not enough to bridge the concrete differences between them and that interaction and identification between different German migrants is limited.

2.2 Ways of Being

2.2.1 Being German Transnationally

July 28th, 2010

Gustav is smiling brightly. He is doing "super, super gut *[super, super good]," he says when I ask him and explains,* "Nächsten Mittwoch *[Next Wednesday]: Vroom." He stretches out both arms to the sides like wings and gently swings to the left, then to the right. "Vroom." I knew he would fly to Europe soon. "Nach Köln oder München* [To Cologne or Munich]?" I ask. "Erst nach München und dann am 13. nach Köln *[First to Munich and then on the 13th to Cologne]." He adds,* "Einer muss es ja machen; Ich habe mich geopfert *[Well, somebody's got to do it; I sacrificed myself]." I have much understanding to show for the sacrifice he makes by visiting Bavaria and helping his daughter to move to Cologne.* "Ja, das ist ja echt hart *[Now, that's really hard]." I reply with an appropriate amount of mock compassion. His smile broadens and turns into laughter. The joy over the upcoming trip to Germany and Austria that makes 76-year-old Gustav imitate an airplane is almost tangible in the air and highly contagious. I too have to laugh.*

Many of my interlocutors visit Germany or Austria regularly – with frequencies ranging from several times a year to once every few years. Like Gustav who first was going to spend some time in Bavaria, almost all of those who go to Europe spend at least some time in the region or the town where they have grown up especially if they still have family living there. Many also visit other places where they have lived or where their friends have moved to later on in life. Their trips to Germany or Austria are first and foremost family visits. Although Magda and her family have been going to Germany at

least once a year over the last ten years that they have primarily spent in Montreal, Magda maintained that they had only been on vacation in Germany once during this time when they spent a week on an island in the North Sea. All the other times, they have stayed with her parents or parents-in-law – and this to her is not vacation but a family visit. For many, the people they visit – family and friends – are the primary reason to go to Germany or Austria and the primary ties to these places.

Even when they are not physically present in Germany or Austria, many still foster at least some of their social ties to their friends and family members and are often on each other's minds. Communication through e-mails, phone calls, video-calls, social networking websites and - less frequently - letters is key to maintaining these social ties. Eva, for example, explained how video calling was an integral part of her life:

> By now, it has become part of my weekend routine. That's a bit stupid, it's true, because then you are not doing anything else or you are just about to leave and then that computer is ringing again. But the computer is just switched on here - 24 hours – and Skype is online. It's a bit like a phone. Nobody calls on the landline anyway (translated interview Eva, May 17th, 2010).

Objects such as photos exchanged, a present sent in a parcel, or an item once belonging to a family member brought along to Montreal also have a role to play in keeping social ties. Objects – which obtain their meanings through human embodiment – can work to symbolize human presence, evoke a person, a moment spent together, or a relationship (cf. Hallam and Hockey 2001:1, Unruh 1983:343-345) and convey these ties across distances. These reminders of each other help to bridge the periods without direct interaction and contribute to the maintenance of transnational social ties.

Through these various forms of interaction, many German migrants maintain so-called transnational social fields consisting of egocentric networks between individuals that extend transnationally. As I have outlined in the introduction, these are based on

people-to-people relationships which connect migrants and nonmigrants through kinship, friendship and attachment to a shared place of origin (Glick Schiller 2004:457, 2005b:28-29, 2006:614, Glick Schiller and Levitt 2008:188, Levitt 2001, Olwig 2007:11-12). For most, these transnational social fields are their strongest connection to Germany or Austria. The fact that Ingeborg is in touch with her daughter who lives in Germany, made her observe: "Germany, for me, is not so far away. It somehow is part of my being here, you know?" (translated interview Ingeborg, July 31st, 2010). But the social domain is not the only sphere of interaction with these countries. German migrants maintain ties in three of the other frequently identified domains of transnational practices: the cultural, the economic, and the political domains (cf. Jaworsky and Levitt 2007:134-137, Levitt 2001)[8]. These other forms of interaction are often motivated or facilitated by their social ties.

May 09th, 2010

I am at Nina's and Bernd's house and Bernd is showing me around. We reach the semi-basement where the children's rooms are. Upon entering Tobias' room, I notice the posters showing players of FC Bayern München *– the most successful football club in Germany based in Munich.* "Spielt Tobias gerne Fußball *[Does Tobias like to play soccer]?" I ask.* "Ach, ab und zu mal. Aber guck mal, dann bekommt er hier immer dieses Bayern-Magazin zugeschickt *[Oh well, every now and again. But look at these. He gets this* Bayern-Magazin]*." The shelf Bernd is pointing at carries a whole row of neatly stacked club magazines.* "Das kommt meistens, wenn ein Spiel ist. kommt dann zwar oft eine Woche zu spät an, aber trotzdem *[They are usually published when they are having*

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[8] A fifth domain of transnational ties identified by Jaworsky and Levitt is the religious domain which seems to be rather irrelevant to those German migrants who maintain transnational ties.

a match. They usually get here a week late, but all the same]…" "Wie ist er denn daran gekommen [*How did he get them]?*" *I want to know. Bernd explains,* "Ach, da hat ihn mal einer angemeldet. Das hat einfach mal einer für ihn gemacht [*Oh, somebody just subscribed him. Somebody just did it for him].*"

When Tobias receives his *Bayern-Magazin*, he can follow closely – albeit with a little delay – his favorite soccer club. Whether it is staying connected to one of Germany's most popular kinds of sports through a club magazine, eating *Haribo Gummibärchen* [gummi bears] brought along after a trip to Germany or Austria, watching serials that people watch in the native country by installing a German TV channel or reading German books sent over from Europe – many German migrants in Montreal maintain ties to Germany or Austria in the cultural domain. Seventeen-year-old Theresia who has lived in Montreal for ten years, for example, summed up her own situation stating, "We do catch a lot of what is going on in German through radio, TV, Internet and of course through our visits, too." When her mother Magda showed some doubts about the completeness of Theresia's connection with Germany after having spent more than half of her life away from it, Theresia replied:

> We catch more than you think, *Mama*. At school [the German school she is attending], the teachers always use examples or texts from Germany. For example, we had a text on anglicisms in German and it dealt with the Douglas ad with "Come in and find out." And I knew it because we're in Germany often and I knew how big it really was[9]. The others who don't go to Germany, they didn't know about it at all. I can speak about Germany well and I know what is meant because I know what people eat there, which stores there are and what it looks like (translated conversation Theresia, July 29th, 2010).

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[9] The German perfumery chain Douglas used the slogan "Come in and find out." This English slogan was misinterpretated by some customers to mean something like "Come into the shop and find your way back out." which was far from the intended meaning.

As to the economic domain, most have a bank account in Germany or Austria which allows them to receive, invest, and spend money there. Gustav and many others who worked in Germany or Austria prior to their emigration receive a pension from a German company. Katharina used her account to receive the money her parents would transfer to her occasionally while they were still eligible for child benefit. Others have invested money in life insurances, total permanent disability insurances, or investment funds. Many also use their account to shop for books, clothes, and food items - either in person when in Germany or via internet providing a German address and then asking somebody to mail it to their Montreal address.

In the political domain, many of my interlocutors stay informed about political developments by reading newspapers, flicking through magazines, logging on to internet portals, watching the news on the internet, and installing German TV channels. Nina stated: "Well, I'm interested in the directions in which things develop in Germany. I'm interested who's chancellor; who became the new president just now and completely went unnoticed. […] I do read about this" (translated interview Nina, July 6th, 2010). By staying informed and updated, they can discuss political issues with their friends and family even from a distance and participate in local discourse when visiting Germany or Austria. Gustav explained, "I create enough connections to Germany so that I always know what's going on in Germany. That means, when I get to Germany, I can join in the talk about current issues because I know something about it" (translated interview Gustav, July 21st, 2010). More than merely staying informed, some of my interlocutors vote in Germany or Austria through postal votes, although not all of those who legally

could do so actually know how to do it or want to do it and those who do, accord priority to those elections which are politically most significant.

In all these ways, the German migrants in Montreal I met are transnational migrants. Germany is present in their life: "Germany is always there and always relevant" (translated interview Nina, July 6th, 2010) as Nina put it. Just as Germany or Austria is present in their life, they also have a presence - physically or not - in their native country. The most metaphorical example of this comes from Ralf who has lived in Canada fro some ten years. Ralf has a very close friend whom he has known for forty years. "He's also the one who has a complete power of attorney from me. Signed, everything. Several ones even. In case he needs something so that he can sort out everything [all issues that Ralf might possibly encounter]" (translated interview Ralf, June 14th, 2010). By giving his friend the power to act on his behalf, Ralf can act in Germany through his friend. Others, too, have found ways to act in Germany when they want to buy something, vote, or stay in touch with somebody.

2.2.2 Being German Locally

A typical Wednesday night[10]

"Achtzehn [Eighteen]." Werner starts the bidding. Helga passes right away saying, "Weg [Pass]." Wolfgang now makes a call: "Zwanzig [Twenty]." Accepting the bid stating "Ja [Accept]" Werner now waits for Wolfgang's next call. A quick exchange follows: "Zwei [Two]."- "Ja [Accept]." - "Null [Zero]."- "Ja [Accept]." Wolfgang now needs to pass; the game is Werner's. The latter takes the two cards that are still lying face down on the table, quickly looks at them, places them among the ten cards on his

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[10] The following description is a composite description of observations made on several days. All of them are rather typical of interactions at the card-playing club. They are meant to reflect the atmosphere at the meetings rather than precise facts.

hand, takes two other cards from his hand and places them face down on the table. In deep concentration, he tries to figure out his strategy for this game. Getting impatient, Helga asks, "Meister, wie heißt er? [Master, what's his name?]" After another short reflection, Werner declares: "Wir spielen ein Herz [We play heart.]". Cards are flying on the table now – one from each player clockwise. "Tchac, tchac, tchac." And again "tchac, tchac, tchac."

A dispute brakes out at the neighbor table. At the top of his voice, one of the players accuses another of having tried to give a sign to his partner. The accused is ready to yell back. But the person not directly involved in the dispute quickly calls a judge. Meanwhile sounds of laughter have been carried through the room from another table. When I approach, Gustav, Karl, and Horst again start laughing about something I ignore. Hilarity radiates from the table of these three men. Karl just announces that he will win the game to which Gustav provokingly responds: "Oh yeah? I've got news for you, big news." With great determination and conviction to win, Gustav then plays his last cards … and loses. There never was any chance for him to win this game. Far from taking the game seriously tonight, they seem to have the greatest fun fooling about and teasing each other.

A game is over at yet another table. Hermann lost. "Oh, oh! Verloren! Selbst verloren! [Oh, oh! You lost! It's all your own fault!]" Theo maliciously remarks. "Wie kannst du das Kreuzass drücken und die zehn blank lassen? [How could you put back the ace of clubs and leave the ten unprotected?]" he goes on to explain in the typical player jargon the fault that caused Hermann's loss of the game. Hermann reflects on this for a moment and starts to nod. "Selbst vergeigt. [You blew it.]" Theo points out once more.

Hermann understands his fault: "Ja, ja. Ja, vollkommen richtig. [Yes, yes. Yes, that's absolutely right.]"

Between two games, while the cards are mixed and distributed by one player, Franz turns to Lise asking: "Kommst du auch zum Line Dance? [Are you coming to the line dance?]" "Vielleicht. Aber ich glaube ehr nicht. Keine Zeit. [Maybe. But I don't think so. No time.]" she answers. "Na, bei mir ist es ehr praktisch. So habe ich montags etwas vor, dienstags etwas vor, mittwochs etwas vor, donnerstags etwas vor, freitags etwas vor. Samstags behalte ich für die Familie. Sonntags gehe ich nicht aus dem Haus, weil da alle draußen sind. [Well, for me it's handy. Like that I have something to do on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. Saturday I keep for the family. Sundays I don't step outside the house because everybody is outside then.] The game starts over, the conversation is cut short.

Snippets of conversations in German resounding from all around me, I almost felt as if I was sitting in a pub somewhere in Germany during my first visits to the *Montrealer Trümpfe* [Trumps of Montreal], a German card-playing club. A range of possible interactions in such a setting was laid out to me by people chit-chatting, joking, discussing, and disputing in German. And yet it only almost felt like being in a German pub. The conversations seasoned with English comments every now and again, the interest in line dance and hockey games, and the location of the pub on a six-lane boulevard lined with parking lots and square shopping centers behind them were reminders of the North American context.

Nina described the *Montrealer Trümpfe* as a "social meeting place within the *Deutschtum*" (translated conversation Nina, April 12th, 2010). The term *Deutschtum* has

complex meanings and is variously translated as *Germanness*, *Germanism*, or *Germandom* of which the latter seems to be closest to the German term. As Prince already noted in 1918, "it is impossible to define Deutschtum in a phrase. The word is untranslatable excepting perhaps by '*Germandom*,' which is inappropriate." (Prince 1918:13). The term is composed of *Deutsch* which means *German* and the suffix *–tum* which can be added to nouns or adjectives denoting groups of persons (Boase-Beier and Lodge 2003:80). *Deutschtum* is therefore related to the idea of the German people regarded in its collectivity. Those of my interlocutors who employed the term used it to describe the belonging to a German linguistic and cultural space which is not determined by national boundaries but by German linguistic and cultural practice. It can therefore include Germans living outside of Germany. This interpretation coincides with the definition of *Deutschtum* given by the German standard dictionary[11] which describes it as a) the totality of signs of life typical for Germans and the German character; b) the belonging to the German people; and c) the totality of German ethnic groups abroad.

In this sense, the club which Nina describes as a meeting place within the *Deutschtum* functions together with other German associations and organizations where the German language and culture are practiced as the Montreal-branch of the *Deutschtum*. An updated list of "German/German-Canadian Associations, Educational Institutions, and Institutions" (translated from German) published by the German Consulate in 2011 lists 13 associations with primarily social and cultural missions, four full-time and part-time schools, four churches, three newsletters and newspapers, three bookstores, and three institutions with a primarily political and economic mission for the region of Montreal. This gives an idea of the range of possibilities to speak German or to

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[11] *Duden*, s.v. "Deutschtum"

engage in activities considered to be German in Montreal. Seventy-three-year-old

Marion, a member of one of the German churches, illustrated:

> We usually all get together here [in a German church] when there are church festivities or when German associations do something […]. There are several German associations in Montreal. And anyway, one person knows this, another person knows that [and then we ask each other:] "Do we go out together?" you know? But otherwise, most happens [around] the church. When there are celebrations, everyone we know, from all over the place, shows up, if you will. But there are other […] associations too, and when they do something […], we'll go there, or they'll come to us. Any place where something German is going on, we will usually go (translated interview Marion, August 1st, 2010).

German immigrants have the possibility to meet locally and have a conversation in German, eat sausages with sauerkraut, sing folk songs, play a German card game, dance traditional dances or obtain objects associated with German culture.

All these institutions and associations together constitute the Montreal-branch of the *Deutschtum* which is inherently connected to the broader linguistic and cultural space of the *Deutschtum*, yet firmly anchored in the region of Montreal. Within this Montreal-based *Deutschtum*, Germans can enact their Germanness locally by reactivating and reviving patterns of social interaction and cultural traditions, by fostering attitudes and discourses which they know from their homeland. In this way, too, German migrants can be German in Montreal and maintain a connection to a German linguistic and cultural space.

This connection to the *Deutschtum* rather than to *Deutschland* [Germany]- to a linguistic and cultural space rather than to a country on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean - is well embedded in a larger conceptualization of being German centered on German cultural and linguistic origins rather than German nationality (cf. Bassler1991: vii, 6-8, Grenke 1989:1, McLauglin 1985: 3). Indeed, since the nineteenth century the idea of German nationality itself has been based on ethnocultural features and the

principle of descent (*jus sanguinis*) rather than on a territorial ascription (*jus soli*) (cf. Green 2000:106-107). And it becomes indeed possible to be, in a sense, "more German" than Germans in Germany and to question the legitimacy of what is currently produced as German in Germany. Ingeborg pondered, "I think I am maybe much more consciously German than people in Germany" (translated interview Ingeborg, July, 31st, 2010). She gave her membership in a group that gets together once a month to sing German folk songs accompanied by coffee and cake as an example of her care for German language and culture. The tradition of singing folk songs is, according to Ingeborg, lost in Germany and this loss of folk songs is emblematic of a loss of culture generally.

2.2.3 Combination and Preferences of Ways of Being German

Many of my interlocutors live their Germanness and keep a connection to its sources in both ways; on a local and translocal level. Communicating with friends or family in Germany or Austria and observing some traditions and practices considered German in Montreal is relatively frequent. Most do, however, use both ways to varying extents and have a preference for one of them. There is a tendency of earlier and older migrants to rely more on local ties and of recent and younger migrants to rely more on transnational ties. This difference is most obvious in German clubs and associations, the local sites of the *Deutschtum* in Montreal, where members are mainly 60 years of age or older and where young migrants are almost absent. When I attended German clubs and associations, some of their members, on different occasions, outlined very similar systems of classification of German immigrants to me. They usually group those who immigrated in the 1950s and 1960s in a first category. Sometimes this category is then subdivided into *Volksdeutsche* [ethnic Germans] who migrated to Canada after their

displacement from German ethnic enclaves in Eastern Europe and their transitory stay in Germany or Austria and *Reichsdeutsche* [Germans from the state of Germany] who had lived in Germany and migrated from there. These migrants are sometimes referred to as *richtige Einwanderer* [real immigrants]. A "real immigrant" is somebody who came to Canada with the intention to permanently leave his or her homeland and to establish a new life in Canada. These are people who, according to Reinhard, said, "we burn the bridges behind us; we stay. We go to Canada and we stay in Canada" (translated interview Reinhard, July 28th, 2010). Immigration, here, is final (or thought to be so).

If bridges are burned, this literally means that no direct, practical connection to the homeland is maintained. While not everybody completely cut off his or her connection to the homeland, most knew that returning was not a realistic option and focused on constructing their lives anew in Montreal. However, the desire to maintain and enact their Germanness remained for many. Doing so was possible and convenient given that many other German-speaking immigrants arrived in Montreal during the period as I will outline in more detail in the following chapter. Staying connected with the *Deutschtum* locally which is not confined to the national borders which they just left behind or within which they had never resided is also consistent with what immigration meant for them: Leaving Germany or their homeland behind, but not their Germanness.

The same individuals then form a second category of migrants of those who came during the 1970s. The distinctive features of these migrants are their higher education and the initially temporary nature of their migration to Canada. Typically, they first came to Canada as professionals for a clearly delimited amount of time such as on three-year contract of employment. Many of the temporary migrants originally did not have the

intention to stay, to immigrate. This was only achieved over time as their stay got ever extended.

> Well, that [immigration to Canada] just happened. When they arrived here, the goal wasn't to immigrate but to work here. And [they] either had some success with it or they really like it or both, and [they] then became immigrants. But [they] weren't originally immigrants (translated interview Gustav, July 21st, 2010).

When discussing this classification with Gustav, he suggested the term *zufällige Einwanderer* [coincidental immigrants] to describe these migrants.

"Coincidental immigrants" are those who tend to use both types of connection in the most balanced way. On the one hand, as their migration slowly shifted towards permanent immigration, they established a growing local social field and could benefit from the associations and institutions often created or maintained by German migrants who arrived in the two decades before them and who were in the same age range as I will describe and analyze in more detail in the following chapter. Although they are distinguished from "real immigrants", members of both categories share an essential trait: Both are immigrants and refer to themselves as such. Members of both types understand immigration to involve a permanent transition from their place of origin to the host country - although the period of transition varies between the two categories. With their move becoming permanent, their lives become more based on one locality. "Real" and "coincidental immigrants" together form the overwhelming majority of those who attend and contribute to German associations and institutions in Montreal. On the other hand, the employment which had originally brought these "coincidental immigrants" to Canada often involved communicating frequently with people in Germany, staying up to date about economic and political developments, and making business trips to Germany

regularly. As they originally also intended to move back to Germany in the future, they were likely to keep transnational connections and social ties to Germany.

Recent migrants are conspicuously absent from any system of classification ever outlined to me – just as they are absent from German clubs and associations in Montreal where these classifications circulate. These more recent migrants often had very different motivations for coming to Canada such as the desire to live elsewhere or a relationship with a partner living in Canada. For many, the question of the duration of their stay in Canada is still pending, the option of return still open. Nina stated, "Nowadays, you just can't say you have to stay here all your life. You don't *have to* do anything at all nowadays. Everything is open […]. Staying in touch with Germany today is not a problem at all anymore" (translated interview Nina, July 6th, 2010). Staying in touch with family and friends, following current developments, and occasionally taking action in Germany or Austria is very much consistent with their idea of temporary migration. They also have been able to benefit more from modern modes of telecommunication and transportation that significantly facilitate their connection to Germany or Austria (cf. Brettel with Hollifield 2008:120, Guarnizo and Smith 1998:4, Winland 1998).

These broad lines are nothing but tendencies. Individual preferences and abilities blur the lines between these categories. Gustav, who migrated in the 1950s, for example, explained that he is not a "club person" and does not usually like to become involved in associations. The only German group he attends is the card-playing club. He does, however, read German newspapers on the internet and gets German magazines sent to him by post in order to remain "constantly informed" about Germany. Nina, on the other hand, who immigrated some five years ago is involved in several German associations

and institutions and for her the *Deutschtum* is of central importance. The general preference for one type of connection has meant that those German migrants who maintain transnational ties are less inclined to mobilize locally on ethnic grounds whereas those who do not maintain transnational ties are those who demonstrate the strongest ethnic mobilization locally. I will explore these tendencies further in the next chapter.

2.3 Ways of Belonging

2.3.1 Two Homes – *Zuhause* and *Heimat*

While not all of my interlocutors interacted directly with their homeland, most of them felt some sort of belonging or attachment to their place of origin. At the same time, they also expressed their belonging to Canada. It is in the kind of belonging that many distinguish between both places which is evident in Magda's account:

> Well, when I am in Germany on a visit: During the first few years I said, "In Canada you do this in such and such a way." By now, I say, "In Canada, where we live, we do this in such and such a way." This changed some time – I don't know – after three or four years und I noticed at the time that it had changed. But that's just the way it is because this is our place, because I live here now; it has been ten years [since we moved here]. This is my *Zuhause* [home], I know everything here, I know all the people here, I'm totally part of this community. But of course […] when I go to my family [in Germany], then that's still a kind of my *Zuhause*. That's just the way it is. […] In German at least you have this distinction between the words *Heimat* [home or homeland] and *Zuhause*. In English, there are not two words for that. That's a bit impractical. Because of that it is hard to differentiate. But this is probably the main difference (translated interview Magda, July 29th, 2010).

The German language therefore seems to provide German migrants with a tool to express their simultaneous belonging to two places while distinguishing between them. As Magda pointed out, two terms exist in German for the English *home*: *Zuhause* and *Heimat*. *Zuhause*[12] designates the house or apartment where one lives and where one

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[12] *Duden*, s. v. "Zuhause"

feels at ease and in security, where one is happy and at home. This kind of home is small in scale and can change over time. *Heimat*[13], in turn, can designate a kind of home on a larger scale – closer to the English *homeland* - which does not usually alter its location. It is "a local sense of place grounded in emotional attachments to familiar surroundings" (Lekan 2005:141), usually the region where somebody was born and grew up, but where he or she does not necessarily live anymore.

Many of my interlocutors do indeed differentiate between two types of belonging along these lines. Not all, however, use the same terms to refer to the two slightly different kinds of home. Matthias, for example, maintained that Montreal was his *Zuhause* and referred to the town in Germany where he was born as *Geburtsstätte* [birthplace (the term has a sacred connotation)] which he elaborated to be "a kind of - how do you say? – a kind of Stonehenge. It's a ritual and will always remain one. [A place] where you pilgrimage to for all sorts of things. The connection is of course very, very strong because my family lives there" (translated interview Matthias, May 30th, 2010). Matthias' metaphor reflects well the emotional significance of, and the longing for, the place of origin, yet also the distance towards it and its limited impact on everyday life – characteristics also present in the term *Heimat*. The place of origin being of emotional and the place of settlement being of practical importance is a recurrent theme and most evident in Martina's remark explaining where she feels at home: "I'd say, 'You know, I live in Montreal at the moment.' But in my heart [it's] certainly my own country [i.e. Austria]" (translated interview Martina, April 8th, 2010). Some of my interlocutors also seem to use the two terms interchangeably or only one of them to refer to both their

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[13] *Duden*, s. v. "Heimat"

place of origin and their place of settlement. In the way they talk about their belonging to each, however, similar distinctions become apparent.

While this kind of distinction between the two types of home is often observed, differences between recent and earlier migrants are also evident and related to the different amounts of time that have elapsed since their migration. For many, *Zuhause* and *Heimat* coincided prior to the beginning of their migratory moves. Upon arrival in Canada, the place of residence does not automatically become a *Zuhause*, it needs to evolve into one and this took several years for many of my interlocutors. During this time, the German *Zuhause* might still have relevance and the two *Zuhause* might coexist for a period of time. This is especially true for recent migrants who still consider their parents' house as a *Zuhause* to which they can always return. Katharina who first came to Montreal some five years ago remarked: "Montreal is almost as much *Zuhause* as the village, where my parents live, you know" (translated interview Katharina, May 25th, 2010)? Over time, however, most realize that the Canadian *Zuhause* gains in significance while the German *Zuhause* becomes less tangible. Eva who has lived in Montreal for five years noted, "[When I am in Germany] it's like going home then. But I notice by now that this is not my life anymore, well that my life happens elsewhere" (translated interview Eva, May, 17th, 2010). Several of my older interlocutors related this shift of the *Zuhause* to Canada to the birth of their children, just as some of the younger migrants related the maintenance of a *Zuhause* in Germany to their parents and their place of residence. This is most explicit in Marion's remark:

> When I was pregnant – I was seven months pregnant at the time – we decided to become Canadian citizens so that we would be the same as our child. […] But I think this happened because we thought anyways like: "This is our new *Heimat*

and we stay here." So, that's why I took out Canadian citizenship (translated interview Marion, August 1st, 2010).

With this shift of the *Zuhause* to Canada, the German home slowly changes into a *Heimat*. The notion of *Heimat* indeed only seems to gain relevance once it is dissociated from the *Zuhause*. After a longer period of residence in Canada it is possible that the Canadian *Zuhause* also becomes a *Heimat,* usually a second one. In this case which can be observed among some of my older interlocutors a Canadian and a German *Heimat* might coexist just as two *Zuhause* might coexist for some of my younger interlocutors. This is expressed by Gustav: "You have […] a *Heimat* times two. Definitely" (translated interview Gustav, July 21st, 2010). This second *Heimat* in Canada bears in many cases German traces. Houses supposedly have a typical German character and participation in local German activities and in the *Deutschtum* generally are essential elements of this second *Heimat* which is mostly evoked by older migrants. Thus, Ingeborg explained:

> Let's say, if you are visiting somebody here who is German, you'll see how nice they have it in their home. There are curtains on the windows and it is typically German here, you know? The cooking, the way to celebrate Christmas. It is maintained. We have a German bazaar here. […] And everywhere the *Deutschtum* is maintained (translated interview Ingeborg, July, 31st, 2010).

Indeed, "communities of German speakers, scattered around the globe, have long believed that they could recreate their *Heimat* (homeland) wherever they moved" (O'Donnell et al. 2005:1).

2.3.2 Simultaneity?

The belonging to two places at the same time as well as the periodical enactment of being German described in the previous section raises the question of simultaneity, a central concept in transnational theory. As outlined in the introduction, it points to the fact that individuals can participate in activities in, hold identities of, and generally live in

both their country of origin and their new country at the same time (Basch et al. 1994:22, Glick Schiller 2004:454, 462, 2009:35, Jaworsky and Levitt 2007:129, Levitt 2001). I have shown in the previous section that recent German migrants especially maintain close ties to Germany and Austria which allow and motivate them to also take certain actions in these countries while they also live their lives in Canada. To some extent then they participate in activities in both countries. With the juxtaposition of a German *Heimat* and a Canadian *Zuhause*, I have further demonstrated that they have feelings of belonging to both countries. For them, Germany or Austria is part of their being-in-Canada through direct ties to it. The concept of simultaneity therefore seems to apply to those with strong transnational ties. The concept of simultaneity might also apply to those who keep less transnational ties and who are more involved in the *Deutschtum* locally. This is most obvious in the similar way in which they refer to their Canadian home as *Zuhause* and their German home as *Heimat*. While they do not necessarily keep transnational ties to the homeland, they likewise enact their Germanness by adhering to the *Deutschtum*. As the *Deutschtum* is lived locally, it is embedded in the Canadian context and becomes a part of living in Canada. It is in this sense that the homeland is part of their being-in-Canada. It is the anchorage of this Germanness, what it is connected to – a cultural and linguistic space or a concrete country –and the tools to keep that connection that might differ, but the final outcome of being German while also being Canadian is similar.

However, for both types of German migrants the term "simultaneity" needs to be specified. It does not mean constant simultaneous engagement with two countries. It means engagement with both countries in their life; at different moments and to varying extents. This will be elaborated further in the chapter on invisibility where I will show

that while German migrants do enact their Germanness – whether locally or transnationally – they only do so on a part-time basis. Those who keep transnational ties to Germany or Austria pointed out that they engage less with Germany and Austria than with Canada. Many of them were acutely aware of the fact that they do not and cannot live in two countries at the same time to the same extent. They feel the limitations of their connection to Germany or Austria when they are missing their friends and family members although they stay in touch with them or when they vote in Germany but have doubts about the correctness of their action considering that they do not actually have to live with the consequences of their vote. Considering the limitations of the possibilities for interaction with Germany, Gustav stated:

> You can't intervene in anything, you can't bring about anything that would make you active in Germany. While here you can do that: You pay taxes, you vote, you have a say. If somebody listens, is another story, but you can do that. […] That's why it [my engagement with Germany] is passive, it can't be active (translated interview Gustav, July 21st, 2010).

Some also note that their ties periodically become stronger. Magda, for example, pointed out that she visited Germany more than usually that year because her parents had become sick. But she also explained that "it's not so much fun to always fly back and forth" (translated interview Magda, July 29th, 2010) between Germany and Canada and that this practice was clearly limited in time.

Very similar impressions were expressed by some of those who are most engaged in the *Deutschtum* locally. Ernst, for example, noted, "We became Canadians. That's logical. I think I've said this before, we completely became Canadians. But we just want to maintain the bit of Germanness that we still have and foster it where possible" (translated interview Ernst, July 21st, 2010). Like more recent migrants, they too feel the limitations of their engagement when they come to fear for the continuation of the

German clubs and associations to which they contribute as I will show in the following chapter.

In terms of identifying with, and belonging to, two countries at the same time, the frequent juxtaposition of a Canadian *Zuhause* and a German *Heimat* clearly expresses a dual albeit slightly different belonging to two places. While the two homes form an integral part of life, they are used and valued differently. Many of my interlocutors distinguish between their homeland and their place of residence, frequently compare between them, drawing out advantages and disadvantages of each. Among all the differences, the most fundamental one lies in the relevance of each of them. The Canadian *Zuhause* is relevant on a daily basis. It is the place where people return to everyday after work, where they can invite friends to, and where they live their private lives. It is concrete and tangible. Besides its emotional significance as the place where one is at ease and where one can be oneself, it also has a very practical significance as it functions like the pin-head on a map marking one's centre of life. The German *Heimat* is much more exclusively of emotional significance which is evoked periodically. Living in one place and keeping a close connection to another constitutes a fine balancing in which the two places of belonging become complementary to each other through the different values and spheres of use accorded to each. However, this does not mean that the balance does not eventually tip to one side - usually that of weakening one's connection to the *Heimat*.

The awareness of the balance tipping to one side, leads many to reject the idea of living in both countries at the same time. Similar to Eva who came to realize that being in

Germany "is not her life anymore", Ingeborg described her visit to her daughter in Germany a year earlier as follows:

> They almost killed themselves in order to make me feel at ease and so forth. But, you know, this is not my life. There, I just waited: […] Where are we going now? And then they drove me there and so forth. And dinner was on the table. And my clothes were washed and ironed. I really had [vacations]. Here, it is completely different: Come rain or shine, I have to get up, the chicken need to be fed - you know? - the dog wants to pee (translated interview Ingeborg, July 31st, 2010).

The idea that a choice needs to be made as to the location of one's primary center of life is often expressed. When I asked Reinhard, one of those few German migrants to have dual citizenship, if he would vote in both countries, he explained that he would not vote in Germany because "you have to decide at some stage whom you are there for, right? And we vote in Canada. And this is our direct environment, you know?" (translated interview Reinhard, May 11th, 2010).

Some of those more recent migrants who have not made the choice yet and try to keep all options open find it constraining. Reflecting on her economic activities in Germany, Eva stated:

> Eva: It's a terrible subject.
> Maike: Why?
> Eva: All my life insurances and those things are still in Germany and I regularly transfer money to my father. It's an annoying subject because with it you've got to decide in which country you really want to live. If I'd cancelled it all, then it would be like, "OK, now I'm not going back there for the next few years." But as it's still all open [and] we don't know yet if we'll still be here in two years or if we go back, I haven't burned all those bridges yet (translated interview Eva, May 17th, 2010).

At the same time as they feel the need to maintain close connections with Germany or Austria, many feel that this connection has "a price that you have to pay" (translated interview Eva, May 17th, 2010). Strong ties to, and engagement with, Germany or Austria might be perceived as an obstacle to living a complete life in

Montreal. Martina explained that she did not want to call her Austrian friends during the weekend – the only time when she possibly could – because she preferred to do outdoor activities. She did not want to subordinate her desire to benefit from life here and now to the desire to maintain close communication with friends in Austria. Such negative connotations of transnationalism together with the observation that the *Zuhause* slowly shifts towards Canada might hint at a tendency that in the long run, even transnationalism is transitory and leads to a transfer from the homeland to the host country. This is very much in line with predictions some of the older migrants have shared with me who almost mock those who think that they could easily return to Germany/Austria, or even maintain a balance between Germany/Austria and Canada.

The matter of choice does not only exist on an emotional and practical level, but also on a legal level. Dual citizenship - which would best express the state of living in two countries in legal terms - is not usually available to German migrants. While this would be possible as far as Canadian authorities are concerned, German authorities do not generally accept dual citizenship. Indeed, "it is the steadfast desire to avoid dual citizenships which lies at the heart of Germany's citizenship policy" (Green 2000:116). In 1992, the German Constitutional Court went as far as stating that "it is accurate to say that dual or multiple nationality is regarded, both domestically and internationally, as an evil that should be avoided or eliminated if possible" (quoted in Hailbronner 2002:129). As Green states, it is precisely because dual citizenship is considered to constitute an attachment to two different cultures that German authorities seek to avoid it (Green 2000:106). If a German migrant accepts Canadian citizenship, he or she automatically loses German citizenship if he or she did not obtain an exemption from the German

authorities (Green 2000:115). In this way, German citizenship regulations work "against any acknowledgement of transnational cultural mobility" (Römhild 1999:101) - not only for immigrants to Germany but also for emigrants from Germany.

For most German migrants this has therefore meant choosing one citizenship. Many of the earlier immigrants readily accepted Canadian citizenship and, with it, the loss of German citizenship. This is not surprising given that many had come with the intention to stay permanently in Canada and to live their life there. In addition, for many of them Canada was "the country of boundless possibilities" (translated conversation Franz, July 7th, 2010), "one of the best countries" (translated interview Franz, July 14th, 2010) or even the "Promised Land" (translated interview Reinhard, July 28th, 2010). Marion for example explained, "Sometimes I think of the story in the Bible: 'God sent them to a country flowing with milk and honey.' And this is more or less what came true for me here" (translated interview Marion, July 11th, 2010). Having fled her home village in Eastern Europe during the Second World War, Marion and her mother had lost all their possessions before reaching Austria. During their flight, such basic needs as eating were not always fulfilled. After moving to Montreal, the family's situation rapidly improved. In this context, the biblical story is very meaningful to her even in a very literal sense and when Marion showed me around her house, she made a point of leading me into her buttery which was filled not just with basic food items but with treats of all kinds.

While Canada might be the Promised Land for many of the oldest immigrants, Canada is met with much more suspicion and negative prejudices by some of the younger migrants. Eva, for example, stated: "North America is quite… you've got to see first if you really want that" (translated interview Eva, May 17th, 2010). Hardly any of them had

the intention to stay permanently upon their first arrival. "At the beginning we weren't so sure how long we'd stay because I didn't like it here very much, the whole life style. It didn't really appeal to me, this North American [life style]" (translated interview Matthias, May 18th, 2010). These more recent migrants also do not necessarily need to take any permanent decisions. Compared to earlier migrants, they have more options including the possibility to return or to move on to another place. These options are far less restricted by practical considerations such as high transportation costs or attitudes which would interpret these moves as a failure. Among more recent migrants, the possibility of return is purposefully kept open and an effort is conducted towards keeping it open. Renouncing one's German citizenship would counter this logic as it makes a possible return rather difficult.

In January 2000, a new law, the *Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz* (StAG), came into force in Germany and constituted the first considerable revision of German citizenship policy in 76 years (Green 2000:107). While the new provisions for both naturalization and loss of citizenship remain based on the desire to avoid dual citizenship, the number of exceptions to the avoidance of dual citizenship has been extended (Green 2000:116-117). For Germans who want to be naturalized in another country, it is now possible to apply for a *Beibehaltungsgenehmigung* [permit to keep their German citizenship] prior to taking on a second one (§25 section 2 StAG).

Since then, many of my younger interlocutors have talked about this option, have seriously considered it, and some like Magda have made the application. Explaining why dual citizenship was desirable to her, Magda stated:

> It expresses best what we are. We simply are both somehow - […] I am certainly still more German, as is my husband - […] our children, they have spent more

than half their life here and for them it is realistically speaking: Yes, they are German but they also are Canadian somehow. Here lines are blurred and so I think it matches our situation best (translated interview Magda, July 29th, 2010).

Others are hesitant to make the application. For many, dual citizenship would be an ideal solution, but the difficulties of the procedure, the costs, and the uncertain chances of success have prevented them from submitting an application. They are aware that eventually a choice needs to be taken.

2.4 Disjunction between Transmigrants and Immigrants

So far I have outlined some of the similarities between transnational connections to Germany or Austria used mostly by younger migrants and local connections to the *Deutschtum* used mostly by older migrants, and between feelings of belonging to the *Heimat* by young and old. I have shown that while different German migrants keep a connection to different constructs – a specific country/region or a linguistic and cultural space -, the dynamics revolving around this connection are very similar. I now want to look at the impact of the differences in what German migrants keep a connection to. Although most of my interlocutors feel and maintain a connection to their *Heimat*, the homeland that they keep ties to is not the same for all of them. The point of disjuncture that I want to focus on is of temporal nature (I will examine the spatial dispersion of the various homelands of German migrants and the impact of the heterogeneity of regional origins in the chapter on invisibility). The temporal frame of reference, the period of time on which memories and feelings are based, greatly varies among Germans who migrated in different periods. Once a place of origin is not a home in the sense of *Zuhause* anymore but rather a home in the sense of *Heimat*, it is much more likely that it is fixed to a certain period in time. *Heimat* is often the place where one was born and grew up. By

definition it is therefore attached to the past. And while it lives on in memories the way it used to be (or in an idealized version of how it used to be), the actual place continues to develop and change. Over time, the gap between memory and reality might thus increase and with it the gap of an image held by earlier and more recent German migrants.

In addition, the different tools of keeping a connection used by different migrants might also influence the frame of reference used. While both those who mainly use transnational ties and those who mainly use local ties are aware of the fact that their German home changes over time, transmigrants have more of a chance to follow these changes. Many of the immigrants who foster their ties to the *Heimat* more locally than transnationally, are far more disconnected from these changes. Franz, for example, has only been to Germany twice since his migration to Canada in 1952, the first time in the late 1980s and a second time some ten years later. "Then I went to the village where we once lived. […] I got there; you don't know your way around anymore. They changed everything. […] The people are different: I don't know - they think differently, they speak differently" (translated conversation Franz, July 14th, 2010). When Franz went to Germany, he felt alienated from the place he remembered.

By combining their visits to their place of origin with other techniques to stay in touch with it as outlined earlier, transmigrants have a much more updated version of this place accessible to them. Immigrants, on the other hand, cultivate their memories and impressions of their place of origin in a state of the past when they congregate in Montreal and evoke the *Heimat*. Theirs is a "disconnected connection" – a strong connection to a place, but not to its present-day state. Thus, different attitudes towards, and practices of staying in touch with the homeland influence the form of connection and

the frame of reference used by various migrants. I have pointed out above that these attitudes tend to vary along generational lines so that earlier migrants are more inclined to use local ties and more recent migrants, to use transnational ties. Although, of course, there are exceptions to these tendencies, they might increase the discrepancies in the frame of reference used by more recent and earlier migrants.

May 19ᵗʰ, 2010

I am spending the morning with the Seniorengruppe *[senior group] at a German church. One of the women, Elisabeth, hands me two novels printed in small booklets: "*Möchtest du die haben? *[Do you want these?]" she asks. I take the booklets. The pages are frayed, the spine is chapped; adhesive tape is preventing them from falling apart.* "Bring sie einfach wieder zurück, wenn du sie durch hast und gib sie an jemanden weiter, der sie noch nicht gelesen hat. *[Just bring them back whenever you are done and pass them on to somebody who hasn't read them yet]" says Elisabeth. The booklets seem to have been passed on from one person to another for decades. The front cover, the first and last pages bear the initials of those who have read the novel. None of the booklets has a date of publication printed inside. But in "*Zwischen zwei Dämonen *[Between two Demons]" some of the readers also inserted a date beside their initials. The oldest I can find is 1981. "*Der Professor und das Mädchen Monica *[The Professor and the Maid Monica]" is, I find out later, part of a series that was published between 1950 and 1976.*

These two novels are an example of how the anchorage in the past is reflected in activities and practices at German clubs and institutions in Montreal. The society which they are supposed to reflect is not present-day Germany or Austria. It is a society of some thirty, forty years ago, a society that some of the members of the *Seniorengruppe*

experienced in their youth. These novels are far from being part of German high culture and the fact that they still circulate might indicate that there is a lack or an insufficient supply of more recent literature. The lack of new input and the focus on the past are evident in other activities as well. Once a year, a group of parish members celebrates the *Kirchweihfest* [the anniversary of the consecration of the church] at their German church in Montreal. However, they do not celebrate the anniversary of their church in Montreal, but the anniversary of the church in the village in Eastern Europe from which a majority of the older parish members were displaced during the Second World War. The library of the Geothe-Institut offers a wealth of information on Germany. However, it has often been the subject of critique by recent migrants for its focus on the past. Some of the discourse related to the Second World War in German associations and institutions revolves around the suffering and the injustices inflicted on Germans during and after the war which is well in-line with the trend in Germany during the 1950s. However, in Germany this discourse has moved on to a more self-critical positioning and the notion of collective guilt since the 1960s (Hegi 1997, Meune 2003:156).

July 14th, 2010

I am sitting with Franz in his living room. He has started to tell me about his migration experience and is now talking about the episode during which he was obliged to leave his hometown in Poland and move step by step towards Germany as the Second World War advanced. He keeps asking me questions about my knowledge about this episode. "Weißt du was Reichsgau Westpreußen war? [Do you know what the Reichsgau West-Prussia was?]" "Weißt du, dass vor dem Krieg fast genau so viele Deutsche im Ausland gelebt haben? [Do you know that before the war there were as many Germans

living abroad (as in Germany)]?" While I want him to tell me his story from his point of view, I also acknowledge that when I went to school in Germany the Second World War was a central issue and that we talked about it in German classes, English classes, religion classes, history classes, politics classes, but that displacement of Germans and sufferings of Germans has never been talked about. Franz responds: "In Deutschland, siehst du, deine History, deine Geschichte in Deutschland... [In Germany, you see, your history, your history in Germany…]" Something was missing from the German version of history, something was distorted to him. "Das war hier ganz groß [It was really big here (among Germans)]," he adds. I can understand his reaction, his feeling of distortion well. When I first met Volksdeutsche *who had been displaced from Eastern Europe, and they told me about experiences of pain and suffering, I similarly felt that their rendering of history was not the history I knew. Our understandings of history were clashing.*

Thus, the image of the homeland and the attitudes, practices, and discourses related to it that are conveyed and enacted by German migrants in German clubs and associations is based in the past. It is as old as those who carry it. As I will outline in more detail in the following chapter, recent migrants often deplore the focus on the past in German associations and institutions and only rarely participate in the proposed activities of German clubs. The social reproduction of the local German scene is of limited success. One of the reasons for this phenomenon is, I suggest, the incompatibility of frames of reference used by those who cultivate their Germanness mainly on a local level and those who do so mainly on a transnational and a resulting lack of identification with what is presented as the German homeland and by extension of what is presented as being German.

Even the notion of the *Deutschtum* around which many local German activities are centered is much more present in the discourse of older German migrants than of younger ones. Indeed, while it is of central importance to older Germans in Montreal and widely used, it is only met with reticence in Germany as the term carries negative "associations and connotations that evoke images of traditional costumes and folk music such as were promulgated during the Nazi dictatorship" (Herminghouse and Mueller1997:2, cf. Meune 2003:157-158). None of the more recent migrants have ever used the term *Deutschtum* in my presence with the exception of Nina who is involved in the local German scene.

Interestingly, this kind of disjunction between many older and younger migrants is in many ways similar to the kind of gap between *Volksdeutsche* "returning" to Germany and Germans already living in Germany. Thus Mueller states:

> Because they are already "German", members of the [ethnic German] group are able to "come back" to a Germany that they have imagined as frozen in time. Their anachronistic understanding of their own Germannness, even when they do not know the language, is incompatible with the contemporary liberal rejection of traditional notions of German identity (Mueller 1997:277).

This again highlights the fact that notions of being German in Germany have developed in different directions and at a different pace than they have within German ethnic minorities outside of Germany.

While some of the younger migrants cannot or do not want to identify with what is proposed as German by clubs and associations, some of the older migrants cannot or do not desire to update their ties to their homeland by visiting their place of birth or staying in touch with family and friends left behind. This is especially true for those who were displaced from Eastern Europe during the Second World War. Like other displaced

persons I have met, Marion had no desire to bring up to date her vision of the German-speaking village in Yugoslavia where she was born and spent her childhood.

> I have no interest [to go back to that village]; I never want to go back. I rather want to keep in memory the bit that I know the way I know it: The way it was. Because this was my closest family. It was my place so to speak. And now it's all gone. Everything's shattered and collapsed. And the cemetery - there is none anymore. And the […] chapel - […] it's not standing there anymore, it fell over because nobody does anything […]. Everything is so very different, so I have no interest anymore to see that (translated interview Marion, August 2nd, 2010).

There is a clear rupture with the present of her birth place; her anchorage lies in the past.

Although young and old often maintain a connection to their homeland, the type of connection cultivated in German clubs and associations by older migrants cannot be reproduced among younger German migrants in its concrete form and content. The overarching similarities are not enough to bridge the differences between transmigrants and immigrants.

2.5 Conclusion

In the first two sections, I have shown how some of the principles of transnationalism apply to German migrants – even to those who would not commonly be described as transmigrants. First, I have shown that many of my German interlocutors enact their Germanness in their daily lives and that they thus keep a connection to their being-German. I have identified two major ways of keeping this connection. The first, mostly used by younger recent migrants, consists of what is most commonly identified as transnational ties: the interaction with people and institutions in Germany or Austria in social, cultural, political, and economic domains of life. The second, mostly used by older earlier migrants, relies on a local enactment of a German linguistic and cultural heritage which is embedded in the notion of the *Deutschtum*.

Second, I have shown that German migrants also hold a connection to their place of origin and that they distinguish this belonging from their belonging to Canada. While both younger and older migrants maintain an emotional attachment to their homeland, I have outlined that earlier migrants tend to have a distanced attachment to their homeland whereas younger migrants tend to have a more practical attachment to their place of origin. The homeland of the first lies in the past, whereas the homeland of the second is closer to the present time. Both sections hint at the fact that some of the dynamics that transnational theory claims its own – such as expressing a German identity and belonging while also living in, and belonging to, Canada - also apply to models of immigration that it rejects.

At the same time, the way these dynamics are expressed and lived concretely varies between transmigrants and immigrants. These concrete differences involve a temporal rupture between the homelands that serve as a reference and with it a disjunction between transmigrants and immigrants. Most of them do not feel the desire, the need nor even the capability to completely identify or interact with the other, an issue that I will explore more fully in the following chapter.

3. Young Blood

Discontinuity of the German Community in Montreal

3.1 Introduction

May 20th, 2010.

I walk in through the main entrance of the building where the Frauengruppe *[women's group] is meeting. To my left, I see a woman in her seventies. Armed with a book and a pen, she is waiting behind a table. I walk towards her and, with a smile, dare to address her in German:* "Hallo *[Hello]," I say,* "Ich bin Maike. Die Frau Hohenkamp hat mich eingeladen. *[I am Maike. Mrs. Hohenkamp invited me.]" The woman seems far from sure about how to respond and indicates for me to follow her. We turn left around the corner and walk along a narrow hallway. After a few steps, we get to an open door on the right through which I can hear a hubbub of voices. Entering the room which seems to be teeming with people, I immediately hear:* "Maike!" *It is Mr. Hohenkamp who greets me with delight.* "Wie geht's dir? *[How are you?]" Being identified by a person of as high a status as Mr. Hohenkamp, the woman's question is answered before she can even ask it; I can stay.*

On the right side of the room a table covered with white table cloth is charged with dishes: salads of all kinds, potatoes, breads, salmon, sausages, spinach rolls, sauces. And on the higher counter behind there are all sorts of cakes: Sachertorte *[Viennese chocolate cake], cheese cake, apple cake, cookies. When I take the rice salad I had prepared out of my bag in order to add it to the buffet, I am met with indignation by the women administering the buffet:* "Oh nein! Sagen Sie bloß nicht, dass Sie noch mehr

Essen mitgebracht haben. Wer soll das denn alles essen? *[Oh, no! Don't tell us you brought more food. Who will be able to eat all of this?]" I am familiar with this way of expressing satisfaction with the overall situation and place my bowl on the table to give company to the other salads. While I do this, a woman is talking to Mr. Hohenkamp, their glances turning towards me repeatedly. Shortly after, the woman is coming towards me and greets me: "*Junges Blut ist gut. Wenn eine junge Person dazu kommt, dann können noch mehr kommen *[Young blood is good. If one young person joins us, more may follow afterwards.]"*

Junges Blut [young blood] is an expression that I have been greeted with more than once. *Young blood* - or young German blood, it should be specified – is a *pars pro toto* referring to a young German. Young Germans, however, were rare or absent all together in most of the German associations and institutions I visited during the course of my research. The way I have been greeted heartily by members of these associations once they realized that I was *junges Blut*, reflects in part the need and desire to incorporate younger members. On the one hand, the integration of younger Germans would constitute a social validation of these associations and an approbation of the efforts conducted by their members. On the other hand, the influx of younger members could contribute to the continuity and social reproduction of these associations. Indeed, the members of most of the German associations and institutions I visited are sixty years of age or older. With their members aging and dying, clubs and associations either already see or expect their membership numbers decrease and thus their continued existence threatened. Younger members would be needed to ensure the continuity of these clubs. In this way, *young*

blood is also a powerful metaphor for the life and survival of these German clubs and associations.

In this chapter, I want to explore why *junges Blut* is a concern for older German migrants. This will require, first, an analysis of why young blood is needed and hence of what it is that older German migrants seek to perpetuate and reproduce through the infusion of young blood. I will argue that clubs and organizations are only the most tangible components of a larger construct which is the German *Gemeinschaft* [community] in Montreal and that the situation in German clubs reflects the state of the *Gemeinschaft* at large. Second, this will mean to examine why young blood is absent from the *Gemeinschaft*. I will investigate this question by looking at two possible sources of young blood: newly arriving migrants and second generation immigrants. With each of them I will analyze one domain in which the *Gemeinschaft* has relevance. One of them is the domain of leisure which I will deal with by investigating the absence of newly arriving German migrants in German clubs and associations in Montreal. The second one is the intimate, private life which I will deal with by exploring the transmission of the German language within the family and thus the relationship of the first and second generation immigrants to the German language und culture.

3.2 A German Community in Montreal

In the previous chapter, I have pointed out that one way of being German is to adhere to that German linguistic and cultural space which is the *Deutschtum*. Concretely, Germans connect to this space by attending German associations and institutions in Montreal and by cultivating the German language and culture in private life. These practices often require the interaction with other Germans at the same time as they offer

on opportunity to connect to other Germans. I have pointed out that German clubs and associations can function as a "social meeting place within the *Deutschtum*". In addition, those who adhere to the *Deutschtum* locally have a number of German friends in the region with whom they meet privately. Many of those who are involved in the *Deutschtum* in these ways evoke the notion of *Gemeinschaft* [community] when they talk about the *Deutschtum*. Nina, for example, explained:

> Look at our *Montrealer Trümpfe*. I think it is a big *Gemeinschaft*. Or around the German school or around the Goethe-Institut – they do celebrate German festivities. German reunification was celebrated on a large scale here, you see? […] I do think [that a German *Gemeinschaft* exists] (translated interview Nina, July 06th, 2010).

It is a *Gemeinschaft* of Germans in Montreal primarily linked by German language and culture which are symbolized by such institutions and associations as Nina mentioned. German language and culture can constitute a point of connection among German migrants and mobilize them as a community. They are also the criteria of being German most often evoked by those German migrants I met. Broadly speaking, it is thus being German that is the basic point of connection among German migrants.

There are, of course, other criteria for determining what being German is and therefore other points of connection. Another point of connection that is sometimes referred to is the idea of German descent. In the previous chapter, I have pointed out that the notion of a community of descent underlies German citizenship regulations and reflects, according to Brubaker, "the pronounced ethnocultural inflection in German self-understanding" (Brubaker 1992:14). For Reinhard, too, the notion of descent is crucial for his being German. He noted, "I am deeply rooted in our family that goes back to the 13th century. My brother is conducting very intensive family studies. I contribute to it. I am very proud to be German and will never think differently about it" (translated

interview Reinhard, May 11th, 2010). The notion of descent as a point of connection is perhaps most evident in the metaphor of *junges Blut* used to refer to new, young members of the community.

Thus, the point of connection for the *Gemeinschaft* evoked by German migrants varies with ideas of what it means to be German. Both the idea of sharing a language and culture and the belief in common descent are, as I have pointed out in the introduction, central to the notion of ethnicity. As the German language and culture are those features of Germanness most often referred to by my interlocutors, I will focus on these as the point of connection underlying the German community. However, this point of connection is not sufficient to create a community. This existence of the German *Gemeinschaft* requires more than a point of connection, more than sharing a common language or culture. It is also based on the need and/or the desire to belong to a community based on the German language and culture. In the previous chapter, I have shown that those who adhere to the *Deutschtum* locally – and who feel as part of a German *Gemeinschaft* – are mainly older immigrants who came to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s and, to a lesser extent, in the 1970s. I will therefore examine here how they relate to this *Gemeinschaft*.

Many of those who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s faced a period of insecurity and emotional distress following their migration to Canada. They had come to a new environment which they had hardly known anything about prior to their migration. Franz, for example, knew little about Canada upon his arrival. In fact, the choice of his migration destination stemmed from coincidence more than from careful planning. His

initial plan was to immigrate to Australia where his brother was already living at the time, but he was not accepted for immigration.

> Franz: And because Australia wasn't possible, we said, "Well, let's go to America and later to Australia." We just didn't know where it was.
> Maike: Oh, you didn't know [where it was]?
> Franz: Nah! Who would know where it is? (translated interview Franz, July 14th, 2010).

Others, like Ernst, had a distorted image of Canada. Before Ernst migrated to Canada in order to join his brother in Montreal, he lived in Great Britain. Ernst's brother was convinced that life in Canada was better than in England and tried everything to convince Ernst to come to Montreal:

> He thought, "Canada is already much richer [than England]. I bring Ernst here to Canada." you know? And then he always wrote these silly letters to me. He said, "Here. You have to come to Canada. Here the money grows on trees." and whatever. And he took pictures. He posed in front of a Cadillac [Ernst imitates the pose]. Cadillac. Nice picture. He said, "You can have such a car. In three months you can buy such a car." And I, of course, could only afford a motorbike in England, you know? I said, "Boy! Such a car… That would be quite something." you know? And he convinced me that Canada was much nicer or much better (translated interview Ernst, August 5th, 2010).

When he did come to Canada in 1952, Ernst quickly realized that this was not exactly the reality and was heavily disappointed. He remembered crying: "'Canada! Where did I end up?' I was so unhappy. […] I cried, I didn't tell anybody, oh boy, did I cry. 'What did I do to come to this country'" (translated interview Ernst, August 5th, 2010)?

Many had to deal with such an unknown or unexpected environment and the feeling of insecurity or disappointment that it initially entailed without an effective way to communicate with the host society (they had no or limited proficiency of English and French [cf. Friedmann 1952:35]); without significant financial resources ($12 was the lowest, but not unusual, starting capital I have heard of [cf. Friedmann 1952:35]); without the necessary skills (for some, migration to Montreal also constituted a migration from a

rural environment to an urban center); and without the social field they were used to rely on for support prior to their migration. When reflecting on how they managed to overcome this period of insecurity and emotional distress, many evoked the relationships that they quickly established with other Germans in Montreal. In this context, it is important to specify that during the 1950s and 1960s, there were significant numbers of German migrants in Canada generally, but also in Montreal in particular. Franz recalled, "in the old days, there were much more Germans here" (translated conversation Franz, June 16th, 2010). Indeed, the 1950s saw the biggest wave of German immigration to Canada ever registered. More precisely, most German migrants arrived between 1951 and 1958. During this period, these 200,000 German migrants constituted 17.6% of all immigrants, or one in every 6 newcomers. Their ratio was only surpassed by British migration, but followed closely by Italian and Dutch migration. Of these 200,000 German migrants approximately 36,000 or 18% settled in the province of Quebec. Here, Montreal attracted most of them due to the work opportunities that they perceived in the industrial and technical sectors of this city and the better conditions of integration that they thought to have in an urban, anglophone dominated environment compared to the rural francophone regions of Quebec. Thus, the German population in Montreal quintupled from 5,000 in 1951 to 28,000 in 1961 (Debor 1963:27, Meune 2003:54, Schmalz 2000: 1-3, 35-36).

Many of those German migrants settling in Montreal were concentrated in one area which Meune describes as the *quartier allemand* (Meune 2003:69). This German neighborhood lay between St-Urbain and Sherbrooke streets on the one side and Duluth and Laval avenues on the other (Meune 2003:57) and was centered around the two

German parishes – one catholic, one protestant - which are situated within one kilometer of distance from each other in this area. This is where both Ernst and Marion lived after their arrival in Montreal. Here, Marion was able to make friends like "this [German] girlfriend who lived just across the street" (translated interview Marion, August 2nd, 2010) and Ernst to find *Landsleute* [fellow countrymen]:

> Well, we were immediately hooked up with the church; that was common, you know? The people who you kind of [bumped into]. […] For example, you would go to a deli. You had to eat, right? […] And so we just started to talk. You know, like: "Are you German"? Perhaps some weren't [German], some were Hungarian or [something else]. But that's how we - the *Landsleute* - eventually found each other (translated interview Ernst, August 5th, 2010).

In addition, there were many German associations and institutions already existing or being created that offered further opportunities for social get together of German migrants and that provided some "receptacle and refuge for the newcomer" (Friedmann 1952:43-44). In 1963, Debor described twelve German associations and organizations that existed at that time in his publication *Die Deutschen in der Provinz Quebec* [The Germans in the province of Quebec]. With the exception of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft zu Montreal* [German Society of Montreal], all these clubs have been founded after the Second World War and revolve around German language and culture (Debor 1963: 33-38). Given that most of these associations were founded after the Second World War, some of those German migrants arriving in the 1950s and 1960s had an active role in the creation and extension of a vibrant German social life in Montreal. Franz recalled the role of these early migrants among whom were many *Volksdeutsche* whom he refers to as *Donau-Schwaben* [Danube Swabians]: "And they founded the *Deutschtum* in Montreal. Actually, this was thanks to the Germans, the old German *Donau-Schwaben*" (translated interview Franz, July 14th, 2010).

These German immigrants concentrated around the German churches in downtown Montreal and congregating in voluntary associations and institutions provided a form of a support network to each other which could remedy some of the issues faced by newly arriving German immigrants. "In fact, it is stated in the statutes of some [German] associations that they [the German associations] consider it as their aim to 'facilitate the settling process of the German immigrants'" (Debor 1963:38 [translated from German]). As to the German churches, Debor stated that "the German-speaking parishes are invaluable and the considerable accomplishments of the churches for the body and soul of the German immigrants are hardly appreciated in full" (Debor 1963:46 [translated from German]). Concretely, this meant, first, that means of communication with the larger society of Montreal could be ameliorated through the English language courses offered for German immigrants by such associations as the *Deutscher Verein Donau-Deukania* and institutions as the St. John's Lutheran Church. Second, meeting other Germans in the neighborhood or at church could also contribute to overcome financial struggles. Ernst, for example, remembered:

> Someone said: "Ah, there is a catholic church as well, you can go there. And they also provide for poor people when they don't have enough to eat". In those days, the church also helped, right? […] And also some heard, "Ah, there is work. You can go there, you can go there" (translated interview Ernst, August 5th, 2010).

Thus, by connecting with other Germans, newly arriving immigrants could obtain useful advice and information on employment opportunities and charity organizations taking care of basic needs of new immigrants.

Thirdly and most importantly, this German network facilitated and encouraged the formation of social bonds among Germans which considerably alleviated feelings of loneliness. Marion recalled:

We came to church here. […] And [in] the beginning; people helped one another so much, when we first arrived. "Please come for lunch on Sunday". Or "We'll have you over after church" or "Come over for the afternoon, for coffee". That's how things started, and then my parents would go to these friends or to others, or the friends would come over to our house, and all that helped to warm up, you know? […] And all that helped a lot. But the most – how can I say – the most protection, I think, for all of our people, who have come here, is the church. Since everyone came here, to this church (translated interview Marion, August 2nd, 2010).

Marion referred to the protection that the church and, by extension, other German immigrants frequenting it offered to her. It offered security and the notion of security is, according to Bauman, directly associated with the notion of community. Community might result from the need for security felt by its members, community is the search for "safety in an insecure world" as the title of his work suggests (Bauman 2001). This seems to be true for the German *Gemeinschaft* as well - at least during the 1950s and 1960s. The mutual help and support that German migrants in Montreal were able to give to each other resulted in a certain amount of "joint commitment" (Amit 2010) and "connectedness" (Brubaker 2004:47) which I have described in the introduction as being one of the conditions for the existence of a community. Marion stated that at the beginning, "you wanted to be in the area where you have friends. There you could help each other out." (translated interview Marion, July 11th, 2010). Even today, some of the German migrants who feel they belong to the *Gemeinschaft* evoke the support it can provide them. When Ingeborg reflected on the German groups she is part of, she noted, "the thing is also that you know the people and I mean, if I had a problem, I could ask for help there, you know? It is good to have such groups." (translated interview Ingeborg, July 31st, 2010).

It is important to note that not all German immigrants arriving in the 1950s and 1960s felt the need to rely on a German support network and that some even saw it as

counterproductive. Gustav who is "not a club person" (interview Gustav, June 8th, 2010) consciously sought employment in an English-speaking company when he arrived in 1958 and dismissed the strategy employed by many Germans who arrived at the same time to find employment in a German-speaking company. Part of the reason why he succeeded in finding employment in an English-speaking company was that he "spoke perfect English" (conversation Gustav, May 5th, 2010). He did not *need* to rely on a German support network because his educational level provided him with the advantage of English language proficiency. Others, in turn, might have wanted help and support from other Germans, but were not able to benefit from it. One woman I met at a women's meeting described the hardship of the first years after her arrival and insisted on the fact that she did not have any help.

Moreover, as many German immigrants quickly managed to improve their living conditions, the immediate need for mutual support diminished over time and many German immigrants started to disperse residentially as Marion described: "Then later, when the people all had work and managed better, everybody was longing for his [sic] own home and moved to where he liked it best or where he could buy with his money" (translated interview Marion, July 11th, 2010). While this resembles Bauman's notion of freedom which he links to individuality, it does not preclude, as Bauman would have it, the existence of the community altogether (Bauman 2001). Indeed, the German *Gemeinschaft* persists. For Marion, for example, this *Gemeinschaft* exists and persists in church activities, "The church was always the center and it still is today. No matter where the people live they still come here [to church]" (translated interview Marion, July 11th,

2010). For other migrants, this *Gemeinschaft* might be centered elsewhere such as in the card-playing club which Nina described as a social meeting-place.

This is due to the desire of many to maintain the *Gemeinschaft*, and with it - as many perceive it - the *Deutschtum* in Montreal generally. A member of the card-playing club once remarked that there were many more Germans and German clubs in the 1950s and 1960s. "Today it is not the way it used to be in the old days." he said before he elaborated in a nostalgic manner on the *Deutsche Haus* [German House] and the clubs and restaurants it harbored. When I asked him if he thought it was a pity that there are fewer associations today, he replied wistfully: "I always like it [to come together in the *Gemeinschaft*]" (translated conversation Josef, May 12th, 2010). There is a very emotional kind of attachment to the community. This kind of belonging might be motivated in different, often intermingled, ways. On the one hand, the motivations to perpetuate this *Gemeinschaft* can be very personal. Many of those who arrived during the 1950s and 1960s dedicated a part of their life to the reinforcement and expansion of the German *Gemeinschaft*. Ernst who founded a number of groups and projects is one of them. He described the creation of one of these projects as follows:

> Ernst: I built this completely from scratch. Out of nothing. Small steps. […] Out of nothing. Out of nothing. That's quite something, don't you think?
> Maike: Yes, that's quite a lot.
> Ernst: When you consider. You have to really think about this (translated interview Ernst, June 4th, 2010).

It becomes obvious that Ernst has invested a considerable amount of time, energy, and money into this project and its subsequent maintenance over the course of more than forty years on a voluntary basis. He is proud of, and devoted to, the project very much and would like to see it being continued. On the other hand, the desire to perpetuate the *Gemeinschaft* can be motivated and justified by the claim to serve the common good.

Thus, while Ernst clearly has very personal intentions, he also makes much broader ethnic claims: "We want to maintain the bit of German that we still have and foster it where possible. As long as we can." (translated interview Ernst, August 8th, 2010). Here, perpetuation of the *Gemeinschaft* is closely interrelated with the maintenance of German associations and institutions, the *Deutschtum* generally, and the merits and importance attached to it.

More than the immediate need for support, this kind of "affect-belonging" (Amit 2010) and "*Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl*" (Brubaker 2004:47) which I have described as another condition for the existence of a community in the introduction is also what incited some of those older migrants who arrived in the 1970s to participate in, and contribute to the *Gemeinschaft*. Most of those who arrived in the 1970s came as delegates sent by a German company or institution or obtained a contract of employment from a German company in Canada. Upon arrival, they already had a stable income guaranteed, in many cases they had accommodation and transportation taken care of, and they had a reasonable degree of language proficiency of English and/or French. They did not *need* to rely on a German support network in order to get by. They could, without big difficulty, live in a non-German neighborhood, talk to their anglophone or francophone neighbors, establish business relations with non-German Canadians and find leisure activities unrestrained by linguistic considerations. But some of them *wanted* to join the *Gemeinschaft* and take part in an already existing German social structure where they could make friends among other Germans approximately their age. Seemingly paradoxically it is the lack of the need for a German support network that made Reinhard decide to join the *Deutsche Solidaritätsgemeinschaft* [German Solidarity Community]:

Why did I become a member [of the *Solidaritätsgemeinschaft*]? Out of the consideration of wanting to do something good. As I mentioned before, I retired in '94. And… this may sound a bit odd, but we always had a very good life, and Canada was very good to us and […] everything that surrounded us, was very positive. […] I thought, "Perhaps now the time has come when you can give back something" (translated interview Reinhard, May 11th, 2010).

Varying needs and desires of different German migrants have important consequences on the relevance and actualization of the *Gemeinschaft* based on a common language and culture. On the one hand, it means that a German community is not always needed nor wanted by German migrants and, conversely, that it is enacted only in some specific contexts. More precisely, the German *Gemeinschaft* is most frequently enacted in the domain of leisure. This is most obvious in the fact that German clubs are taken as key symbols of the community itself by those who adhere to it. Indeed, the community is centered around, grounded in, and experienced through various voluntary associations and institutions. These institutions and associations, in turn, are mainly part of my interlocutors' leisure activities rather than their professional life. I have already pointed out that these clubs are centered around linguistic and cultural activities such as playing cards, singing folk songs, or sharing a common meal. In other domains, notably the domain of work, many of those who adhere to the community in the domain of leisure would consider it as irrelevant or even as an obstacle – a fact that I will deal with in more detail in the following chapter. To a lesser extent, a feeling of community might also be extended to intimate relationships of family and friendship and the private realm. Overall, it can thus be said that the community has most relevance and is most likely to be actualized in the domain of leisure and the private realm of life. By contrast, it has least relevance in the public realm and the domain of work. By consequence, the German *Gemeinschaft* is not constant and definitionally present, but rather an event that occurs in

particular instances in particular domains a I have outlined in the introduction (cf. Brubaker 2004:11, Kopnina 2006:109-110). These changing degrees of community – or "groupness" in Brubaker's terms – reaching from the very intense to the inexistent are closely interrelated with the relevance accorded to German ethnicity in varying contexts which I will explore in more depth in the following chapter.

On the other hand, it means that the *Gemeinschaft* is enacted by certain individuals. More precisely, it is most likely to be actualized by those German migrants who have a vested interest in, or a strong emotional attachment to, the community. The varying needs and desires of different German migrants combined with their individual personalities result in varying degrees of participation in the community. In contrast to individuals like Ernst and Reinhard who are highly involved in the German community, there are, on the other extreme, some German migrants who are not part of the *Gemeinschaft* at all. In the remainder of this chapter I will explore and analyze the general absence of younger Germans from this community.

3.3 Integration of Newly Arriving Migrants

Already in 1963, Debor stated that only "as long as German immigrants arrive in sufficient numbers, will the German-speaking parishes [and associations] be able to sustain themselves. Otherwise, anglicizing is merely a matter of time" (Debor 1963:44 [translated from German]). The lack of *junges Blut* in German associations and institutions in Montreal today is certainly to an important extent due to the very low numbers of German migrants arriving in Canada after the big immigration wave of the 1950s. During the peak of German immigration to Canada between 1951 and 1957, an

average of 23,000 German immigrants[14] arrived in Canada per year. This compares to 2,500 per year in the early 1970s, 1,800 during the 1990s, and 1,300 at the beginning of this century (Statistics Canada 2006, Statistics Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996:3). Many of the older immigrants explicitly or implicitly point to the impact of the decrease in immigration numbers as a central factor for the lack of young blood in German associations and institutions. The low numbers of recent, younger migrants constitutes certainly one reason why earlier and older migrants do not include them in their systems of classification of German immigrants which I have outlined in the previous chapter. In this system of classification older German migrants subdivide German migrants into different categories according to the period of their immigration. They stop, however, in the 1970s. The numbers of more recent migrants might simply be insufficient for them to form a distinct category. Ernst established the relationship in an explicit way: "I don't see us still being around in twenty years or perhaps not even being around in 10 years. […] I'm talking in general: this generation, that's 70 now and 80 and 90. […]. Someday there will be an end, nothing left" (translated interview Ernst, June 4th, 2010). He later added that the *Deutschtum* and the German *Gemeinschaft* "will never come back. Except if something really bad happens in Germany so that a new wave comes over here. It can happen. For example, we have seen - [with] Greece - what can happen. Collapse, no work for the young people. So, what do they do then? Emigrate" (translated interview Ernst, June 4th, 2010).

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[14] It should be noted that German immigrants are defined in these statistics as people born in Germany with landed-immigrant status in Canada. This differs from the definition of German immigrants used throughout this thesis as people of German linguistic and cultural heritage living in Canada which includes important numbers of Germans who were not born in Germany such as ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe.

Ernst indicated that the conditions of immigration are very different now than they were in the 1950s. But more than merely influencing the number of migrants, I want to argue that conditions and circumstances of immigration also influence the attitude of those Germans who do emigrate towards the participation in German institutions and associations in Montreal. Their different stance towards the participation in German clubs and institutions is most obvious in their lack of awareness and concern for other German migrants. Many of the recent migrants have a limited awareness of the presence of a big number of other German migrants and of the existence of social networks. They are regularly surprised when they find relatively high numbers of Germans at events. Commenting on the FIFA World Cup match she watched in a pub, Sandra stated: "I was very surprised that there were so many Germans at the bar during the soccer game. Where do they all come from [laughs]? You don't see them otherwise" (translated interview Sandra, June 28th, 2010).

This lack of awareness and concern is due in part to the fact that German language and culture constitute a weak point of connection with other Germans in Montreal for them. First of all, many recent migrants have a feeling of not sharing enough common ground with other Germans in Montreal. This is most explicit in Sandra's account:

> It's not that easy to just somehow join a group with whom you have more in common than just being German. Just being German is not enough. There has to be somehow other stuff too that fits. […] I hear kind of rumors of *Stammtische* [regular gathering of certain people in German pubs]. […] But I haven't found a *Stammtisch* yet. Except once: […] [I met some Germans] and then one of them said, "Yes, we have a *Stammtisch*." But that was for bioengineering or these kinds of engineers. That's exactly the problem, well, they are German but when I'm sitting at the *Stammtisch* what am I supposed to talk about then? I need a *Stammtisch* for musicians. […] Or someone who enjoys any kind of board game or something like that. […] But try and find such a thing. […] It is always this bringing together of an interesting activity, but in my language. And then […] I'd

rather do what I enjoy, but then somehow in French or English (translated interview Sandra, June 28th, 2010)

For many recent migrants such as Sandra the tension between German cultural activities and fun activities is most often resolved towards fun activities.

Second, in the previous chapter I have pointed out that earlier and more recent migrants tend to have different ways of being German. While earlier and older immigrants tend to enact their Germanness locally with other Germans in Montreal, more recent and younger migrants tend to do so transnationally with family and friends in Germany or Austria. German language and culture does not lead them as much to other Germans in Montreal as it incites them to maintain social ties to their country of origin.

Thirdly, these different ways of connecting to German language and culture lead to different understandings and interpretations of what it means to be German which might enhance generational differences. As I have also pointed out in the previous chapter, German migrants who participate in German association and those who do not tend to operate in different temporal frames of reference when they conceptualize their Germanness. These different frames of reference enhance differences that might regularly exist between different generations. Consequently, these younger and more recent migrants often have the impression that what is being offered by German associations is somewhat obsolete. Many of the younger migrants I talked to showed some interest in German activities and events in Montreal, but often decided not to participate in them. Some informed themselves, usually on the internet, about what might be available in terms of German activities, but then refrained from even checking it out once. Thus, Eva noted: "Everything I've seen on the internet was somehow questionable and old and

strange somehow. […] I know that all this does exist somewhere. But I just find it all too closed and elitist" (translated interview Eva, May 17th, 2010).

Others have tried attending a German event or participating in a German activity of some sort, but then refrained from going again. The Goethe-Institut in particular seems to attract recent migrants, but it also seems to disappoint them. Ralf, for example, noted:

> Ralf: I have only been once to the Goethe Institute […] and you really don't need to go there.
> Maike: You don't?
> Ralf: I've only been once. Because I'm a bookworm and I wanted to borrow some books there. The latest book that they have is *Hitler, Mein Kampf* and the latest movie is *Der Hauptmann von Köpenik*. So, they're really as far behind as the time of the GDR [German Democratic Republic] [15] (translated conversation Ralf, June 10th, 2010).

The notion of German associations and institutions being stuck in the past is obvious in such remarks. At the same time, when they actually try to incorporate something more contemporary, older immigrants do not always identify with it. Ingeborg Seiffert, for example, recalled the inauguration of the new premises of the Goethe-Institut on Sherbrooke Street in 1986:

> And to the opening they brought in an ensemble from Berlin. And they performed some kind of modern theater production there. […] Don't ask me what it was about, it didn't have any storyline or whatever. And […] there was this sophisticated man who came to me and […] said: "*Frau* [Mrs.] Seiffert, a people that produced a man like Goethe and these guys roll around in the dirt". That was the opening of the Goethe-Institut (translated interview Ingeborg, July 31st, 2010).

While Ralf deplores the Goethe-Institut as being old-fashioned and untimely, Ingeborg critiques the inauguration of the institute as too modern. While of course, this is also a matter of individual taste and preferences and not exclusively related to age, this example

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[15] It is not clear to me why he refers to the German Democratic Republic which was only created four years after the end of the Second World War when he refers to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the film. But the message is clear: It is something attached to the past.

illustrates that migrants of the different generations might have different interests and ideas of what is appropriate to present as German which are hard to reconcile.

In addition of the point of connection being weak and the degree of commonality between older and younger migrants being low, I have also shown in the previous section and in the introduction that having some traits in common is not enough to form a community. Younger migrants would also need to have the need and/or desire to belong to such a community. This is, however, only to a limited degree the case. Younger and more recent migrants can hardly develop the kind of affect-belonging to a *Gemeinschaft* based on the concept of the *Deutschtum* with which they can only partially identify. Indeed, when I described German clubs and associations to Matthias upon his request and came to mention the notion of the *Deutschtum*, he immediately replied: "Oh, nationalists. No! I'm not having any of it. I don't need any of that" (translated conversation Matthias, May 30th, 2010).

Nor do they have the same degree of need to draw on a German support network. Compared to older immigrants, the more recent migrants I spoke to faced far less insecurity caused by their migration to Canada. Upon their arrival, the majority of them already had good proficiency of English and/or French and a higher level of education than most of the earlier immigrants which provided them with an effective means of communication and interaction with the larger society and allowed them to find work in non-German companies relatively easily. They did not need to rely on a German support network in order to get by in their daily lives. Matthias who, self-employed, considered creating and drawing on connections with other Germans in Montreal for his work might appear to be an exception:

Now, it would of course be interesting in order to establish again some more business connections because I can see this here in the Armenian population. There are incredibly many Armenians in Montreal. It is a very close community and they rake it in for each other. […] Seen in economic terms, for me it would probably be interesting to make use of this with my own tribe. And then it would probably be important that I find my tribal connection a bit more. In fact, it is very good that we have met. I just want to write this down: "practice tribal dances" (translated interview Matthias, May 30th, 2010).

However, this plan was never, to my knowledge, actualized. He does not depend on connections to other Germans in order to have enough clients.

Most importantly, these younger, more recent migrants did not need to draw on local German contacts in order to form social bonds. Thus Martina stated: "I have never really – as I said before – really looked for [a German *Gemeinschaft*], even though I would like [it] sometimes. I have simply never felt so lonely, that I would say, "Okay, now I'll go and look if there [isn't] some German [group]", but I believe there is." (translated interview Martina, April 8th, 2010). On the one hand, they already had the linguistic capabilities to interact with non-German speakers at work, at university or in their neighborhood. Moreover, many of them came or decided to stay longer than planned because of their non-German partners who might have constituted a link to his or her already existing local non-German social field. They could thus create a local social field that is not necessarily based on the German language. On the other hand, as I have shown in the previous chapter, they were also less limited by long distances than earlier immigrants to maintain transnational ties to their family and friends in Germany or Austria through the use of improved modes of travel and telecommunication. In sum, different needs, interests, as well as interpretations of what *German* means are some of the factors which limit the integration of newly arriving migrants into existing social structures. *Junges Blut* does only to a negligible extent stem from young migrants.

Only two of these recent migrants whom I interviewed had a more extensive local German social field and were rather more involved in German associations and institutions. Nina is a member of the *Montrealer Trümpfe* and the *Lesezirkel* [reader circle]. Magda has been a teacher at a German Saturday School. Interestingly they are also the only two who are married to a German and who have children of school age who attend German schools. Always with the possibility of return to Germany in mind, they need to convey German language skills to their children and doing so partially on a local level seems inevitable. Thus their children might constitute local German ties and foster connections to other Germans.

3.4 Transmission to the Second Generation

May 19ᵗʰ, 2010

After a morning of playing cards, the members of the Seniorengruppe *are preparing the usual meal of coffee and cake at about 2:00 pm with which the meeting ends. They are pulling together tables in two rows parallel to each other, line them with chairs, and push another single table in front of these two rows. The women take their seat at one of the rows, the men at the other. At the front, Elisabeth, the president, and Reiner, the vice-president take their seats. Silence is called for and Reiner gets up. "*Lasset uns beten *[Let us pray]," he says and starts the prayer before the meal. After the prayer, Elisabeth makes an announcement pertaining to the organization of the meetings in the upcoming weeks. When somebody asks if there are no other news, Ludwig gets up and utters his wish to discuss something. He informs the group that the men's association had decided to remove the hooks for the ladies' purses in the front rows of the church. To their dismay, they discovered that the hooks in all rows had been removed. As Ludwig*

has broken these news, the tension suddenly rises. The homely smell of cake and coffee is quickly overlaid by a general mood of anger and indignation among the women.

The woman sitting next to me whispers into my ear: "Wir haben ein neues Churchboard. Die machen, was so wollen. [We have a new church board. They do whatever they want.]" With an appeasing gesture, Ludwig reminds the women not to start on open protest, but rather to use the suggestion box in order to communicate their wish to put the hooks back. "Yes, let's do that," one of the women says. But many are muttering and mumbling. Ludwig, in an attempt to calm the women down, attempts to explain that this measure was taken in order to protect the children who otherwise might injure themselves on the hooks. The woman next to me tells me that the church used to be full with children and that none of them ever hurt themselves. And Maria shouts, outraged: "Welche Kinder? [Which children?]" Magred, Ludwig's wife, objects that every Sunday there are children present for Sunday school. "Drei Reihen Kinder [Three rows of children]," she specifies. Maria is absolutely not convinced of this and resorts to broader complaints: "Wir haben alles aufgebaut und die machen alles kaputt. [We built it all up and they destroy it all.]"

This discussion generated by the removal of hooks for lady's purses in a church illustrates the twofold problem that those who believe in the German *Gemeinschaft* are facing. On the one hand, it shows that there is a lack of integration of newly arriving migrants – some of whom are in the church board and "do whatever *they* want" and even "destroy" some of what the older immigrants created. On the other hand, it also demonstrates the insufficient integration of the second generation – which leads to the question of "which children?" Although there are still some children attending the

Sunday school, there are barely any adolescents or young adults of the second generation participating. This is not only true for this German parish, but for many other German associations and institutions. This is by no means a new phenomenon. Debor states: "Surveying the history of the German-Canadian associations since 1835, […] it becomes obvious that all activity was almost always only directed towards the respective immigrant generation and practically never extended beyond it. Children and children's children hardly still belong to the German-Canadian associations" (Debor 1963:38 [translated from German]).

This absence of the second generation – like that of newly arriving migrants - in German associations and institutions is certainly partially due to demographic developments. More than half of the adult children of the first generation immigrants I talked to did not reside in the province of Quebec. Many had moved on to Canadian provinces in the West or to the United States. Others lived in Germany or in other European countries. But their absence might also – to some extent - be due to some of the same factors that discourage newly arriving migrants to affiliate with German clubs. Many of these German clubs came into being in order to respond to the needs and interests of a particular generation of immigrants, those who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s. Born and raised in Canada by parents who, by the time of their birth, were rather well off, many of the second generation did not face the same kinds of insecurities as their parents.

In addition, the point of connection based on German language and culture underlying the *Gemeinschaft* is rather weak for the second and subsequent generations because the German language and culture are only passed on to a limited extent within

the family. It is this aspect that I want to explore in more depth in this section. As the scope and focus of my research did not allow me to interview members of the second generation directly, I want to focus on parents' attitudes towards, and practices of, transmission of language and culture to the second generation. It will become obvious that language in particular constitutes a special concern for parents. The effects of language transmission or the lack of it are easier to observe and felt more concretely than those of cultural transmission. I will therefore adopt this focus on language obvious in many accounts of parents for this section.

Language generally is the symbolic medium reproducing, negotiating, and transforming cultural knowledge (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002). Thus, language and culture are closely intertwined. This significance of language is also recognized by German migrants in Montreal. Thus, when I asked Reinhard, why it is so important to transmit the German language, he replied: "I may not be the best person to answer this one, but I'd say simply to be able to communicate with family members […] to learn more about German literature. And simply to better understand the *Deutschtum*" (translated interview Reinhard, July 28th, 2010). Gumpp similarly concluded from her research on German immigrants in Vancouver:

> For many parents, the transmission of the ethnic language was designed to help their children gain a full comprehension and appreciation of their ethnic origin and identity, and to strengthen the bonds between parents and children. This ethnic aim was also embraced by many ethnic associations, parishes, and the media who felt that a German-speaking second generation that eventually would also support the ethnic institutions had to be actively recruited through language instruction (Gumpp 1995:84).

The symbolic value of the German language also means that the lack of its acquisition is perceived as emblematic for the loss of the connection to the German heritage generally. Gustav maintained:

In the second generation, many really only speak little German because the parents didn't pass it on. There are several like that here. And then they'll eventually say: "My grandfather comes from …. Germany … I think. Maybe from Stuttgart?" So, they really don't know any German anymore (translated conversation Gustav, May 26th, 2010).

Indeed this lack of acquisition of the German language by the second generation

is often noted by my interlocutors, among them Reinhard and his wife Geneviève:

Geneviève: But many […] Germans did not pass on the language.
Reinhard: That's a general topic. […]
Geneviève: And many of the new generation have a bad German. [They only spoke] little [German] with the family or when they went to Germany. But not everybody spoke German thoroughly (translated interview Reinhard and Geneviève, May 11th, 2010).

By 1971, for example, only 18% of the German second generation in Canada grew up

with German as their first language (Gumpp 1995:75). While there is often not a

complete absence of transmission, many of my interlocutors talk about the limited

proficiency of their children and the limited spheres of usage.

August 5th, 2010.

I am sitting in the kitchen of the apartment which serves as Ernst's office doing

another interview with Ernst. After a while, we hear steps on the stairway from the

basement. Ernst gets up and sees Jeremy and Laure appearing in the stairs. "Hi Jeremy!

How are you doing?" "Good," Jeremy answers giving his dad a hug. After the greetings,

Jeremy and Laure walk off to the office, soon after followed by Ernst. I hear their voices

muffled through the walls. Not long after, there is the sound of fingers typing on a

keyboard. Ernst had given Jeremy some work to type out for a newsletter distributed in a

German club.

Later on, Ernst explained to me, "He types in German. That's exact. He types

German even better than I do. […] If you ask him now how you spell a word, no matter

how hard, he knows it" (translated interview Ernst, August 5th, 2010). After having praised Jeremy's German writing skills, Ernst admitted that his son does not speak German very well at all. While Ernst created several German groups and projects and while he generally speaks up for the maintenance of the German language and culture, he did not talk German to his own son. With a sigh, he explained:

> Ernst: It's my fault. […] My ex-wife […] is French. And I didn't yet speak French very well and I really wanted to learn French. And because I wanted to learn French, I missed the chance to teach him [my son] German.
> Maike: Right. Well, you basically learnt French with him?
> Ernst: Yes, through him and with him […] spoke French. And his mother, she speaks very good French. So, that was an advantage. And then always French, French, and then German disappeared. But that's my fault, that he doesn't know German any more. That's why I only sent him to the [German] Saturday schools and that's not enough (translated interview Ernst, August 5th, 2010).

Almost all of my interlocutors who have children expressed the difficulties of transmitting the German language to their children and noted the effort that this enterprise required. Much of this effort is related to the fact that a need for speaking German has to be created in a mainly anglophone and/or francophone environment. The space available for parents to create this need is generally within the family. Many parents also insist on supplementing this use of the German language at home through formal education. Many sent their children to one of the German Saturday Schools, to the *Deutsche Schule zu Montreal* [short: *DSM*; translated: German School of Montreal] or even to a school in Germany for a period of time. However, sending children to a German school might also backfire in that it shifts responsibility of language transmission to formal instruction (cf. Gumpp 1995:84) and might constitute a convenient excuse for being less rigid at home, as might have been the case in Ernst's family.

In general, Reinhard maintained,

It's a matter of attitude. The parents have to be consistent. If the parents aren't consistent, how can you expect the kids to be? […] As they get older, it becomes more difficult. Then you need the kids' cooperation. Since the kids do live in Canada. And on the street, in school no one speaks German. […] Also in the German school, the kids speak mostly English with each other. Or French. That means it might be necessary to overcome another obstacle. You have to tell the kids, "No, at home we speak German." And I know that. I know that (translated interview Reinhard, May 11th, 2010).

Many others identify similar obstacles to the transmission of the German language. First, their children frequently interact with children of other linguistic backgrounds and either pick up their language or use English or French as a sort of *lingua franca*. This is the case for Franz's and Angela's children: "The son only spoke German until [he was] five-years-old", Franz said. "And then when we went out on the street, he lost it all" (translated interview Franz, July 14th, 2010). Second, and as a consequence to the first point, siblings might start speaking English or French among each other and thus introduce other languages than German into the household if this is not already done by mixed marriages or parents themselves adopting another language in the household. Thus Angela noted, "We spoke German to the kids but later the kids didn't speak German to each other anymore" (translated interview Angela, July 14th, 2010).

In order to overcome these obstacles, parents need, as Reinhard said, to have a strong conviction to transmit the German language and create the need for the German language. While many maintain that the attempt of language transmission often fails or is omitted altogether among German migrants, there are also a number of cases where it succeeds rather well. The degree of success is to an important degree influenced by parents' attitudes and efforts. And these depend on a number of factors. In general, it can be observed that earlier and older immigrants tend to transmit less of the German language to their children than earlier and more recent migrants. This might in part be

due to the fact that the period during which they could transmit German to their children also dates back furthest in time. There are other factors, however, that have an impact on language transmission such as conditions and conceptualizations of migration which I will explore for each of the three categories identified in the previous chapter: "Real immigrants", "coincidental immigrants" and transmigrants.

"Real immigrants" - many of those who arrived during the 1950s and 1960s - came to stay. The intention not to return to the German-speaking homeland, I argue, has an impact on the extent to which they maintain and transmit the German language and culture to their children. If there is no intention to return to a German-speaking country, there is also no immediate need for children to speak German. This is obvious in Reinhard's reflection:

> They came here completely on their own and burned all bridges to Germany behind them and thought: "We don't want to have anything to do anymore with Germany. And our new country, our future is Canada. And so our children should speak the country's language from the beginning" (translated interview Reinhard, July 28th, 2010).

Thus, in addition to not having a need to speak German at home, many might have considered it an advantage for their children to speak English or French as much as possible.

Those "coincidental immigrants" who arrived on a contract of employment during the 1970s did not have these ideas of permanence. They did not have the intention or the desire to permanently leave their homeland behind. If they had children, the intention to return to Germany or Austria had an impact on how they would raise their children in terms of language and culture. As, at least in the beginning, they were quite sure that they would return to Germany or Austria, they needed to make sure that their children would be able to continue their education at a school in Germany or Austria. In order to be able

to do so they needed to speak German. Once they decided to stay, this need is lessened. Interestingly the transition from being a temporary migrant to a (more) permanent immigrant also involved a shift in the schooling Reinhard and Geneviève had envisioned for their son. Their son had attended the German school in Montreal until Reinhard and Geneviève came to feel that there home was now in Canada.

> And then we thought […] if we stay here and the son is - due to his birth […] - Canadian, then he should breathe in a little bit of Canadian air already in his early schooling. […] And then we thought it's time that he gets something new, right? Not only with the German language but also really in a completely new school. We knew that we'd stay here. We knew that later on he would – most likely - go to a Canadian University or CEGEP. And in preparation for that, this school which was a *Deligiertenschule* [school for children of delegates] at the time – you have to know that – was not necessarily – let's just say – the ideal. Most of the kids who were there were from diplomats. They would later leave again and go to other countries or to other schools. And so […] we wanted him to stay here and so we said it was time for him now to attend a Canadian school (translated interview Reinhard, July 28th, 2010).

For Reinhard, a change in his son's language of education did not mean abandoning German language and culture. By the time his son changed school, he had a good base in the German language (written and spoken) due to the years that he spent at the German school. Reinhard therefore knew that he would be able to speak German with his son at home.

Transmigrants who arrived in Canada in more recent years have, similarly to "coincidental immigrants" upon their arrival, the intention to stay in Canada only temporarily. Those of them who have children thus similarly make a point of transmitting the German language to them. When Magda's husband got offered a job in Montreal, the existence of the German school in Montreal was a major criterion for their decision to accept the job:

> We found out about this [the German school] on the internet, and that was obviously a […] factor for us, why we said, yes, that we would move here. Well,

it was an important criterion for us to say: "We'll go to Montreal 'cause there's a German school." (translated interview Magda, July 29th, 2010).

Magda and her family planned to stay only a few years and they knew that their children would either have to attend another German international school or a school in Germany later on. The German language was indispensable for them.

In the previous chapter, I have also shown that older immigrants tend to enact their Germanness on a local level by engaging with the *Deutschtum*, whereas younger migrants tend to use transnational ties in order to stay connected more directly with their place of origin. This inevitably also leads to different relationships to German-speaking countries. Whereas for the older immigrants this relationship is allocated to the past, younger migrants maintain an updated relationship to their country of origin. Many of those members of the second generation who have a higher level of proficiency in the German language are also those whose parents keep a close connection to a German-speaking country. Gustav, Reinhard, Magda, and Nina are very proud of their children's German. Although only Magda and Nina seriously entertain the idea of returning to Germany, all four of them are in constant contact to Germany. They have friends and relatives in Germany, follow events and developments there and visit Germany at least once a year. The way in which transnational ties might have an impact on language transmission is most obvious in Gustav's account:

> For us, it was a big priority. We talked about that and I tell you, my mother [who lived in Germany], she said to me when I left, she said, "Do me one favor." She said, "Teach your kids German." I mean, that reinforced my thinking, too. "Can you imagine not being able to communicate with my grandchildren?" Horrible thinking, you know? And that's a fact. I mean if the grandparents don't necessarily speak English, you know? And so they couldn't communicate? Horrible. Terrible. So, there is an obligation on the parents' part to do something like this (interview Gustav, June 8th, 2010).

Some of those who find that their children only speak limited German are also those who never or rarely visit Germany or Austria and have practically no transnational ties to these countries. For them, the homeland is allocated to the past and only rarely part of their present life other than in distant memories. This lack of actual contact has an impact on the transmission of German to their children. In addition to regular differences between generations, those born to immigrants arriving in the 1950s and 1960s might find it difficult to connect to their parents' homeland and the German language und culture if they have hardly ever experienced it directly. Gustav pointed out how language proficiency and connection to a German-speaking country seem to be interrelated to him:

> Whether or not the kids speak German has a huge impact on how things then continue, what contact they'll have with Germany and so on. If they don't [speak German], or if people don't go to Germany – there are people who'll say: "Oh, I haven't been to Germany in twenty years." – everything has been cut off, there's nothing left. […] To them it's a foreign land (translated interview Gustav, July 21st, 2010).

In addition, the purpose of German for these children is limited. It is not attached to a place or certain people living on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean with whom they want to stay in touch using the German language. For them, Germanness is a local experience. And they know that they can also speak English and/or French in their local interactions with Germans in Montreal. Many have just about enough German proficiency to exchange a few set phrases: doing the bidding when playing *Skat*, a German card game, in German, speaking a prayer in German at church or doing greetings and a bit of small talk in German. Marion and her two children might constitute an exception to this. Not only did they speak German together, but her children also urged her to write down her story of migration from Yugoslavia to Germany to Canada and the family history:

And then they both said: "*Mama*, you should write all of this down so that is doesn't get lost for our children. [Otherwise] they don't know where they are coming from." So for my oldest granddaughter I wrote […] down where we came from, and the grandparents and their parents both on the father's and on the mother's side – I wrote down everything for them. And even the address where they lived and which profession they had and everything I wrote down for them (translated interview Marion, August 1st, 2010).

But in general, it appears that those who are most involved in the *Deutschtum* and the German *Gemeinschaft* in Montreal are also those who would be the ones most likely to be able to integrate their children in this local German social structure. However, they are also those who transmit the German language and culture to the least extent to their children. By consequence, the point of connection underlying the *Gemeinschaft* is rather weak for those members of the second generation who would be most likely to participate in it. The *Gemeinschaft* is not self-perpetuating.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have dealt with some of the meanings of, and reasons for, the absence of so-called *junges Blut* in German associations and institutions in Montreal. I have shown that young blood refers to young German migrants and, indirectly, to the perpetuation and survival of German social organizations in Montreal. Moreover, I have pointed out that associations and institutions are only one component, albeit an important one, of the German *Gemeinschaft*. Their state represents to many the well-being of the *Gemeinschaft* generally. So, what really is at stake here is not only the continuity of German clubs in Montreal, but of the larger German community.

This *Gemeinschaft* is founded on a connection based on German language and culture – or the *Deutschtum* as it is frequently called by its members. However, throughout this chapter is has emerged that sharing some commonalities – such as

language and culture – are by no means enough to establish a community. This is why the German community is not always actualized and why not all German migrants in Montreal feel to belong to it. In addition to a point of connection, it is the need and/or the desire to belong to a community of certain Germans that actualizes the *Gemeinschaft* for them in Montreal. Moreover, these needs and desires are mainly mobilized in specific contexts such as in the domain of leisure and in private life.

I have also shown that this community and the German clubs with which it is associated are tailored to the specific needs, interests, and desires of those first generation immigrants arriving in the 1950s and 1960s. It is for this reason that *junges Blut* – whether stemming from newly arriving migrants or the second generation – can only be integrated to a limited degree. As much as these specific needs, interests, and desires facilitate and motivate the enactment of the *Gemeinschaft* among many older migrants, it is precisely this specificity and the limitations it imposes on attitudes, discourses, and practices considered to be German that constitutes an important obstacle and barrier for the mobilization of young blood on ethnic grounds. More precisely, I have demonstrated that migrants arriving in recent years – several decades after those who founded and cherish the community – face fundamentally different circumstances of migration and therefore do not share the same need as earlier migrants to rely on a German support network in Montreal. In addition, they cannot fully indentify with the image of the German community and all it represents and therefore only have limited interest to invest in it. As to the second generation, I have shown that the situation is somewhat similar as for newly arriving migrants. In addition, I observed that, paradoxically, those parents who are most involved in the German *Gemeinschaft* are also those who tend to transmit least

the German language and culture – precisely the point of connection underlying the community. Thus, the German *Gemeinschaft* in Montreal does not, and cannot, perpetuate itself the way it is.

4. When to Wear *Lederhosen*

Social Invisibility of German Migrants

4.1 Introduction

I have sometimes been asked why I would do research on an ethnic minority as small as the German one. Many people held that Germans are rarely seen in Montreal and that therefore there were certainly not many Germans in Montreal. Even some of my German interlocutors shared this opinion. When I first contacted Martina and explained to her that my project was dealing with German migrants, she responded in disbelief: "Are they still around?" There is certainly a discrepancy between the perception of a German presence in Montreal and actual numbers. While the numbers of German immigrants to Canada have been decreasing since the late 1950s as outlined in the previous chapter, there are still 78,000 inhabitants of the city of Montreal who consider themselves as belonging to the German ethnic group (Statistics Canada 2009). Moreover, German immigrants have always been (at least to the late 1990s) among Canada's three largest immigrant groups in terms of ethno-cultural origin (Bassler 1991:3, Meune 2003:13).

It is the perception held of German immigrants by some Germans and non-Germans in Montreal that I want to focus on in this chapter. Perception, as defined by the Oxford Dictionary of English, is "the ability to see, hear, or become aware of something through the senses.[16]" In order for German immigrants to be perceived as such, they therefore need to be visible, audible or otherwise recognizable through the senses. In one

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[16] *Oxford Dictionary of English*, 3rd ed., s.v. "perception"

of the first interviews I conducted for my research on German migrants in Montreal, Reinhard pointed out to me: "If you are looking for a German [in Montreal], you could be looking for a long time" (translated interview Reinhard, May 11th, 2010). This, he was convinced, was not because there are no Germans in Montreal, but because it is hard to find them. Implicit in this is that Germans do not manifest themselves as Germans and demonstrate visibly or audibly their Germanness. They are invisible and inaudible. These themes of invisibility and inaudibility were expressed by many other Germans in subsequent interviews. Thus, Ingeborg stated: "We tend to adapt, really. When we walk around the street, we don't really look like [Germans] with *Lederhosen* [leather pants] or anything like that" (translated interview Ingeborg, July 31st, 2010).

This led me to the phenomena of invisibility on which this chapter focuses and of inaudibility which will be dealt with in the following chapter. As I have explained in the introduction, I want to concentrate here on one specific form of social invisibility which is based on the establishment and maintenance of a low ethnic profile by members of ethnic minorities. This is a partial form of invisibility which is characterized by the fact that members of ethnic minorities appear much like the majority population and are not recognized and not recognizable as ethnic minorities due to their low ethnic profile (Gingras 2010:31-32, Kopnina 2006:116).

In order to explore and analyze the invisibility of German migrants in Montreal, I will first look at some of the origins of their low profile. In the first section, I will investigate how their invisibility is largely due to Canadian immigration policies selecting German immigrants precisely for their low profile and ethnic hierarchies inciting German migrants to remain an invisible minority in order to achieve social

mobility. In the second section, I will show how the composition of the German immigration to Canada also contributes to the invisibility of German migrants through its heterogeneous nature. In the third section, I will demonstrate how the invisibility of German migrants also stems from an active effort of German migrants to strategically deemphasize signifiers of their German ethnicity. Finally, I will examine some instances in which German migrants diverge from this general trend and manifest themselves visibly and how these instances relate to those marked by low visibility.

4.2 Immigration Policies and Ethnic Relations in Canada

Facing a shortage of workers after the Second World War, the fundamental principle of post-war immigration policy in Canada was to foster the growth of the population by the encouragement of immigration according to the so-called absorptive capacity of Canada. This absorptive capacity was not only based on absolute numbers required to fill the labor shortage, but also tied to ethnic or racial origins of those immigrants. Thus, Prime Minister Mackenzie King, approving schemes for labor recruitment in Europe, proclaimed in 1947 that while labor immigration was important, "the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population" (quoted in Richmond 1967:3). This view is inscribed in a general perception of states as monolingual and monocultural entities held at that time. If others were to be let in, they had to be similar enough to the majority population and easily assimilable. The criteria for selection of immigrants were therefore based on the current ethnic composition of the Canadian population and were consolidated in the Immigration Act of 1952 and subsequent regulations. These gave first priority to people with birth or citizenship in the United States, the United Kingdom,

Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, followed by those from Northwestern European countries who had a proven track record for assimilation. Thus, the lower the degree of visibility based on physical appearance and cultural traits of specific ethnic groups, the higher the degree of preference towards their immigration (Bassler 1991:15-16, Bauman 2001:93, Boyd and Vickers 2000: 8, Driedger 2001:443, Freund 2002: 14, Richmond 1967:3, Troper 1993:255-256, 259-260).

Germans had such a track record of assimilation. Their immigration to Canada already had a long history starting with the first European settlements in North America during the colonial period with the first German in Quebec mentioned in a document being Hans Bernardt in 1664. Germans "were especially popular as immigrants to Canada" (McLaughlin 1985:17) and indeed have always been (at least to the late 1990s) among Canada's three largest ethnic groups, preceded only by the British and the French. During this 400-year history of immigration, German migrants had established a reputation of successful settlers. Whether as agriculturalists, businessmen or artisans, Germans were perceived as prosperous, hardworking, loyal to Canada, and as valuable assets to the national economy. Moreover, they were deemed to have a high potential for quick absorption into the Canadian society due to their cultural proximity, "racial unity with Anglo-Saxons and the consanguinity of the British and German royal families" (McLaughlin 1985:17). Indeed, it had sometimes been noted that but for their unfortunate tendency to speak German, Germans would make splendid Englishmen (Bassler 1991:3-4, 16, Debor 1963:4, Freund 2002:11, McLaughlin 1985:17-19, Meune 2003:13, Porter 1965: 82, Schmalz 2000:8-9, Troper 1993:260).

These perceptions of Germans having high professional qualifications and an assumed inert adaptability to the Canadian society maintained themselves even after the Second World War and Germans again were preferred immigrants from September 1950 onwards - when the federal government removed the German enemy alien prohibition in effect since 1939 and with it all restrictions against the immigration of Germans (Freund 2002:14, McLaughlin 1985:20, Meune 2003:55, Schmalz 2000:8-9, 37). After the first year of unrestricted immigration of Germans into Canada, they had left a favorable impression and the federal Minister of Immigration noted, "Immigrants from Germany and Austria have been of all groups from farm labourers to highly skilled. As a rule, they are the most industrious and the most eager to be satisfactory" (quoted in Schmalz 2000:18). Again, they "were among the best integrated, least vocal and the least politically active ethnic groups in Canada" (McLaughlin 1985:20).

While Germans alongside the British, Americans, and other Northwestern Europeans were actively courted, immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe was made difficult and immigration from Asia nearly impossible (Boyd and Vickers 2000: 8, Troper 1993: 259). Not surprisingly, the ethnic preferences in immigrant recruitment were also translated in ethnic hierarchies in the Canadian society generally. In his 1965 classic analysis of socioeconomic status in Canada, *The Vertical Mosaic*, Porter demonstrated that the preferences in immigrant selection are a reflection, and a source, of social stratification. Porter maintained that the British, as one of the charter groups of Canadian society, have always assumed the highest position in the social hierarchy[17]. As a charter group, they have had the privilege and power to determine which other groups

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[17] The French constitute a particularity in that they are, like the British, one of Canada's charter groups. But compared to the British they had less power in economic decisions. For 1951, Porter ranked the French between the groups from Northern and those from Southeastern Europe (Porter 1965:60-103)

were to be let in and what they would be permitted to do, thus determining their place in the class system. Less preferred immigrants were given "entrance status" and relegated to lower status jobs and regions of settlement. Preferred immigrants, in turn, were given the opportunity to occupy higher status jobs. Thus, the Germans, Dutch, and Scandinavians have, over the course of the history of their migration, been able to follow closely the British in their occupational levels. Italians, Polish, Ukrainians, and groups from Southeast Europe have ranked lower on the occupational spectrum (Lautard and Guppy 1999: 219-220, Porter 1965:60-103, cf. Bauman 2001:93). Thus, social mobility was especially possible for those who demonstrated conformity to the norms, values, and ways of life of the anglophone charter group. This Anglo-conformity required rendering invisible one's ethnicity at least in the public domain. In this way, invisibility is not only a precondition for preferred immigrant status but also for upward social mobility. More generally, invisibility provides the opportunity to move and maneuver freely among the majority or to acquire what Rosaldo called "full citizenship" (Breton 1998:61, Rosaldo 1989:198-199).

Beginning in the 1970s, ethnic relations become less clear-cut. Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's proclamation of Canada as a bilingual and multicultural country in October 1971 marked the shift from the picture of a monolingual and monocultural state towards a multicultural one. This shift occurred in the context of changing patterns of immigration. Canada could no longer reconcile its preference for immigrants from Northwestern Europe and the number of labor immigrants needed for its economy. The government therefore lifted limitations imposed on immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, but a bar against the immigration of non-whites, especially Asians

remained in place. It took until 1967 to completely eliminate all racial and ethnic discriminations in Canadian immigration regulations and procedures and to replace them by a point system allowing to evaluate the desirability of each applicant independently. Points were amongst other things accorded for education and employment experience, character, and language proficiency – criteria under which German migrants have generally fared well. In 1978, a new Immigration Act came into effect which incorporated a further principle of admission based on humanitarian grounds in addition to the already existing principles of family reunification and economic contributions. The immigrants who entered Canada from the 1970s onwards came from a wider range of countries and cultural backgrounds than earlier immigrants. With this trend, the visible minority population began to increase while immigration from European countries, the United Kingdom and the United States declined progressively (Boyd and Vickers 2000:8-9, Driedger 2001:429, 431-432, 443, Troper 1993:261-280).

While the rise of multiculturalism might seem to indicate a weakening of ethnic hierarchies, critics of multiculturalism have repeatedly pointed to the illusionary nature of the recognition of cultural pluralism in multicultural policy. Thus, Bauman pointed out:

> Ostensibly, multiculturalism is guided by the postulate of liberal tolerance and by care for the communities' right to self-assertion and public recognition of their chosen (or inherited) identities. It works, though, as an essentially conservative force: its effect is a recasting of inequalities, which are unlikely to command public approval as "cultural differences" – something to cherish and obey (Bauman 2001:107).

Indeed, it has been noted that ethnic preferences and the norm of Anglo-conformity have prevailed in Canada. In analyzing a national survey of multicultural and ethnic attitudes carried out in 1991, Berry and Kalin found that attitudes towards specific ethnic and racial groups varied. Migrants from Western and Northern European countries were

generally evaluated most positively, followed by those from Eastern and Southern European countries and finally by those from non-European countries (Berry and Kalin 1995). In terms of Anglo-conformity and the social mobility associated with it, Breton has noted that institutional reforms in English-speaking Canada and Quebec since the time of Porter's analysis have meant that "the mosaic is not as vertical as it used to be" (Breton 1998:104). But this is true mostly for white ethnic minorities. Here, the inequalities among ethnic groups of European origin laid out in the *Vertical Mosaic* have faded considerably over time. The situation for non-white, visible minorities is less clear. Breton maintains that

> while ethnicity has decreased in importance, race has become critical in accounting for patterns of inequality. As noted, the colour difference may be of greater significance since it makes ethnic boundaries more visible. Accordingly, it may lead to more persistent patterns of social exclusion and discrimination than is the case when culture is the prime factor of differentiation (Breton 1998:105).

Even if ethnic hierarchies have been somewhat relaxed and ethnic preferences broadened as Breton would have it, this still means that Germans have a low profile. They are clearly invisible based on their physical appearance which in the Canadian context leads to their phenotypical invisibility. Statistics Canada has defined visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color" (Statistics Canada 2011). By contrast, German migrants are "Caucasian in race and white in color" and therefore are invisible by default. The systemic invisibility of Germans and the advantages derived from it have thus been maintained.

In addition to a considerable degree of maintenance of ethnic hierarchies, Brubaker observed a "return to assimilation" in recent years which he illustrates for Germany, France and the United States, but which he also describes as a more general

tendency. He observed that "instead of a definitive, unidirectional shift from assimilation to multiculturalism there is evidence of an incipient shift in the opposite direction" (2006:118). It needs to be specified that assimilation takes on a slightly different meaning here. While the assimilation of the 1950s and early 1960s described above targeted an end state of Anglo-conformity and complete absorption, the assimilation described by Brubaker designates a "process of becoming similar, or of making similar or treating similar" (2006:119). There is therefore a change in the connotations of assimilation which involves an analytical shift from persisting difference to the inclusion of emerging commonalities and a normative shift from the automatic valorization of cultural difference to a renewed concern with civic engagement. Understood this way, assimilation is notably tolerant of difference but opposed to segregation, ghettoization, and marginalization (Brubaker 2006:128-130).

It also needs to be noted that the situation in the province of Quebec differs from that of the rest of Canada. Thus, a different model of cultural pluralism than the Canadian multiculturalism has been suggested for Quebec: interculturalism. This interculturalism

> a) institutes French as the common language of intercultural relations; b) cultivates a pluralistic orientation that is concerned with the protection of rights; c) preserves the necessary creative tension between diversity, on the one hand, and the continuity of the French-speaking core and the social link, on the other hand; d) places special emphasis on integration and participation; and e) advocates interaction (Bouchard and Taylor 2008:121).

Interculturalism is thus a model of integration to the French-Canadian core culture which in turn serves as the ground for intercultural communication and interaction. While principles of this interculturalism are underlying many of Quebec's policies, interculturalism has never been fully defined in official discourse (Bouchard and Taylor 2008:19). Thus, public interaction and communication is to be based on the French

language and French Canadian culture, while minority ethnicity is privileged in the private realm. This in turn bears some similarities with the Anglo-conformity described above in that minority ethnicity is relegated to the private realm and a certain degree of conformity with the majority population expected in the public realm.

In sum, it can be said that the invisibility of German migrants in Canada is to a large extent systemic. They have a low degree of visibility due to their physical and cultural similarities to the majority population. While official immigration policies changed over time, the advantages derived from their invisibility have been maintained to a large extent.

4.3 Composition of German Immigration into Canada

As I have pointed out in the introduction, I am working with a definition of Germans primarily based on German language and cultural traditions, rather than on geographic or national origin. There are two reasons for this. First, since the unification of most of the German states to form the German Empire in 1871 most German immigrants to Canada did not come from within the national boundaries of Germany (McLaughlin 1985: 3). Many of these German immigrants came from German ethnic enclaves in Russia, Poland, Ukraine, the Baltic States, Romania, Hungary, and former Yugoslavia. They are called and call themselves *Volksdeutsche*. At the same time as they distinguish themselves from Germans (i.e. inhabitants of Germany), they identify with Germans (i.e. people of German linguistic and cultural background and German descent).

This juxtaposition of geographical and cultural origins and their strategic highlighting can be illustrated by some of Franz's experiences. In 1945, Franz and his sister fled from West Prussia from the conquering Soviet forces. They arrived in Berlin in

a livestock wagon and were placed in a camp. When the Soviet forces arrived, it was time to flee again. Franz recalled:

> We were at a kind of manor. The Russians assassinated all the Germans at the manor. […] We had no idea [how to get out of there alive]. And then my sister and a few other women there, they say: "But we speak Polish. We're Polish". Now we told them – they wanted to assassinate us too – told them: "We're Poles". Says the [Russian]: "Poles? And what are you doing here? Go back to Poland. The war is over." Gave us a horse and a carriage and […] said: "Go!" And then we left. Everyone just wanted to save their own life. Can you imagine that someone was just about to kill you, and then all of a sudden someone saves your life (translated interview Franz, July 14th, 2010)?

This is an extreme case that shows how Franz and his sister used their regional origins in Poland and the Polish language as an index of their Polishness in order to save their lives at the end of the Second World War. In 1967, in turn, Franz played a major role in the Montreal world fair: *Expo 67 Man and his World* where he was a manager of the German pavilion. Here then, he clearly needed to identify with a German identity. Although he was not born in the Federal Republic of Germany and only spent a few years there, he was able to draw on his linguistic and cultural background and to identify as German.

Second, German speakers from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland are often subsumed under the designation of German-speaking people. Thus, Bassler states:

> Of course, Swiss, Austrian, and German clubs can be found in major Canadian cities today. But one may also find that among Swiss, Austrians, and natives of Germany allegiance to one all-embracing German *Kulturnation* [cultural nation] often overrides loyalty to an Austrian, Swiss or German nationality (Bassler 1991:8).

This can be illustrated in the German-language newspaper *Das Echo*. On its front page, next to the title the German, Austrian, and Swiss flags are displayed in equal size and the reader is informed that this newspaper is a "Newspaper serving the German Speaking Communities". The focus here is on the German language, not on German nationality. Much of the content deals with political, social, and historical issues that

relate to one or all of the three countries. While flicking through the June-issue, Ernst observed:

> We [Germans in Canada] always have a connection between the Swiss here, Austrians as well. Here we keep getting Swiss as well. And this connection… Because all these three countries are German-speaking, right? That's why people are interested in it (translated interview Ernst, June 4th, 2010).

Martina was the only Austrian whom I interviewed. When I asked her what she thought of a definition of Germans based on a shared language and culture and thus including Austrians, she explained:

> I do believe that all this falls under the German culture, under [the] German language, because… I mean, anyway [in] Germany, you cannot [measure] everything with the same stick either; traditions, culture is completely different from North to South, I'd say. So, absolutely [you can include Austrians]. You can include Switzerland because they're Germans. We partly share the same images – I'd say. When we talk about our traditions, I think we know […] roughly what we're talking about (translated interview Martina, April 8th, 2010).

In Ernst's and Martina's accounts it becomes obvious that German language and culture can constitute a source of belonging and identification for Austrians, Germans, and German-speaking Swiss just as it does for *Volksdeutsche*. Thus, opting for a definition of Germans based on their linguistic and cultural origins is over-inclusive of German nationality and allows to consider some of the dynamics emerging when people from different German-speaking regions interact with each other. German language and culture are again the same point of connection that also underlies the German *Gemeinschaft* described in the previous chapter. In certain instances they can constitute a point of connection between people of different nationality. In other contexts, however, these different nationalities might constitute a point of differentiation, of disconnection between various German-speakers.

Just as identity and belonging can at times exceed national boundaries, it can of course also be defined in a much narrower way. In the quote above, Martina hinted at strong regional differences within Germany. More precisely, she claims that the North differs strongly from the South. This distinction between North and South was a recurring theme in conversations among Germans in Montreal. When I first met Matthias, he asked me:

> Matthias: Where are you from?
> Maike: North of Cologne.
> Matthias: I see.
> Maike: Near Essen, Oberhausen. Does that mean anything to you?
> Matthias: Heard about it. But everything that is located North of the *Weißwurstäquator* [the equator of the weisswurst, a traditional Bavarian sausage] is kind of unfamiliar to us.
> Maike: The *Weißwurstäquator*? Where is that?
> Matthias: Well, that's the river Main, isn't it (translated conversation Matthias, May 18th, 2010)?

This was the first time I had ever heard of the existence of the *Weißwurstäquator,* an imaginary dividing line in Germany, North of which people are said not to eat the white veal sausage, typical of southern Germany. I was to hear it several more times over the course of my research and although different Germans named different rivers as marking this equator (the Main, the Danube, the Altmühl), it became obvious that a number of my interlocutors liked to think – more or less seriously – that people North of this river were different in important ways from people South of it. Thus, Matthias, originally from Swabia in southern Germany, compared people from northern and southern Germany and pointed to some of the differences between them:

> Of all of the different German mentalities, I like the Swabian and the entire southern one the best. Well, the sort of entire Swiss region, Austrian region, I like much better in terms of its mentality than the northern German region. A bit slower, a bit more relaxed. I don't know, half of my family is from northern Germany. And I always find them very… very noticeable. You know when someone has to say something. And I hear it, too: in Swabia everything [is] more

easy-going, I have the feeling. I love that region (translated interview Matthias, May 30th, 2010).

Here Matthias indicated a regional rather than a national attachment. In addition, he claimed that he preferred to identify with regions in Austria and Switzerland than with northern German regions.

While people from North and South might occasionally distinguish between themselves, people from the same region or regions close to each other often see this geographical closeness as a point of connection. I have shown in the first chapter that the *Heimat*, the town or region where one was born and grew up, is an important source of belonging. When people knew well each other's *Heimat*, I could observe several times how they enthusiastically engaged in an exchange about the places they have known. Many of these regions have a specific dialect, distinct traditional costumes, and regional dishes. Some people who originally came from a town close to my hometown addressed me with great delight in their local dialect. Others have expressed to me how much they would like to meet with other people from their region and prepare a dish in the traditional way. Here then it becomes obvious that German language and culture are very heterogeneous and as much as they might constitute a point of connection between a wide variety of people, they might also accentuate differences and divergences within it. It has been noted for various ethnic minorities that the heterogeneity of an ethnic minority in general and the diversity of regional origins in particular increases its invisibility (Amit Talai 1989:96, 112, Maxwell 1997:137, 139, Kopnina 2006:110, Watson 2003:84, 86). The invisibility of German migrants is therefore also due to the heterogeneity of German migration to Montreal. This heterogeneity might, at times, be a dividing factor which results in a less uniform and hence less identifiable population.

Moreover, I came to realize that it is a specific regional German identity that becomes inflated to signify German identity generally. When I entered the German Christmas market held at the *Deutsche Schule zu Montreal* on November 21st, 2010 the first thing I noticed was the smell of sauerkraut and sausages. And indeed, the menu confirmed that this was one of the dishes being served at the cafeteria. "Again?" I thought. Indeed, I had seen sauerkraut and sausages or *Leberkäse* [specialty food made from mixed ground meats baked into a loaf] at almost every single public German event or place I had gone to. These dishes are closely associated with southern Germany and Austria – just as some of the traditional dresses, activities and denominations I have seen. At the *Alpenfest* [festival of the Alps] held on June 20th, 2010, for example, members of the *Schuhplattlergruppe Alpenland* [*Schuhplattler* Group Land of the Alps; *Schuhplattler* being a traditional folk dance from Bavaria and Austria] wore traditional costumes associated with southern German. Further indications of this inflated regional identity can be found in names of events, clubs, and places. Two of the public events held in 2010 were the *Alpenfest* which inevitably contains an allusion to southern Germany, Austria, and Switzerland and the Oktoberfest which originated in Munich and has been associated with this city ever since. The name of a German bakery, restaurant and delicatessen similarly includes a geographical tie by referring to the Bavarian capital in its name: *Le Petit Munich*. In addition, if flags were shown in public events, it was not uncommon to find the Bavarian flag next to the Quebec, Canadian and German flags.

In the first chapter, I have shown how different temporal frames of reference of belonging to, and indentifying with, a German-speaking homeland might prevent some German migrants from identifying with what is presented as German in German

associations and institutions. Here, I want to argue, different regional frames of reference in which Germanness is situated might likewise prevent some German migrants to participate in so-called German activities and events. I have shown above that southern Germanness and Austrianness are perceived by some of my interlocutors as distinct from northern Germanness. When wearing *Lederhosen* and eating sauerkraut come to indicate Germanness, not all German migrants can or want to identify with the image conveyed which is based on a stereotypical regional identity. Christa, for example, went to the *Alpenfest* only once some ten years ago and never returned as she considered it to be too fake, too staged. Such an essentialized German image which corresponds to stereotypes held by the larger society might increase the visibility of some German migrants. But by its very essentialism it might lead to the refusal of other German migrants to participate in it and thus lead to their decreased visibility.

4.4 Social Mobility and Positive Reputation

In the previous two sections, I have shown how the invisibility of German migrants in Montreal is facilitated by immigration policies selecting Germans for their low ethnic profile and the composition of the German immigration to Canada marked by a high degree of heterogeneity of regional origins. However, their invisibility is not only systemic, but to some extent also strategic. Thus, many Germans in Montreal try to actively increase the already high degree of invisibility. Indeed, Sandra observed that German migrants have a tendency not to differentiate themselves: "I feel that Germans like to integrate, and then fit right in" (translated interview Sandra, June 28th, 2010). Here, being invisible is also an active effort expressed by the action of integrating. They do so by dissolving or dissimilating signifiers of a German categorical identity - aspects

that might distinguish members of an ethnic minority from the majority. Probably the most important of these signifiers is language. Due to their centrality, I will consider linguistic practices separately in the following chapter. Suffice to say that many of my interlocutors value speaking a relatively pure English or French with their interlocutors in order to be as inaudibly German as possible.

Other examples of signifiers of Germanness that some of my interlocutors claim to actively dissimilate include German clothing, neighborhoods, and work situations. Thus, Ingeborg pointed out that Germans are not identifiable as Germans due to their non-ethnic clothing:

> Ingeborg: Let's just say, we tend to adapt, really. When we walk around on the street, we don't really look like [Germans] in *Lederhosen* and stuff. Yes, we adapt. And, I think, we have good relations with everyone. I do have good contacts with the French who live around here, also because I do speak French. But with the English speakers as well.
> Maike: Would you say that Germans adapt a lot?
> Ingeborg: Generally yes. Let's say compared with Muslims and so on, who keep completely to themselves, and [maintain] the way they dress and their attitudes and so on. We adapt (translated interview Ingeborg, July 31st, 2010).

In distinction to Muslims who, according to Ingeborg, keep a distinct form of clothing, Germans do not keep wearing *Lederhosen*. Of course, this comparison is problematic as Germans simply cannot *keep* wearing *Lederhosen* if most of them rarely or never wore them prior to their migration. It is unlikely that Ingeborg as a woman and as an inhabitant of Berlin ever wore *Lederhosen* – men's clothing in the Alpine and surrounding regions of Germany. Regardless of *Lederhosen*, the general point is that Germans do not distinguish themselves from the Canadian majority population by their clothing.

Jörg normally does not wear any type of clothing that might distinguish him from the Canadian majority population. In addition, he explained how he adapted clothing that

he deemed typically Canadian in order to illustrate how well he adjusted to the city he lives in:

> To a certain point, I'd say [it is important to adapt]. Look: When in Rome, do like the Romans. Well, I do think this is somehow not insignificant. Because I really wouldn't somehow teasingly show off the fact that I'm different, or something like that – and in many cases I'm really not […]. When everybody goes nuts here 'cause of hockey, then I'll get right into it as well, then I'll put on my *Canadiens* shirt, because I live here, right, on some level I do identify a bit with the city, with life here, so I do put on a t-shirt like that, too (translated interview Jörg, May 21st, 2010).

For Jörg, wearing the shirt of the Montreal-based ice hockey team communicates his identification with Montreal.

I have pointed to Brubaker's understanding of assimilation and the related invisibility as opposed to segregation and ghettoization. In the previous chapter I have described the existence of a German neighborhood in the 1950s. This neighborhood dissolved rather quickly after this decade and many of my German interlocutors now value the absence of a German neighborhood as a sign for their blending in. Reinhard explicitly stated, "I wouldn't move to a part of town where only Germans are living" (translated interview Reinhard, July 28th, 2010). Here the decision is conscious, active, and strategic. It has the aim to ameliorate his identification with the majority population and his dissociation from other Germans with regards to residence patterns. Generally, my interlocutors did not have German neighbors.

Many of my interlocutors also opted not to work for German companies. This, too, is a conscious and strategic decision. Thus, Gustav maintained, "I would have never entertained looking for a job in a German company. That was totally counterproductive. No way" (interview Gustav, June 8th, 2010). Of the fifteen people, I worked with most closely only Ingeborg and Reinhard worked for a German company or institution. Franz,

Ernst, Eva, Jörg, Marion and Gustav had positions not related to their German ethnicity. Sandra and Matthias are self employed and Ralf runs a family business with his francophone wife and parents-in-law. Katharina, Nina, and Magda do not work full time.

I have mentioned that these decisions not to wear German clothing, live in a German neighborhood or work for a German company are strategic. It remains thus to examine the purpose of seeking to increase one's invisibility in these ways. In the first section of this chapter, I have shown that German migrants in Canada have had a preferred status as immigrants due to their presumed tendency to assimilate quickly. This was especially true in the 1950s. Many of my interlocutors who immigrated during the 1950s came to mention their awareness of their preferred status as immigrants and of their social status generally. Thus, many carefully distinguished themselves from Portuguese, Italian, and Greek immigrants – precisely those ethnic minorities from Southern Europe ranking lower than themselves in ethnic hierarchies as described above. Gustav is an example of this:

> [This] is the big difference between Germans and others: Portuguese live together, Italians live together, Greeks live together; Germans do not live together. Germans you find all over the town which for the host country is wonderful. Because it is a truly integrated situation. […] That's why we are the ideal immigrants. For many, many reasons: The fact that they don't live in ghettos, they don't live together, and they assimilate. […] For the country it is marvelous. Germans are the ideal immigrants. […] So, that's the big difference. […] Germans don't normally look for other Germans when they come. They come here and they want to become Canadian (interview Gustav, June 8th, 2010).

For many, blending in increases invisibility and connotes a higher prestige because it confirms their preferred status as immigrants.

While the norm to assimilate was most explicit in the 1950s and has lessened since the rise of multiculturalism in the 1970s, the ideal of integrating and blending in has

persisted among German migrants. Thus, Reinhard who first came to Canada in 1973 made a very similar statement to Gustav's:

> Reinhard: Germans are known to assimilate well. That means, they mix with the general population and after one, two generations, you don't know any more who is from where.
> Maike: Right. Why do you think that is?
> Reinhard: That's their nature. I'd [say that's] their nature; is perhaps [also] out of tradition. But when you're in Montreal and you want to know, you have an Italian friend, then you go [to Little Italy] first. Or if you [are looking] for Greeks or Turks, they live in a particular neighborhood. When you're looking for a German, you have to look far and wide; [there] is no neighborhood. They are everywhere, depending on who they married; if they have a house or an apartment. But they don't care nearly as much about going to the same church or – I'll say – or having the same city hall or the same restaurants [as those from] Mediterranean countries (translated interview Reinhard, May 11th, 2010).

Regardless of the period of their migration, many of my German interlocutors distinguished themselves from Southern and Eastern Europeans by their proclaimed aptitude of blending in. Generally, those who made such observations thought rather positively about this pattern and it becomes obvious that they consider their ability to blend in as connoting a higher prestige.

This prestige, in turn, is inextricably linked with the upward social mobility that German migrants generally are striving for. Many of the German migrants I met pointed to the considerable degree of social mobility that they claim to have experienced personally or collectively as a group. At my first visit to the card-playing club, Gustav came to see me in order to make a point that seemed important to him:

> Many [German immigrants] came with nothing in their pockets. They arrived here, they had no job, they did not speak the language, they did not know anybody. They had nothing. And it was not easy to find a job. Even me, I spoke English perfectly when I came. It took two to three weeks until I found something and that was well below what I would have accepted in Germany. I applied for being a secretary. I had never done that before. But you learn that they will ask you, "Do you have experience?" and you have to say yes. There were seven Canadians applying for the job and me, and I got the job. I started as number 942

and I finished as number 2 [in the company] (conversation Gustav, May 5th, 2010).

He then added, "I think for most German immigrants it went in a similar way: Under the line it was a success" (conversation Gustav, May 5th, 2010).This opinion was shared by Franz who, one week later greeted me at the entrance of the club and proclaimed, proudly glancing at all those present: "Look at all these people. They have been very successful" (translated conversation Franz, May 12th, 2010). In fact, average salaries of Germans in Quebec were higher than those of francophones and anglophones in 1971. In 1981, they remained overrepresented in the highest income categories even if the differences between the three groups lessened (Meune 2003:18). The 1991 census revealed that

> the incomes of German immigrants living in Canada [were] considerably higher than those of people in other groups. In 1990, German immigrants had an average income from all sources of $28,300, compared with $25,300 for all immigrants and $23,700 for the population born in Canada (Statistics Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996:1).

In fact, social mobility and the conformity it communicates are considered by some of my interlocutors to by prime characteristics of a good immigrant. Thus, Gustav elaborated:

> Gustav: There are some Germans who are here who shouldn't be here.
> Maike: Why?
> Gustav: They would probably have come a longer way in Germany. They didn't really gain a foothold here.
> Maike: So, they shouldn't be here because-
> Gustav: Because they didn't have the same success as many others. That's why I always say emigrating is not everybody's cup of tea (translated interview, Gustav, July 21st, 2010).

Indeed, I repeatedly overheard comments that those who returned to Germany were those who "weren't able to cut it" professionally - implying that upward social mobility is an inherent characteristic of a real German immigrant and that the lack of it constitutes the

only conceivable reason for return. This picture is obviously an idealization which does not always adequately capture the reality. Thus, a younger member of the card-playing club pointed out to me that it would be very interesting to talk to different members of the Club as some were very successful and others managed far less well.

By providing me with the most impressive stories of success of German migrants and claiming general upward mobility for German migrants, some of my interlocutors also communicate implicitly the underlying message that German migrants succeeded in demonstrating conformity and adaptation to Canadian society. Gustav who immigrated in the 1950s even explicitly stated that in order to pursue the career described above he was obliged to integrate into anglophone society. Jörg who migrated to Canada some 50 years later also experienced that backgrounding his German ethnicity rather than making use of it was the best strategy to achieve social mobility. Every time, Jörg was looking for employment in Montreal (in 2000 and in 2006), he had two strategies. One focused on his field of study and his experience and the second one focused on his ethnicity. Both times, the strategy to find employment through his German background revealed itself to be of little success. He found that, on the one hand, German companies in Montreal were not especially looking for German migrants to employ. On the other hand, he noticed, "it wouldn't have been good for me [to work in a German company] in the end. Then I'd be totally underpaid in something I didn't know anything about, that also didn't really interest me" (translated interview, Jörg, May 21st, 2010). Searching employment in his field of expertise, in turn, revealed itself to be more promising:

> This thing with the German companies was a bit difficult again. But [I] then tried to rather do some kind of thing with marketing. And then I kind of – we arrived here in January – and in May, in mid-May I got the job here [at a marketing company] (translated interview Jörg, May 21st, 2010).

Social mobility also requires a good reputation or rather the absence of a reputation and lack of association with stereotypes concerning the ethnic minority (cf. Amit Talai 1989:95-96, 102-103). A blank reputation facilitates social mobility because it contributes to invisibility, but it is also a reflection of the invisibility strived for. Invisibility might be a strategy to prevent the formation of negative associations and pejorative stereotypes or to avoid being associated with an already existing negative reputation stemming from political history (cf. Kotchek 1977:29-30, Kopnina 2006:111, Amit Talai 1989:97, 102). Historical investigations into postwar German immigration into Canada reveal that German migrants were stereotyped and stigmatized in Canada until the 1960s. According to Bassler, the majority of the postwar generation responded to these problems by aspiring "full linguistic and cultural assimilation in the first generation and [seeking] to become the invisible ethnic group" (Bassler 1991:12). Irmgard who herself immigrated in the 1970s but who has an interest in the history of German migration to Canada told me: "After the Second World War it wasn't quite so popular anymore to be German, and many assimilated into the English community" (translated conversation Irmgard, June 9th, 2010). It could therefore be expected that German migrants arriving during this period had a strong motivation to keep a low ethnic profile in order to avoid negative reactions or confrontations. Indeed, Ernst recalled his experience of traveling to work by tramway in the first years after his arrival in 1952:

> Ernst: And here many people drove back and forth, either to work or they came from work, or whatever. And often you would meet a compatriot and say: "Oh", speak German, right? And occasionally it happened that some would respond: "Here, you have to speak English". […]
> Maike: But was this specifically because of your German or because you spoke another language?
> Ernst: Well, if there were Jews inside, Jewish ladies or so […]. They were a bit spiteful towards the Germans in those days, you know? Nothing you could do,

that's how it was […]. And then once or twice it happened to me [that someone said to me, I should be speaking English] and then I would always try to sort of speak secretly with someone – German – otherwise tried to say it in English […]. It was hard (translated interview Ernst, August 5th 2010).

Here then, a signifier of ethnicity – in this case the German language – is dissimilated or dissolved in order to become invisible. In this case, invisibility is a deliberate effort to avoid negative feedback to Germanness.

In a paper published in 1993, Bartl argues that a negative reputation of Germans has prevailed:

> There have been ongoing hostile feelings against the German-Canadian ethnic group until the present time. Again and again contemporary media show that the image of the Germans formed by the two world wars is still influencing contemporary thought about the Germans, and that as a consequence, Canadians subjected to that kind of distortion exhibit prejudices against the German-Canadian group in this country. One way of distortion that works indirectly but efficiently can be characterized by the word "omission". The major omission lies in not mentioning or in downplaying the crucial share Germans had in the building of the country. Also, the German background of great contributors to Canadian society is often suppressed […] There seems to be evidence for a tradition in trying to veil the German role and contributions since World War I (Bartl 1993:317).

Bartl here suggests that German invisibility is solely imposed by the larger society and that it is not desirable. Bartl, like some other Germans in Canada (cf. Meune 2003:142), consider the media who distort the German ethnic minority and revive old stereotypes against them as responsible for the lack of (positive) recognition. By consequence, Germans and their descendants are, according to Bartl, maltreated in that they are being called names such as "Hitler" or physically assaulted (Bartl 1993:317-319). Nina, for example, also alluded to such experiences:

> Nina: Well, you always get confronted with stupidities. "Nazi" or stuff like that. But I mean, why not?
> Maike: Why not?
> Nina: Why not. Well stupid people get away with saying anything they want (translated interview Nina, July 6th, 2010).

While some of my interlocutors experienced similar negative reactions to their national origin as those described by Bartl and some of Meune's research participants, their experience cannot be limited to the "omission" of the majority population. Rather, their statements highlight that they actively seek to achieve invisibility in relation to these negative reactions by strategically hiding signifiers of ethnicity. This is obvious in Katharina's account who had the following experience some ten years ago:

> Katharina: Well, I think I have struggled with this for a long time, in particular, well, with the history. Well, there were times when I really didn't like being German, right? They blame you for all sorts of shit – excuse my language - for stuff that you actually didn't do, and you always get lumped in together: "You are German."
> Maike: Has this happened to you often that you got lumped in together in that way?
> Katharina: I'm not sure if I've already told you this. It happened to me in the United States […] when we were in some kind of store. And my girlfriend was standing at the cash and we spoke German to each other. A Hassidic woman with her children was standing behind me. And I simply didn't get it, I was 15, right? I didn't see the kippahs, I didn't see the curls, but I spoke German with her [my girlfriend]. Says the woman behind me to me: "What language are you speaking there?" or whatever it was. And I'm: "We are Germans." She looked at me with a look in her eyes, she wanted to kill me. That was a look full of hate. I stood there, looked at the children, "Shit", right? You are 15 and don't think anything of it (translated interview Katharina, July 16th, 2010).

Similar to Ernst, Katharina, who was born forty years after the end of the war, held that it was not appropriate to speak German in this situation and that she should have been more careful about it.

This might indicate then that German migrants of various age groups and periods of migration seek to avoid negative associations based on their ethnic identity and that they would therefore keep a low ethnic profile. However, it needs to be noted many of my interlocutors downplay the significance of these experience. Thus Nina relegated it to the ignorance of the people she was interacting with, Katharina emphasized that hers was a one-time experience and Ernst described his recurring experience in the tramway as

limited to a relatively short period of time after his arrival in Canada. Others deny the existence of negative experiences altogether. Ingeborg, for example, noted, "that someone would verbally attack me or would hold the past against me or something, that's something I have not yet experienced" (translated interview Ingeborg, July 31st, 2010).

As a blank reputation and the absence of negative experiences resulting from it both contributes to, and is a reflection of invisibility, this downplaying and denying of negative experiences could have two sources. On the one hand, it might indicate that these experiences are really isolated cases and that the invisibility of German migrants effectively led to the absence of negative experiences based on ethnic stereotypes. Indeed, a public opinion poll in 1952 already marked a shift in attitudes towards Germans from antagonism observed in 1945 to a friendly view (Schmalz 2000:12). Interestingly, some of the younger, more recent migrants had a negative image of Germans prior to their migration. In many cases, however, these Germans revised their attitudes after their migration to Canada. Sandra, for example, observed a shift in her attitude and specifically related it to her migration to Montreal:

> Sandra: When I left Germany – like many million years ago [1986] – it was always the case that as a German you didn't like to say that you were German. You always say: "Oh, I like being a citizen of the world" or something like that. Because people like to give Germans a hard time. As soon as you say that you are German, it immediately has a negative flavor. […]
> Maike: Do you personally also not like to say that you are German?
> Sandra: In the beginning, yes. Especially because then I moved to London, and the English really hate Germans. For example, at the academy of music my teacher approached me and said: "Ah, you're German, you always only think inside the box" and then gave me a long lecture about how awful Germans are. And how uncreative. And that was a lot to take. And therefore I would say less often that I [was German]. Of course, it was sometimes difficult to [avoid] because of my thick German accent. But now I say with particular pleasure that I am German and insist on it a bit. […]
> Maike: When did that change; was there a particular trigger?

Sandra: I think it was when I left England. When I first came to Montreal. Things are somehow more international here, I didn't sense this hatred so much here, which the English people feel about us in particular (translated interview Sandra, June 28th, 2010).

With more distance to the war and a more diverse immigration to Canada and the rise of multiculturalism, the negative perceptions of Germans that might have existed earlier seem to have weakened and thus do not harm the low profile of recent German migrants.

On the other hand, it might be used strategically in order not to contradict the image of an invisible immigrant that many Germans claim to have and strive for. Indeed, many of my interlocutors, especially earlier and older immigrants, had some sort of strategy to neutralize a negative reputation. These strategies involved qualifying either Germany's role or their own personal impact. In the first case, German migrants frequently compared Germany's history to that of other countries. Nina, for example, stated: "Other countries have much worse things. Well, not much worse, but really bad as well. Americans, Chinese, Koreans, do they have bad stuff. I mean, Canadians wiped out their entire prehistory, right" (translated interview Nina, July 6th, 2010)?

At the same time as some of my interlocutors compare German history with that of other countries and minimize its impact, they also approach experiences of Germans during the war from a comparative perspective. Marion, for example, who was displaced with her family during the Second World War told the story of her flight. This story was one of suffering, misery and deprivation including experiences (direct or witnessed) of violation, internment, sickness, loss of all possessions, separation of family members and above all the threat of violent death. Several times during her narration she drew comparisons between the fates of *Volksdeutsche* and Jews and once stated explicitly: "We did go through much the same suffering. They just as we" (translated interview Marion,

July 11ᵗʰ, 2010). Ingeborg, a *Reichsdeutsche*, also insisted on the sufferings and injustices that she experienced as a child due to the war: "Look, in Berlin, we were five children. And *Mutti* [Mom] came - we had a tiny house - *Mutti* came upstairs: 'Today, you will all stay in bed so that we don't waste energy'. Right? Tough times" (translated interview, Ingeborg, July 31ˢᵗ, 2010).

In the second case, some German migrants dissociated themselves from a German collectivity that would be responsible for the Second World War and pointed to their individual innocence. One of them is Gustav who was born in 1934:

> As soon as I was of an age where I could make decisions that had any consequences, I have decided that I was not part of it. I have nothing to do with it. I totally disagree. The things that happened [are] absolutely, unbelievably terrible. I have absolutely no guilt feeling or anything - none so ever. And I cannot understand the guilt feeling that still even today is sometimes protected in German political life, where they have to do things because "What do the others say?" and so on. I never felt like that as an individual. And if anybody would approach me, I'd say: "You are talking to the wrong person; I [have] nothing to do with it. […] And, you know, I'm not taking on guilt by association or by having been born in Germany. There is no such thing. I mean, this collective stuff, I don't like (interview Gustav, June 8ᵗʰ, 2010).

In both these ways, my German interlocutors further increased their low visibility. First, by comparing German history to that of other countries and suffering experienced by Germans to that experienced by others, they sought to demonstrate that Germany and the experiences of Germans are not significantly distinct from other countries and that the similarities outweigh the differences. Second, by claiming an individual identity, they dissociate themselves from an identifiable collectivity. Thus, even when they tried to convince me that a negative reputation of Germans does not exist, they contributed to their invisibility.

4.5 Varying Degrees of Visibility

June 20th, 2010

A sign is hanging over the entrance of the tent reading "Willkommen [Welcome]!". The letters, blue on white, are of an old German style. To the right and the left of the entrance German flags are blowing in the wind. Right next to the entrance, inside the tent, tables are set up to bear the food served to the visitors of the Alpenfest. *There are different kinds of sausages,* Leberkäse, *sauerkraut, pickled cucumbers, potatoes, and of course a whole range of homemade cakes. The sound of music fills the tent. The* Edelweiß Trio *is playing* "Ein bisschen Frieden *[A Little Peace, song performed by Nicole at the Eurovision Song Contest in 1982 resulting at Germany's first win at this competition]." The three men on the keyboard, guitar and drums are to perform many more German pop songs during the afternoon. The stage on which they are standing is lined by a flag showing an edelweiss, the Canadian, the German, the Austrian, the Swiss, the Quebec, and the Bavarian flags. People engaged in conversations are standing in small groups or sitting at one of the tables, some bustle around busily. The members of the organizing group are easily identifiable. The men wear* Lederhosen *with a checked shirt underneath. The women display a costume resembling a* Dirndl: *black shoes, white tights, a blue skirt carefully folded into inverted pleats, a white apron, a blouse with lace borders and a black bodice.*

Although Ingeborg stated that Germans do not wear *Lederhosen* when walking along the streets, they might very well wear them – and wear them proudly – at ethnic festivals. The same is true for the display of other signifiers of German ethnicity such as food, music, and flags. Thus, while German migrants in Montreal generally have a low

degree of visibility by default and strive to increase their invisibility even further by dissimilating markers of their ethnicity, there are moments in which some of them highlight and celebrate their Germanness by purposefully showcasing specific aspects of their German background. This is especially true at ethnic festivals and activities where large numbers of Germans get together because of their German linguistic and cultural origin. But similar patterns can also be observed in people's private life where similar signifiers of ethnicity such as clothing and food gain relevance in specific instances. Thus, Nina told me about the weekend after a match was won by the German team in the 2010 FIFA World Cup. She, her husband, their two children and a German girl working as an au pair for a family in Montreal were enjoying their day off. They celebrated the German team on Sainte-Catherine Street in downtown Montreal. All of them wore the shirts of the team and the au pair girl wore a garland in the German colors. They overtly manifested themselves as Germans and many of the passer-bys spurred them on by shouting "*Deutschland! Deutschland!*" It seems that everybody was enjoying this except for Lena, the ten-year-old daughter, who thought this was very embarrassing. She wore her shirt inside out and walked on the opposite sidewalk in order not to be associated with those Germans on the other side of the street.

How can these varying degrees of visibility be accounted for and why, if invisibility generally is valued, would German migrants overtly express their ethnicity in specific instances? In the previous sections, I have shown that low degrees of visibility are taken as a sign for blending in and integrating. Integration, in turn, is considered to facilitate upward social mobility and a high standing in ethnic hierarchies. However, it also becomes a sign of impending assimilation. It is precisely the awareness of the

impending assimilation and with it the loss of ethnicity that might lead to an inverse reaction. The fear of losing one's ethnicity might lead to an increased commitment towards the ethnic minority and an increased delineation of markers of ethnicity. As a consequence, the visibility of the ethnic minority becomes increased (Amit Talai 1989:112-114). Here it is the kind of affective belonging to an ethnic category described in the previous chapter that motivates the demarcation of German ethnicity.

This demarcation being motivated involves that some German migrants also become more conscious of their German ethnicity. Ingeborg observed: "I'm German. And I think, I'm perhaps much more consciously German than people in Germany" (translated interview Ingeborg, July 31st, 2010). With enhanced consciousness of German ethnicity, certain elements of it (such as food and clothing) gain in importance. Jörg would never have worn a shirt of the German soccer team in Germany and Magda never cooked sauerkraut before coming to Canada. Jörg observed: "I think, when you're a minority here, you hang on so much more to the small things. Because you don't have it in front of your eyes somehow the whole time, or in front of your nose" (translated interview Jörg, May 21st, 2010).

This affective belonging also involves a certain degree of appreciating being German. Many of my interlocutors expressed emotional attachment to, and their pride in, being German. Jörg maintained: "You can really say, 'OK, there are plenty of things in Germany that are very beautiful, that function very well.' That's why I think, you can feel proud of certain things, or the identification is there" (translated interview Jörg, May 21st, 2010). For Sandra, German high culture – music and fine arts in particular – likewise constituted sources of pride in being German. She maintained:

Especially like in the cultural scene, the Germans have many things to be proud of. Concerning culture: music and classical music and opera and painting, everything from Sigmar Polke to – I don't know – Leo Hao[18]. And now I like to say that I am German (translated interview Sandra, June 28th, 2010).

Besides excellence in music, literature, and fine arts, many German migrants noted quality of work and work ethic as a distinctive feature of Germans. Many saw attributes such as industry and diligence, striving for high performance and high quality, ingenuity, and reliability as central traits of Germans. Sandra noted:

> I find that much of the prejudice about Germans isn't true at all, except perhaps the one about work. […] It was drilled into me that you work hard, that that you need to perform, and to be successful and to achieve, achieve. That was always the emphasis. Then when I was a teenager, I would roll my eyes and say: "I don't care, I won't do my homework in spite of it, I prefer to go to the disco". But now as an adult it's my kind of *Leitmotiv* [guiding principle]: Achieve something, work hard. And don't slack off (translated interview Sandra, June 7th, 2010).

Some of the younger migrants spoke of stereotypes in this context. They were slightly more critical about such an image and know that it is not universally applicable. Thus, Matthias who is self-employed stated that this positive reputation served him well:

> What I am glad about is the stereotype that we have in other countries – apart from our horrible past with the Nazi regime, I mean World War Two, with World War One before – really everybody says [it] that we are good workers, on time, that we are reliable, quality, and that helps me tremendously, of course. That is very, very good. But […] is it something for me to be proud of? No, no, well I did live in Germany. You'll find that in Germany as well. You'll find people who just rely on the government and they don't work. Obviously, you have a whole bunch of people who work hard and who do good work (translated interview Matthias, May 30th, 2010).

While many German migrants I talked to sought to avoid a negative reputation as an unassimilated immigrant, they also drew on a positive reputation of German work. And they did both in order to advance in their personal careers. Generally, there is thus a careful balancing of visibility and invisibility. Invisibility is seen as an indicator of

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[18] Leo Hao acutally is a Russian artist

141

integration and a facilitator of social mobility. It is thus connoting a higher prestige. Too much invisibility, however, is perceived as leading to the loss of the German ethnicity. The delineation of ethnic boundaries and hence the visibility of Germans is deemed to be required in order to maintain a Germanness which is cherished by many and from which advantages can be derived. These two trends are only seemingly contradictory. First, it is invisibility as an immigrant that is valued; it is not being seen as an unassimilated immigrant that German migrants strive for. Thus, what is rendered invisible is the immigrant status, not German ethnicity *per se*. What is rendered visible, in turn, is precisely this German ethnicity – or specific aspects of it - which many value as assets and are emotionally attached to. German migrants therefore seek to enjoy the benefits of invisibility without assimilation.

Second, invisibility and visibility do not occur in the same domains. Thus, it is in public, especially in the domains of settlement, work, and education, that invisibility is valued. And it is in private life, in the domain of leisure, that higher degrees of visibility occur. It is therefore a part-time visibility or a part-time display of ethnicity that can be observed among German migrants in Montreal. In this sense, the notion of a part-time ethnicity (Amit Talai 1989:3) might also apply to these Germans. In this way, German migrants as an ethnic minority might not be much different from the ethnic majority. After all, Germans in Germany do not wear *Lederhosen* all the time, and many never wear them. Neither does the Canadian majority regularly wear *Canadiens* shirts to work. It needs to be noted, however, that even in private life ethnicity might be irrelevant at times, or instead of German ethnicity being signified it might be Canadian ethnicity that is indicated through the wearing of a *Canadiens* shirt, for example. It is worth noting too,

that Germans are largely among themselves in those contexts where high degrees of visibility occur and that they are often only visible to themselves. Thus, the higher degree of visibility that can be observed here has a limited impact on the perception of Germans by society at large.

Third, in conjunction with variation according to domain, some of the migrants I talked to also alluded to a variation along the lines of feelings and rationality. Reinhard explained that he is German by heart and Canadian by reason:

> Reinhard: In your heart, you're German. And in your heart, that is an emotional state. And that'll never change for me. You are – well - German.
> Maike: If you are German by heart, how are you Canadian then?
> Reinhard: Oh, by reason. I live in Canada and have children who are Canadians. Are Germans. I have grandchildren who are Canadians, who are Germans as well. And that is an advantage which the law grants me. And I take advantage of that because it's very easy - practically speaking - in some situations: When I want to go to the States, I'll take my Canadian passport, then I don't need a visa or anything. And when I travel to Germany and my German passport has expired, […] then I can always still use the Canadian passport. That's really practical, right? And why wouldn't you take advantage of that? I do have the honor, too, of paying Canadian taxes [laughs] (translated interview Reinhard, July 28th, 2010).

Marion, in turn, emphasized being German by soul and Canadian by citizenship:

> I am a Canadian citizen but I still feel: "I'm German" [laughs]. I think it'll stay that way as long as I live. My children are Canadian, right. But for me; I have a German soul [laughs]. Love the German music and love […] to read German books, and I love the German culture. […] Yes, we are Canadians in terms of our citizenship, but everything else is German [laughs] (translated interview Marion, August 1st, 2010).

The German community or *Gemeinschaft* described in the previous chapter follows similar patterns. I have already mentioned that the *Gemeinschaft* does not simply exist constantly, but that it is enacted to varying extents in specific moments. This groupness occurs in the same domains as high ethnic visibility. It is generally in leisure activities and in private life that it becomes enacted. Like ethnicity, the ethnic community is therefore a part-time phenomenon. Both, of course, are inextricably intertwined. On the

one hand, I have pointed out in the previous chapter that German ethnicity in general and German language and culture in particular – those features rendered visible or invisible - are the point of connection underlying the German *Gemeinschaft*. On the other hand, when Germans gather as a community, as a group, they increase their visibility. Pierre Bourdieu states that

> symbolic struggles over perception of the social world [might take] […] the form of acts of representation, individual or collective, meant to show up and to show off certain realities: I am thinking for example of demonstrations whose objective is to demonstrate a group, its number, its strength, its cohesion, to make it exist visibly (Bourdieu 1990:134).

Visibility is here closely related to the appearance of an ethnic minority as a group with sufficient numbers and cohesion. Wherever and whenever German migrants gather in high numbers, they are more visible than in contexts and instances when they disperse. Although many German migrants are proud to disperse residentially, they congregate at different moments. Ingeborg noted this when she stated: "We adapt but we also get together [as Germans]" (translated interview Ingeborg, July 31st, 2010).

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how and why German migrants in Montreal are invisible. First, I have pointed to the impact of Canadian immigration policies. It became obvious that Germans had preferred immigrant status in Canada in the 1950s because of their phenotypical and cultural resemblance to the Canadian majority population. Although ethnic preferences in immigration policies have officially been abolished in Canada in the 1970s, a *de facto* preference for German immigrants over visible minorities has prevailed. This is related to a continued concern about integration in both Quebec and Canada which Germans are thought to achieve to high degrees. This preference is

especially obvious in ethnic hierarchies translated into social mobility. While these hierarchies have over time mitigated, Germans have constantly ranked high on comparisons of socio-economic standing. The priority given to German immigrants by Canadian authorities due to their characteristics shows that their invisibility is largely systemic.

I have further shown that the invisibility of German migrants in Montreal is also due to their heterogeneity. This diversity has been especially obvious in their regional origins. Thus, German migrants do not only come from a wide variety of regions within Germany, but also from parts of Austria and Switzerland as well as from ethnic enclaves in Eastern Europe. I have demonstrated that while their common German linguistic and cultural background serves as a point of connection in some instances and contexts, the diversity of their regional backgrounds might also serve as a means of differentiation and sometimes constitute a source of antagonism. With these varying scales of identification, the likelihood that they manifest themselves as Germans varies in both substance and frequency. Depending on which layer of their belongings and identifications they operate, they might therefore seek to highlight their belonging to a larger collectivity or to emphasize their differences from it and thus decrease their visibility further.

While their invisibility is largely systemic and accidental, it is also to some extent intentional and strategic. Thus, I have illustrated how Germans in Montreal actively dissimilate a number of signifiers of their German ethnicity such as language, clothing, and population density. They do so in order not to be seen as unassimilated immigrants and to prove their worthiness of their preferred status. They derive important benefits

from actively further decreasing their visibility the most important of which is social mobility.

However, in other instances, the same signifiers become emphasized and visibility is purposefully increased. Many of my German interlocutors value their German origin and also manage to derive advantages from the positive reputation they claim they have. I have argued that these higher degrees of visibility do not contradict their general strive for invisibility. First, these different degrees of visibility occur in different domains. Moreover, the higher degrees of visibility that can sporadically be observed do not constitute an impediment to their general visibility as it occurs in rather secluded contexts. Second, the object of invisibility varies in both cases. While what is sought to be rendered invisible is the immigrant status, what is sought to be rendered visible is their German ethnicity. Third, higher degrees of visibility are indeed a reaction to their invisibility and the threat of assimilation and loss of ethnicity that it represents. Thus, by highlighting some of the signifiers of German ethnicity, German migrants seek to protect and revive their ethnicity.

5. "We Speak Half and Half"

Bilingualism

5.1 Introduction

When I visited the *Deutsche Schule zu Montreal*, I met some parents of children who attended the school. One of them explained to me that she sent her children to this school in order for them to have a trilingual education. She expressed the hope that this multilingual education was a good capital investment. Given that the school is a private school where tuition fees for grade 1 to12 currently lie at $8,250 per year, sending children to this school indeed constitutes a considerable financial investment. Part of the reason why this woman and her partner were willing to invest important amounts of money into their children's multilingual education is because of the value attributed to bilingualism by society at large and by German migrants in particular. Reinhard, reflecting on the *Deutsche Schule zu Montreal* pointed out that: "In the German school, they advertise for educating the children trilingually. That's the attraction. Many parents are aware that this [bears] nothing but advantages. […] The children somehow have better chances, right" (translated interview Reinhard, July 28th, 2010)? Not only parents of students at the *Deutsche Schule zu Montreal*, but indeed most, if not all, of my interlocutors saw advantages in bilingualism and talked about it in positive terms.

In this chapter, I want to explore some of the attitudes towards, and practices of, bilingualism. All of my interlocutors spoke at least two languages: German – the mother tongue of all my interlocutors - and English or French - one of Canada's official languages. Many indeed had a considerable degree of proficiency in both English and

French and some also spoke another language which, in most cases, was attached to a place on their migratory trajectory. While many of my German interlocutors thus technically are multilingual, most consider themselves as bilingual. This is due, first, to the fact that they *primarily* use "only" two languages in their day-to-day lives although a third or fourth language might also be of sporadic utility and, second, to the high standards my interlocutors had in defining what "speaking a language" means. Only one of my interlocutors, Gustav, referred to himself as trilingual. I therefore use the term *bilingualism* rather than *multilingualism* here as it reflects best the understanding of language use of most of my interlocutors. It needs to be noted that this does not necessarily coincide with understandings of bilingualism in Canada where this term takes on a specific meaning as it designates the proficiency in two precise languages: English and French. The bilingualism claimed by my interlocutors, on the other hand, designates proficiency in German and English or French.

I will begin this chapter by further exploring the value accorded to bilingualism before I turn to an examination of the specific kind of bilingualism valued. As I will show, it is a type of bilingualism marked by language differentiation that most of my German interlocutors strive for and value. This kind of bilingualism is typical for diglossic situations in which two (or more) languages coexist in a speech community. In such situations the languages are functionally distributed according to domains and are ranked on a hierarchy of prestige and value (Eckert 1980:154, Schiffman 1997:205, 207-208). I will therefore proceed by exploring which languages are used in which situations and which value is attributed to each. Finally, I will turn to the question why language

differentiation as such is valued by arguing that it is a central component of the notion of inaudibility and demonstrating some of the advantages that might be derived from it.

5.2 The Value of Bilingualism

The values my German interlocutors attributed to bilingualism center around a set of interrelated themes. One recurrent theme is the asset that bilingualism constitutes in economic terms. Reinhard who has worked in Belgium and Tunisia in addition to Germany and Canada pointed out that his own experience taught him how multilingual repertoires increase career chances by enabling the speaker to work abroad. Being able to work abroad, in turn, is an advantage to him: "Abroad, I am number one for the society *Stahl AG* [a big German company for which he worked]. In Germany, I am number one-of-many" (translated interview Reinhard, May 11th, 2010). These kinds of economic considerations common among my interlocutors are inscribed in broader views adopted by society at large. In a context of globalization and extended corporate capitalism, bilingualism has a high exchange value. It constitutes a resource which enriches those who have multilingual repertoires providing them with an advantage over others (Dagenais and Lamarre 2004:16, 61-62, 71, Heller 2000:23-24).

In addition, bilingualism is seen as providing access to a broader range of social relationships. This interpretation of bilingualism becomes most obvious in Sandra's account who, reflecting on the impact of linguistic capacity on her personal life, concluded that it was the foundation of her life in general and the condition for meeting her Canadian husband in London in particular:

> I find the more languages you speak, the better. […] The more languages you speak, the more the world opens up for you. And I benefited so much from this. My whole life is actually based on the fact that I learned English at some stage. Otherwise, I would never have befriended my husband and I would never have

been able to study in London. And then I would still be sitting in Bremen waiting for an audition and would somehow sit in a small cubicle wearing a grey suit, typing on a computer somehow because I would never have been able to attend an academy of music. Actually this is only due to the fact that one day I pulled up my socks and said: "Now, I have to learn English" (translated interview Sandra, June 7th, 2010).

The widening of the repertoire of potential social encounters is seen as an asset by many of my interlocutors. The social encounters that my interlocutors highlight in particular are those with people from other cultural backgrounds. In this way, bilingualism is also interpreted as constituting a cultural asset. Thus, Gustav explained that languages generally provide access to new people, other worldly wisdoms and cultures. Similarly, Matthias remarked that bilingualism offered him "the possibility [laughing] to communicate with other tribes and to enter other tribes and to find an acceptance within that tribe" (translated interview Matthias, May 30th, 2010). Many of my interlocutors mentioned traveling as an experience where the advantages of bilingualism are particularly concrete. In such descriptions, bilingualism frequently figured as an indispensible tool for exploration and discovery of other cultures. Ernst who speaks French, English, German, and a bit of Croatian and Italian used his trips to Europe to illustrate the importance of mastering several languages:

> You see that today in Europe, when I go on vacations. […] Well, then you have to know several languages, right? Otherwise you're lost. I have no [problem] what so ever [to go] anywhere in Europe. Everybody speaks English, let's say - if you only speak English. All young people speak English there. […] Well, language [is] very important to me (translated interview Ernst, June 4th, 2010).

Beyond such utilitarian consideration, many others saw bilingualism as an asset that enhanced the quality of their travel and allowed them to have a more authentic experience of the place they were visiting. Gustav described bilingualism in the following terms:

Well, that's – I always say – cat's meow. That's cat's meow or icing on a cake. If I would go to Hungary, I always find somebody who either speaks German, French or English. No matter where I go, I always find [somebody who can speak one of these languages]. When I go to Germany, I definitely have a better vacation in Germany than somebody who only [speaks] English. First of all, they wouldn't feel the pulse of Germany. They'd be in tourist places, they'd go from one tourist place to another. Whereas I can drive my car through the countryside, stop in some inn, sit down, chat with the people, order something to eat in German. It couldn't be better. Just knowing languages for yourself is fantastic. You always find somebody who speaks one of these languages. And that's part of life. So, I'd be unhappy if I would only speak German (translated interview Gustav, July 21st, 2010).

Here, bilingualism is more than a useful tool; it is fun. Therefore, bilingualism also has an emotional component to it. Bilingualism, for many German migrants, is an integral part of life and one which is highly valued. In many cases, it is the context of their own migration that adds personal meaning and significance to the value attributed to bilingualism globally. Bilingualism becomes a central component of the self and of self-realization (cf. Jourdan 2007:45) which exceeds mere economical development to incorporate rich socio-cultural encounters and personal satisfaction.

5.3 The Kind of Bilingualism Valued

While German migrants seem to value bilingualism generally, it is a specific kind of bilingualism that they value. It is a bilingualism which in many ways is similar to the type of bilingualism valued in Canada generally. This bilingualism which has been described by Heller is characterized by an extreme language differentiation in which two monolingualisms are stuck together, each showing no traces of contact (Heller 2000:15, 17, 23). Most of the German migrants I talked to expressed the importance of keeping the languages that they use strictly separate. Reinhard pointed out: "I just think it is right that when you speak German, you speak German. French, you speak French. English, English" (translated interview Reinhard, July 28th, 2010). In a very similar vein, a woman

of German origin I met by coincidence informed me that the basic rule in her household where she and her children speak English, French, and German is to always finish a sentence in the same language in which it was started (conversation, June 14th,2010). It should be noted that while language differentiation generally is valued, it is above all a differentiation of German and the Canadian official language spoken by each individual that is of high importance. Attitudes towards the differentiation of English and French sometimes are more lenient.

Just as many German migrants value language differentiation, they despise its opposite which they call *mischen* [mixing]. *Mischen* corresponds to what is called *syncretism* in socio-linguistics. Syncretism can be defined as involving "bilingual 'simultaneities' characterized by a range of interlingual phenomena - including not only codeswitching[19] but also interference[20] and 'bivalency'[21]" (Makihara 2004:530). In addition, many of my interlocutors sought to avoid the influence of one of the languages on the other and to keep both languages "pure". Magda expressed the aim to maintain a strict language differentiation: "I think you've got to make an effort not to speak too much in a muddled way. So, you should still hear clear distinctions" (translated interview Magda, July 29th, 2010). In this statement, it becomes obvious that language differentiation and the purism associated with it are not merely a choice, but require an active effort to be maintained.

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[19] Code-switching is the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to different grammatical systems which can occur between (extrasentential code-switching) or within (intrasentential code-switching) sentences (De Fina 2007:380, Myers-Scotton 1997:217, Woolard 1998:16).
[20] Interference is the application of two linguistic systems to the same linguistic item (Woolard 1998:15).
[21] Bivalency is the "use by a bilingual of words or segments that could 'belong' equally, descriptively and even prescriptively, to both codes" (Woolard 1998:7).

While language differentiation is valued, in practice various interlingual phenomena could be observed. The following examples illustrate that an ideology of strict language differentiation is not always met in practice:

Expression	Standard German	Standard English	Explanation
Mein Handy ist gestorben.	Die Batterie meines Handys war leer.	My cell phone died.	Literal translation of idiomatic expression
Das Fluchen normally erleichtert ja	Das Fluchen erleichtert normalerweise ja	Swearing normally releives.	Code-mixing (English adverb in German sentence)
Viele traveln nicht mehr gerne.	Viele reisen nicht mehr gerne.	Many don't like to travel anymore.	Code-mixing (English verb in German sentence
eine Mappe	eine Karte	a map	Interlingual homophone

Table 2: Illustrations of Syncretic Language Use

These discrepancies between ideology and practice have several implications on German migrants' attitudes towards their own linguistics practices and those of other Germans. First, those who consider themselves to be successful in keeping languages separate express a certain pride in their language differentiation. Second, those who considered themselves to make the required effort often expressed their disapproval for others whom they consider as failing to maintain an adequate language differentiation. Reinhard mentioned the card-playing club as a site where other Germans frequently mix languages.

> [At the *Montrealer Trümpfe*] I always only speak German. Many of the Germans do speak English. To be sure, when they are playing cards, the numbers are pronounced in German, but they chat very often in English[22]. I always only speak German, because I always have a certain animosity, well, I have an aversion for people who whirl languages (translated interview Reinhard, July 28th, 2010).

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[22] Pronouncing numbers is an essential part of one of the games called bidding. Chatting, on the other hand, is not part of the game in the strict sense.

The pride in maintaining language differentiation and the disapproval of the omission of language differentiation illustrate both the ideology of language differentiation and the diverging practices.

5.4 The Use of Each Language

Language differentiation is most often observed in diglossic situations. These are, as I have pointed out in the introduction, situations in which two (or more) languages or language varieties coexist in a speech community in such a way that they are functionally distributed according to domains. One of the varieties is typically reserved for public, formal, and learned domains. This variety is also the one which ranks higher on a hierarchy of prestige and value than the variety used in informal, popular, and intimate domains (Eckert 1980:154, Schiffman 1997:205, 207-208). Linguistic practices and attitudes of German migrants overlap to some extent with these general observations. Language use in particular seems to vary by domain. I will therefore now describe more fully which languages are used in the private and the public spheres.

Although there is considerable variation in the languages used in each sphere and domain, some general patterns could be observed. In general, my interlocutors used German mainly at home as the "family language" (translated interview Magda, July 29th, 2010) and for some leisure activities. This coincides with Gumpp's analysis of language loss and language retention among German immigrants in Vancouver. She found that

> the usage of German as of other minority languages was almost exclusively confined to the private sphere: to the company of family, kin, and close friends, and ethnic institutions such as churches, ethnic organizations, social clubs, and selective business transactions (Gumpp 1995:77).

I have outlined in the second chapter that these are also the domains in which Germans enact a German categorical identity transnationally by maintaining ties to their family and

friends in Europe or locally by participating in German associations. This use of German in the private sphere and the domain of leisure further coincides with the domains in which higher degrees of visibility can be observed among German migrants. This correlation is not surprising given that language is one of the signifiers of ethnicity and thus one of the elements that can enhance or decrease ethnic visibility (cf. Bailey 2000:190, De Fina 2007:389, Fishman 1997:329, Tabournet-Keller 1997:318-319). It needs to be noted, however, that German was hardly the only language used in these circumstances. For example, Gustav, Franz, and Marion, who now are in their seventies, observed that over time their use of German at home has diminished and that they now used German and a majority language in a proportion of "fifty-fifty" (interview Gustav, June 8th, 2010) or "half and half" (translated interview Angela, July 14th, 2010).

My interlocutors used at least one of Canada's official languages at work or when in public. I have outlined in the previous chapter that most of the Germans I interviewed did not rely on their German categorical identity in order to seek employment or an appropriate place of residence and indeed tried to avoid it. Thus, among the Germans I interviewed, the use of German at work and in public was an exception. When my interlocutors interact with public services and staff in shops or restaurants they inevitably use English or French with the possible exception of sporadic visits at German shops and restaurants that some of my interlocutors undertake. This use of English or French in the public sphere corresponds to the domains in which low degrees of visibility can be observed among German migrants.

In bilingual contexts, the choice of language thus also involves an enactment of a specific identity. Different identities including ethnicity, social class, age group, gender,

and urban identity might be expressed and experienced through different languages and language varieties. Depending on the context, the use of language situates speakers in the tight-knit constellations of the social world in which they live (Jourdan 2007:30-31, 44-45). In some of these constellations, ethnicity might be relevant and become expressed through the use of the ethnic language, in others ethnicity and the associated ethnic language might be irrelevant, impractical, or even disturbing.

While I have so far shown how German and English or French are functionally distributed according to different domains, I have not yet addressed the question as to which of these languages – English or French – my interlocutors mainly use. Montreal has a complex linguistic profile with English and French being the two main languages used. Since the 1970s, French is the official, common language of Quebec and the Quebec government has sought to encourage the integration of immigrants to the francophone community through its language policy. English, on the other hand, is one of the two official languages of Canada and a major global language. In addition, within the province of Quebec, it is in Montreal that English is at its most vital and that it is indeed possible to live one's life entirely in English. Thus, in Montreal migrants live in a context of linguistic duality (Oakes and Warren 2007: 134-135, Pagé 2010:4-5).

Which of these languages German migrants use depends, in part, on their proficiency in each of them. For all of my interlocutors, English is the foreign language that they acquired first. For those who grew up in Germany, this is influenced by the German school system where generally English is taught as the first foreign language (Hüllen 2005). This is mainly true for those who arrived in the 1950s. All of my interlocutors who immigrated after the 1950s had some degree of knowledge of English

prior to their migration to Canada ranging from "perfect" (conversation Gustav, May 5th, 2010) to rather basic competence. In addition, a number of my interlocutors had lived for an extended amount of time in English-speaking countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States before they moved to Canada. In addition to learning English first, many also pointed out that English was easier to learn than French. Moreover, some noted that English was more closely related to the German language than French. French, if at all, was generally acquired after English. The number of those who spoke French prior to their arrival was considerably more limited than of those who spoke English. Reinhard and Eva had an especially high degree of French proficiency and Reinhard had worked in French in Belgium and Tunisia, whereas Eva had studied and worked in French in France and Switzerland prior to her migration to Canada.

It seems obvious that migrants who have a choice between two foreign languages preferably use the language they know best rather than a language that they know less or not at all. Language proficiency is an important factor influencing linguistic affiliation. While Eva noted that French was easier for her and that she therefore used French with public services, Sandra explained that she preferred English when interacting with her bank or her doctor because she did not want to risk making mistakes in these contexts. However, languages can be acquired if there is a need or a desire for it and initial language proficiency is certainly not the only factor influencing language choice. A number of other factors such as the status of these languages, cultural affiliation to their speakers and social accessibility of these speakers need to be taken into consideration.

First, the choice between English and French is influenced by the social, economic, and social status accorded to each of these languages in a specific period of

time and on a specific scale of evaluation. In Montreal, this status of English and French changed over time and migrants who settled in the region of Montreal in different periods of time are therefore likely to evaluate the status of English and French differently. Since its beginnings as a metropolis, Montreal had been dominated by the anglophone business world and English was the language of trade, industry, transportation, and banking. Everything related to money was associated with English and so were the best-paid positions (Plourde 2003:320-321). It therefore had a considerably higher social and economic status than French. Gustav described how he perceived the linguistic power relations upon his arrival in 1958:

> Oh, the big surprise to me was: I wanted to practice my French and in those days, the francophones, they would answer you in English. So, you couldn't [practice French], the government had no French classes for immigrants like they have now. It was English - here, the dominant language was English. And all the industries, all the top people in the industry, they were all English-speaking. No francophones in there (interview Gustav, June 8th, 2010).

He stated that although he had planned to make a career in French, he quickly saw that his chances would lie in English. As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, social mobility is related to invisibility and, especially at the time of Gustav's migration, to Anglo-conformity. He, like most other immigrants arriving at that time, therefore adopted English as the language of his career:

> It was not me who took the decision. Instead, the decision was made for me by the country. When I got here - '58 – I had planned – that's why I came to Montreal – to enter into the French milieu and make my career. And that was not the case. I saw straight away that if I wanted to make my career, I had to side with the anglophones. So, it was virtually decided for me (translated interview Gustav, July 21st, 2010).

In the 1960s and 1970s these entrenched relationships of dominance were rearranged. The social and economic inferiority of francophone Quebecers and the anglophone domination led to a general mobilization, the Quiet Revolution. Part of this

mobilization was the issue of the French language - the language of the numerical majority of Quebec - which was to be reestablished and respected in its status and quality. To this end, commissions were established in the 1960s (Parent, Laurendeau-Dunton, Gendron) and the first linguistic laws were adopted by the federal government and the government of Quebec between 1969 and 1974. This development culminated in the adoption of the Bill 101, the Charter of the French language, in 1977 which made French the official language and the normal and usual language of all public activities. Bill 101 which remains Quebec's main language law imposed the exclusive use of French in public signage and advertising, restricted access to anglophone schools to children of parents who had received the majority of their education in English in Quebec, and required enterprises of 50 or more employees to function in French. Since this time, the business world has no longer been dominated by anglophones to the exclusion of francophones. Moreover, instead of providing immigrants with English courses the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles has offered a range of full-time, part-time, and online French courses for adult immigrants and provided so-called *classes d'accueil* (welcoming classes) for school-aged immigrants in many French public schools in Montreal (Plourde 2003:232, 290, 321, Oakes and Warren 2007:86-87, 136-137). In the 1970s, French thus obtained higher official status in the province of Quebec than English.

Reactions to these reforms of German migrants who had already settled in Montreal by this time reached from complete incomprehension and rejection to complete support of the arguments put forth in favor of the linguistic reforms (cf. Meune 2003:237-243). These divergences in attitudes that I will now describe demonstrate that linguistic

preferences and provincial status of a language do not stand to each other in a direct relationship. Some German migrants showed a strong resistance to learn French which was seen by many as an insuperable effort (Meune 2003:238). Many of my interlocutors who had lived in Quebec during the period of change had feelings of resentment against French becoming the dominant language. Gustav maintained that this is a common reaction among German immigrants although he himself claimed to be an exception.

> Because of my language skill in French, I got to know not just the language but also the culture and people. And I like them very much and I [have] really good [francophone] friends and I understand them and so on. So, I didn't go into defriending like many Germans or anglophones. Hate. They put a wall and said: "Oh, French, oh, oh." I didn't have this, I didn't fight, I understand it. I understand that it had to come to that (interview Gustav, June 8th, 2010).

Some of the resentment that Gustav referred to seems to be related to the imposition of French, to the feeling of being obligated to speak French where before speaking French was optional. At Gertrud's birthday party a francophone guest complained jokingly to her German host that the latter never spoke French to her. Gertrud replied in French: "*Quand je veux, je peux ; quand je dois, je ne veux pas* [If I want to, I can; if I have to, I don't want to]." Others saw the imposition of French to be to the detriment of English and indeed to French-English bilingualism in a time of globalization. Ernst noted:

> But what is happening here in Quebec; they don't even want to have the possibility to learn English. They always curse in the government: "You are sending your son to English school and na, na, na. And our French must be kept." That's so stupid. They won't lose French. But how silly is this: When these people – when they'll be 20, 25 and they go to Florida or they go to Toronto, what do they want to say [twiddling his thumbs]? Isn't it very, very stupid of the government - not of the Quebec government, but of the Parti Québécois, right, who insist on [speaking] French only (translated interview Ernst, June 4th, 2010)?

Not all of those who had been in Montreal before the changes, however, were against the acquisition of French and indeed some saw it as a necessity. Some Germans in Quebec learned or improved their French in order to obtain a suitable proficiency in

business French. Although learning French was not a requirement for her job, Angela made a point of acquiring it. In order to do so she gave up her job as a nurse in an anglophone hospital so as to work in a francophone hospital – without prior knowledge of French. She had a tremendous amount of determination to learn French and a motivation to do so that exceeded economic considerations. She explained that she wanted to learn French "because I always thought you exclude yourself from half the population if you don't [speak French]. We live here. If you can't take part in the cultural life of the other side, then you are missing out on so much or don't you think so" (translated interview Angela, July 14th, 2010)?

Like Angela, some of the German migrants arriving after the period of linguistic shift see proficiency in French as indispensable. The difference is that French was already Quebec's official language. French being the common public language since 1977, many of those who arrived after this time express that it was important to them to speak French at least when in public. Although for Sandra, English is the language she mainly uses at home, work and with friends, she pointed out that whenever she is in public, any communication "is always first in French since it is a French city. So, default is French" (translated interview Sandra, June 28th, 2010).

While many of those who came in recent years approve of making an effort to speak French at least in public, some also demonstrate similar attitudes to those expressed by migrants who migrated prior to the 1980s. Like Gertrud, Matthias maintained that obliging people to speak French is not the right way to go. He held: "it's important that the language [French] is generally here. But to say, 'You have to [speak French' is not OK]. I think that's the problem. You could give people both options" (translated

interview Matthias, May 30th, 2010). Moreover, some see the enforcement of French as a detriment for the francophone population and therefore concord in their opinions with Ernst who perceived the reforms as a threat to bilingualism. Magda, for example, maintained:

> Magda: The francophone children do hardly speak English because of that; they are not bilingual. In Montreal it might still be OK, but in Quebec [City]…
> Theresia: In Quebec they don't speak English.
> Magda: And that's a shame. They are spoiling a chance for themselves. The anglophone children are bilingual and that is an advantage. Just think of this: No matter which job you are applying for, in the conditions it always says that you have to be bilingual (translated conversation Magda, July 29th, 2010).

These attitudes critical of the official dominance of French that at least some German migrants who arrived both before and after changes in linguistic policy have been made in Quebec show that the official status of a language in the province of Quebec is not the only criterion that accounts for the language choice of German migrants. As I mentioned earlier, the status of a language also varies according to the scale on which it is evaluated. Rather than limiting their evaluation of the relevance and status of English and French to the city of Montreal or the province of Quebec, many evaluate English and French as relevant to different linguistic contexts (cf. Dagenais and Lamarre 2004:57, 61, 63, Gal 1993:339). Most of my interlocutors valued French on a local, provincial scale and English on a national and international scale. This is partially why many considered it to be a necessity to have at least a good basis in French – especially those who migrated after the linguistic reform – and why many disapprove of the subordination of English.

Second, linguistic preferences of my German interlocutors are influenced by their affiliation to either anglophones or francophones. Many see anglophones and francophones as two distinct and opposed societies. "Two worlds" (translated interview

Eva, June 15th, 2010) – this is how Eva described anglophones and francophones. She continued by describing her attitude towards what she perceived as the segregation of anglophones and francophones as follows:

> Eva: Sometimes I am quite shocked about this, to be honest.
> Maike: About what exactly?
> Eva: How limited the contact between both is and how many prejudices there are and what politically does not advance because these are two separate worlds (translated interview Eva, June 15th, 2010).

Like Eva, many of my interlocutors perceived anglophones and francophones as segregated and some noted that this segregation was obvious on at least two levels. On the one hand, they noted the geographical segregation which is "often tied to places - to East and West" (translated interview Eva, June 15th, 2010). Even if in reality the residence patterns of anglophones and francophones are less clear cut and in flux, the place of residence migrants choose is interrelated with their linguistic affiliation to English or French. Theresia who moved with her parents to a mainly anglophone area in Montreal when she was seven years old pointed out to me:

> I think if this region would have been more French, French would probably have been my mother tongue more than English because I mean, I just learned the language of my environment. My neighbors spoke English and so I spoke English. If all the people at my school would have spoken French instead of English, I would have learned French and faster at that. But it's just - English was the mother tongue in this area and so I learned English first and French as a second language (translated interview Theresia, July 29th, 2010).

On the other hand, some noted a cultural segregation like Ralf who stated, "If you see the difference between anglophones and francophones – how they live, the mentality, the attitude – I do understand that Quebec wants to be on its own" (translated interview Ralf, June 14th, 2010). While most of my interlocutors do not approve of the alleged segregation of anglophones and francophones, many do take sides and note that they have a strong preference for one of them and cannot identify with the other. Eva identified

with the francophone "part of Quebec" and elaborated further that she could not identify

with the anglophone "part of Quebec":

> For example, the bars where they go out – just think of Crescent and that whole
> area for example […]. For example, Julien [her husband]'s boss, he is always over
> the moon with: "*Oh Crescent, il faut qu'on sorte sur Crescent, puis…* [Oh
> Crescent, we have to go out on Crescent, and …]" Not for one second would it
> interest me to go there because it is much too chawy […]. In this whole cultural
> realm it is quite obvious, the differences (translated interview Eva, June 15th,
> 2010).

Sandra also noted differences in the cultural realm. She mentioned music as distinct and

explained that she is not interested in francophone music:

> Personally, I never felt strongly about the French chanson. Many people really
> like it. This is something the Québécois do have and it's great and I'm happy that
> they have it, but it has never been anything that would have interested me and
> that's also why I am less interested in the francophone side. We rather use the
> English channel (translated interview Sandra, June 7th, 2010).

The way German migrants affiliate culturally is closely interrelated with the way they

affiliate linguistically. On the one hand, cultural activities in one language increase the

need and the desire to use this language and offer opportunities to do so. On the other

hand, linguistic proficiency opens up the possibility to pursue cultural activities.

Third, this linguistic and cultural affiliation is in turn influenced by the perceived

social accessibility of anglophones and francophones. Although many see anglophones

and francophones as opposed and therefore seem to need to choose between them, for

some of my interlocutors this choice is illusionary as they perceive the francophone

section of society as unavailable to them. They note that francophones cut themselves off

from anglophones and allophones "because they are afraid to lose their language and

identity" (translated conversation Sandra, May 25th, 2010). Some of my interlocutors

came to Quebec partially because they wanted to learn or improve their French.

However, some of them soon realized that learning French was interlinked with society

and that for various reasons society placed limitations on their learning French. Gustav, on the one hand, came with the firm conviction to improve his French and to make his career in French. For him this did not materialize because of power relationships between French and English. Katharina, on the other hand, who immigrated well after these power relationships had shifted likewise realized that she could not achieve her aim to improve her French. She attributed this to the attitudes of francophone members of society:

> At the time, when I first came here [in 2004], it was also about speaking French fluently. And after three, four years here, I still hadn't achieved this. This kind of annoyed me. I was very frustrated. Then I told myself, "OK, if you stay here, you'll never learn it." Well, "never" [is maybe a bit exaggerated], but it is more difficult. Because entering these French communities is quite complicated. Then I said, "OK, then we'll go to France now (translated interview Katharina, May 25th, 2010).

This impression that francophone society is a rather closed society was also expressed by people who had migrated to Quebec in different periods. Thus, Angela who immigrated in the 1950s pointed out to me

> Well, I'd like to say that the French at that time were a very closed society. And – so this is not a critique – but the immigrants were integrated more on the English side because the French – I think this might be cultural, tribal, call it whatever you want – but they were very closed (translated interview Angela, July 14th, 2010).

Some of my interlocutors contrasted anglophones with francophones and maintained that anglophones are more open towards immigrants than francophones. Katharina stated that while francophones stay among themselves, "it's my impression that allophones and anglophones intermingle more easily" (translated interview Katharina, July 16th, 2010). Sandra similarly observed that the anglophones "are more broad-minded towards allophones (translated interview Sandra, June 7th, 2010)." These experiences and attitudes show that neither linguistic policies and services nor attitudes of migrants are sufficient to determine linguistic affiliation. Attitudes of the host society

likewise play an important role. If it is socially easier to become an anglophone Quebecer than to be fully accepted by francophone society, this also has linguistic consequences favoring the English language (cf. Oakes and Warren 2007:138-139, Plourde 2003:321).

In the particular context of Montreal where two majority languages co-exist (German) migrants live in a complex, nested diglossic situation. On the one hand, it is a diglossic situation composed of German, a minority language and English or French, one majority language. On the other hand, the majority-linguistic situation is itself diglossic. Whereas the use of minority and majority language falls into different spheres of life – although of course the division is not strictly clear-cut -, the use of English and French cannot be as easily split between spheres. It rather depends on the context and the background of each speaker such as his or her proficiency prior to immigration, the period of immigration, official status of these language, cultural affiliation, and social accessibility of anglophones and francophones

5.5 The Value of Each Language

According to some of the literature on diglossia, the language used in public domains is the one which is valued more than the language which is used in private domains (cf. Eckert 1980:154, Schiffman 1997:205, 207-208). Instead of simply valuing one language more than another, I suggest that German migrants value each language on different grounds. From the previous observations it has already emerged that the two majority languages are evaluated on different linguistic markets. English is highly valued as a global language providing access to the rest of Canada, North America and the world. It is a language valued in terms of economy and travel. It is seen as a language of

high instrumental value (Oakes and Warren 2007:93). In the same linguistic market, French does not have the same instrumentality: "It is not the dominant language of the Canadian state, it is only spoken by two per cent of North America's population and has far fewer speakers than English world-wide" (Oakes and Warren 2007:92). French is instead valued as the language of the province of Quebec. Within the province of Quebec since the 1960s, the instrumental value of French has increased through language legislation and French has become the common language of public administration, education, the workplace, etc. (Oakes and Warren 2007:92). French and English as the majority languages in Montreal also bear integrative potential (cf. Oakes and Warren 2007:91). Speaking these languages constitutes a precondition for social integration and indeed inaudibility which I will examine closer in the following section.

German as the language spoken in the private, intimate sphere is valued on very different grounds. In the second chapter, I have shown that the attachment to the German *Heimat* is an emotional one where the belonging to a Canadian home also has practical significance. In a similar vein, I have shown in the previous chapter that some German migrants consider themselves to be German by heart and Canadian by reason. A similar observation can be made concerning the emotional attachment towards speaking German. Some of my interlocutors stated that they preferred their mother tongue to express complex and intense feelings as well as wit, irony and humor. Using German in instances of intense feelings constituted for Angela not only a way to express these feelings, but also to do justice to them. She remarked: "When you are really angry and furious and you want to swear – swearing normally relieves, right? – then you have to swear in your

mother language because then you know that you said something wrong" (translated

interview Angela, July 14th, 2010).

The German language becomes, for some, a sign for intimate feelings. Thus,

Magda noted that she preferred speaking German with close friends although on the level

of proficiency it did not make a difference to her:

> Magda: I have to say that - when I am with close friends - German is more
> important. I think that it is easier for me to be close to other people in German.
> Not because I know it better, but I realize that sometimes, when I'm doing stuff
> with Canadians and I have a really good conversation with them, then I'm always
> tempted to speak German with them because I have the feeling that I know them
> well. And then that [German] is the more natural language for me; it is a really
> strange feeling. But English is not actually difficult for me.
> Maike: So, could we say that the German language is-
> Magda: near and dear to me.
> Maike: near and dear to you[23]?
> Magda: Yes, you can say that. It is the mother language, so the language in which
> I mostly think (translated interview Magda, July 29th, 2010).

The German language does not only express these feelings but becomes itself invested

with these feelings. However, not all of my interlocutors attach such feelings to their

mother language. Matthias, for example, evaluated German purely on its utility. There is

no emotional attachment what so ever in this remark: "I mean, German is good: I can

communicate with my family. But if you'd say that it was to be replaced by Spanish and

we'd all speak Spanish perfectly, I wouldn't mind speaking Spanish either" (translated

interview Matthias, May 30th, 2010).

5.6 Inaudibility

I have so far outlined how the different languages are used and valued by German

migrants and shown that their use and value is part of an ideology of language

differentiation. But why is language differentiation itself valued? In the remainder of this

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[23] The German expression literally translates as: "being close to your heart"

chapter, I want to argue that the efforts conducted towards language differentiation and the positive value attached to it are an essential component of inaudibility. In this sense, the effort conducted towards language differentiation is also an effort conducted towards achieving inaudibility and the value attached to language differentiation is related to the value attached to inaudibility.

Before I describe and analyze the relationship of language differentiation and inaudibility, I briefly want to define and describe the concept of inaudibility. In many ways, inaudibility is the acoustic counterpart to invisibility. Analogous to invisibility, inaudibility can describe a state in which ethnic minorities appear much like the majority population and in which they are not identified and not identifiable acoustically as ethnic minorities due to their low linguistic profile. Inaudibility in the context of migration does not describe a state of total inaudibility, but a state of partial inaudibility where certain aspects of the self – in this case the ethnic background – cannot be heard.

A first condition for the achievement of this inaudibility of German migrants in Montreal is the avoidance to speak German in contexts where it could be overheard by non-German-speakers. This way of rendering the German language inaudible is very similar to the way other signifiers of German identity are rendered invisible as I have outlined in the previous chapter. I have already shown that German migrants use languages according to the domain of interaction in a way that fulfills these conditions. While German was used in the private realm in the sphere of the family and leisure activities, it was generally absent from the public sphere where English and/or French were used almost exclusively. Many of my interlocutors explained – often proudly – that they usually speak the language of their interlocutors so that they speak English with

anglophones and French with francophones. They apply this practice to a variety of interlocutors such as neighbors, friends, colleagues, and clients.

If the interlocutor is German-speaking, German migrants do not automatically use the German language, however. A man at a German club informed me of his recent stay in a hospital. He excitedly told me about his encounter with a German intern working in the hospital. When I asked him if he spoke a bit of German with her, he replied: "She was with the doctor on his round. So, there I can't speak German after all" (translated conversation, May 19th, 2010). The way he said this revealed that not speaking German in the presence of non-German speakers in this public domain was rather self-evident. I have indeed witnessed many times that German migrants speak German only when they are exclusively among German-speakers. Even if they are in a setting where speaking German is generally appropriate- in the premises of a German club, for example – they will switch to a majority language the moment a non-German-speaker or a stranger whose preferred language has not yet been determined enters the room.

Especially in cases where interlocutors are not exclusively German or even where other people who do not speak German are simply present without being interlocutors, most of the German migrants I met refrained from speaking German. One day when I was again sitting with Ernst in his office, the phone rang and Ernst answered as usual in English. He was conversing in English for a few minutes before switching to German. Afterwards he informed me that it was his German partner and that they usually speak German together. Only when non-German speakers are present, do they use English or French, depending on the context. Ernst explained that in the phone conversation I had just witnessed his partner extended this practice – as they always do – because she could

not have known if Ernst was alone or maybe together with somebody who did not speak German. Switching to German in this case was considered appropriate as the person present – me – was a German-speaker. Together with Ernst's emphasis on the fact that he and his partner both speak English and French and that therefore they are truly integrated, this phone conversation constitutes an example of the efforts conducted to achieve inaudibility. The use of the German language is therefore limited to secluded contexts where it is generally not overheard by other people than fellow German migrants.

This first condition consisting of the avoidance to speak German is of course closely intertwined with the use of English and/or French in contexts where non-German speakers are present. This use of a majority language especially in the public realm constitutes thus the second condition for the achievement of the form of partial inaudibility that I am interested in here. I have shown above that English or French are indeed used in the public realm and that this is typical for the functional distribution of languages according to domains in diglossic situations marked by language differentiation. In this way, language differentiation assists the fulfillment of these first two conditions of inaudibility. Here, inaudibility slightly differs from invisibility. In the previous chapter, I have shown that the invisibility of German migrants results in part from an active and strategic effort to de-emphasize signifiers of German ethnicity. In order to achieve inaudibility it is not enough to de-emphasize the German language in an anglophone or francophone context and to appear ethnically neutral. Inaudibility requires not merely to switch *off* the German language, but also to switch *to* the English or French language.

But the choice of a language is not sufficient in and of itself in order to achieve inaudibility. For as soon as German migrants open their mouth or start typing on a keyboard and actually make use of English and/or French, they risk to provide more or less evident clues about their German mother tongue. Avoiding to do so requires a more sustained and deliberate effort than is the case for visible clues. While by their physical appearance German migrants in Canada automatically have a low profile, this is far less the case for their audible appearance. For many of my interlocutors it is therefore important to work on their use of English and/or French. For them, it is not enough to merely speak one or both majority languages. Rather, they strive to speak them well and to demonstrate a high level of proficiency. Inaudibility of German migrants therefore also requires a third condition: the perfection of English and/or French which involves the use of pure language varieties and the elimination of German traces in English and/or French.

It is this third criterion that is hardest to fulfill for many of the German migrants I talked to. Some of my interlocutors showed a considerable concern about making mistakes and demonstrated a deliberate effort to eliminate them. Eva, for example, pointed out that it is very important to her that her professional communication in French is faultless.

> Maike: Do you mind to make mistakes in French?
> Eva: Yes, I do mind [laughing]. At the beginning it was really difficult at work, I really always panicked a bit to always write the e-mails correctly and not to have any mistakes in there. It often happens that I send my e-mails to Julien so that he reads them before I send them. And I do this often. So, this panic to make mistakes, I still have it now.
> Maike: And why would it be so bad to make mistakes?
> Eva: No idea, it's a good question. Perfectionism (translated interview Eva, June 15th, 2010).

A similar observation can be made concerning spoken language where accents are a matter of concern. Some of my interlocutors were acutely aware of accents and did not

appreciate them. Magda explained that while her children did not have an accent when they speak English, she still had one.

> Magda: I am the only one in our family who still [has] an [accent] […].
> Theresia: No, *Papa*, too.
> Magda: But *Papa* not as much.
> Theresia: I find. But I mean I speak a different English than you do.
> Magda: So, the children do not attract attention linguistically in English here (translated interview Magda and Theresia, July 29th, 2010).

Even if most of my interlocutors had a high degree of proficiency and speak English or French fluently, they might be audible minorities due to their accents. While this is often due particularly to audible traces of German in English or French, it might also be related to not speaking the local variety of English or French more generally. This is especially obvious when some of my interlocutors are asked by francophones whether they come from Belgium or France. While these kinds of questions implicitly acknowledge a high degree of proficiency they also hint at the fact that the variety of French spoken is not a local one and hence lead to the conclusion that the speaker is an immigrant – a state that many German migrants seek to dissimilate as I have outlined in more detail in the previous chapter. Eliminating these foreign traces constitutes a considerable challenge for many of my interlocutors. Accents render German migrants more audible than many of them wish to be. Here again, a discrepancy between ideology and practice, between striving for inaudibility and still being audible is apparent. Ralf was the only one of my interlocutors who admits having a strong accent and who claimed not to care about it. He explained: "When I speak English, everybody hears that [I am German]." When I asked him if this bothered him, he replied:

> No. If it would bother me, I wouldn't speak English. I would be silent. Even if I speak wrongly… I can't do it; it is not my mother tongue. I was not in school [i.e. I didn't learn it at school]. I learned it all by myself through my traveling. And I

can't deny [it]. And why should I? I have no problem with it (translated interview Ralf, June 14th, 2010).

Interestingly, Ralf opposed his partial form of audibility caused by his accent which he considers as inevitable to the only alternative of a total form of inaudibility caused by his being silent which he rejects.

While Ralf considers audible traces of German as inevitable, many of my interlocutors employ the principle of strict language differentiation as a central strategy to reduce these traces and to acquire and maintain pure language varieties. In this way, language differentiation and the purism it is associated with assist German migrants in their attempt to fulfill this third criterion of inaudibility. By aiming at a relatively pure version of English and/or French with no traces of German, these migrants therefore try to avoid being identified as Germans or as immigrants more generally and their language differentiation serves to increase their inaudibility. As a practice, language differentiation therefore is a tool for the achievement of inaudibility and as an attitude it is an essential component of an ideology of inaudibility.

Inaudibility, in turn, is valued for many of the same reasons as invisibility. Like invisibility, inaudibility is taken by German migrants as a sign of integration, adaptation and conformity. Matthias explained:

> Matthias: French is only [important] because I live in Quebec. So that I can go shopping at the dépanneur and that I can order a coffee in French.
> Maike: Well, that's important, too.
> Matthias: It is important for integration. The people highly acknowledge this. I notice it in Quebec City, in Sherbrooke, they all notice that French is not my first language, they all know English. But they like that I speak French with them. So in practice it is: You are a guest in a country and you try to integrate as well as possible (translated interview Matthias, May 30th, 2010).

Integrating and not being recognizable as an immigrant is highly valued by many German migrants as I have outlined in more detail in the previous chapter. German

migrants derive important benefits from this integration based on invisibility and inaudibility as they consider it as a precondition for upward social mobility. Since German migrants tend to avoid relying on their German background in order to seek employment and make a career, they require proficiency in English or French in order to do so. And the purer the language variety of English or French, the higher the chances for social mobility. This interpretation is most obvious in Eva's concern about mistakes in written communication where inaudibility is taken as an essential marker of professionalism. In the domain of work and in the quest for social mobility, inaudibility is therefore considered as indispensable.

I have so far outlined how language differentiation is valued as a tool and component of inaudibility. This provides some explanation for why German migrants value language differentiation in relation to the English or French language. But they also clearly value language differentiation with regards to the German language and this value also needs to be accounted for. Many of my interlocutors might hope for language differentiation to fulfill many of the same functions for the German language as it does for the English and/or French language. Just as some perceive language differentiation as a tool to achieve and maintain pure varieties of English and/or French, they may consider it as a tool to maintain pure varieties of German with no traces of English or French. Thus, while I have so far outlined how language differentiation might assist the inaudibility of German in English or French, I now want to turn to how it might assist the inaudibility of English and/or French in German. This means that inaudibility is not only opposed to audibility as I have alluded to above, but also that the inaudibility of German in English or French has a counterpart in the inaudibility of English and/or French in

German. In this way, inaudibility is more explicitly a two-way process than invisibility. This is to say that the object of inaudibility is not only the German language in an anglophone or francophone frame, but that it can also be the English or French language in a German frame.

As the counterpart of the inaudibility of German, the inaudibility of English or French requires similar conditions to be fulfilled. First, it requires the avoidance to speak English or French in settings reserved for German and second, the explicit use of German in these contexts. This is obvious in the comments of some of my interlocutors who complain about their fellow club members using English when conversing at a German club as mentioned above. Others highlight the sustained effort required to speak German at home in the family and to maintain it as the family language as I have pointed out in the third chapter. Here again, language differentiation and the associated functional distribution of languages according to domains assist the inaudibility of English or French in German.

Third, in order to maintain the inaudibility of English or French in German, my interlocutors need to conduct an effort towards maintaining their German in full and in a pure variety. Language differentiation and the purism it is associated with are central tools for the achievement of this complete maintenance of German that many of my interlocutors strive for. This function of language differentiation is obvious in its opposition to syncretism and the language loss that some of my interlocutors associate with it. They often see syncretic language use as an intermediary position between language loss and language maintenance. Rather than being evaluated in positive terms as a sign for language maintenance, it is depreciated as a sign of increasing language loss.

Many established a relationship between syncretic practices and the increased risk of loss of the German language. Nina, for example, expressed annoyance with her tendency to mix languages:

> Well, of course this happens to me often as well, this blending of languages. So, I am often so confused. And then I get very angry, you know, not to remain in one language. My German is more and more run through by so many other [languages] so that I sometimes don't really [know] anymore [which word is the right one]. This weekend, I was looking for the word for *Fensterladen* [shutter]. Do you think it came to me? I wanted to know it in German. *Jalousie*, *Marquise*. The German word just didn't come to my mind. *Fensterladen*. It really drives me crazy when I forget German (translated interview Nina, July 6th, 2010).

Not knowing a German word and as a consequence drawing on another language is used by Nina as synonymous with losing German entirely. In contrast, language differentiation and the purism it is associated with come to signify the maintenance of a variety of German that does not bear traces of English or French.

Through the linguistic purism and diglossia that it involves, language differentiation increases the inaudibility of English or French in German and in this way assists the maintenance of the German language. It is precisely for its perceived role in, and sign of, language maintenance that my interlocutors value language differentiation. This significance of language differentiation is all the more valued by many of my interlocutors as they are acutely aware of the threat of language loss. Some of them establish a relationship between bilingualism and loss of the German language and a shift towards English or French. Magda pointed out: "I mean one disadvantage [of bilingualism] is somehow that you lose parts of your mother tongue, for example" (translated interview Magda, July 29th, 2010). Many of my interlocutors identified the strongest signs of language loss among those who have lived in Canada longest. Gustav,

for example, told me about some German friends he has who have lived in Canada for decades and who are now unable to formulate written communications in German:

> I have already done correspondence to Germany for some friends. And they had drafted it and given it to me in German. And I was shattered – shattered how little German they had left. Now, of course I don't know if they were able to write German correctly before. That I don't know. But what I saw there was… You couldn't send such a letter to the authorities in Germany or what so ever (translated interview Gustav, July 21st, 2010).

Compared to immigrants of other non-official languages, German migrants are indeed more likely to give up their mother language. German immigrants have a linguistic retention rate of 38% compared to 60% of Chinese and Italians. In 1996, of 2.8 million Canadians of German origin less than 120 000 still spoke German at home (Meune 2003:125). Many of my interlocutors were aware of this relatively rapid language loss and perceived it as a threat. This is obvious in the fact that they frequently inflate partial language loss to signify complete language loss. Thus, Angela and Franz who both immigrated in the 1950s acknowledged that they lost their German. In speaking German which I perfectly understood, they explained to me:

> Angela: I don't really have it [German] anymore.
> Franz: Well, [you] just forget [it].
> Angela: I don't really have it anymore.
> Franz: After so many years, you forget it.
> Angela: It's not so much speaking, but when you are writing… (translated interview Franz and Angela, July 14th, 2010).

Even many of those who have lived in Montreal for a shorter period expressed a concern about relative language loss. Most of them noted that they "lose" German words, but some also noted a decrease in accuracy of orthography and grammar. Sandra, for example, noted:

> It fizzles, it really fizzles because during the week I don't actually speak German with anybody. And somehow my vocabulary and my grammar are fading. Every

now and again I talk to my mother on the phone. Then, I really realize how I have to grope for words (translated interview June 28th, 2010).

Language maintenance, on the other hand, takes on a specific meaning among German migrants. Given that language naturally changes and evolves and that it might do so in different ways and at a different pace in the place where it is a majority language (e.g. German in Germany) and the place where it is imported to and a minority language (e.g. German in Canada), the question arises as to the norm by which language maintenance is measured. Maintaining German is narrowly defined for many of my interlocutors – especially those who are frequently in touch with a German-speaking country or consult German media - and means "maintaining" current standard German. Of course, standard German itself does not remain stable and therefore not forgetting German or maintaining what one knew as German is not sufficient. It needs to be constantly updated. When these German migrants speak about their interactions with Germans in Germany, they frequently express a certain concern about speaking a variety of German that does not correspond to that of their interlocutors. Jörg was most explicit about wanting to keep track of linguistic developments in Germany.

> Jörg: But of course it [doing language-related work] is getting more difficult if you are sitting in Montreal. Well, you just have less German influence, you know? You hear less, you know less how the language develops. Well, when you come back to Germany now – granted, it hasn't been such a long time – but you do realize that language continues to develop and you don't catch it a hundred percent because you don't listen to the radio all the time, watch TV or just speak to people on the street. What are the words now? Our generation is still like: Yeah, this is *cool*, and this is *geil*" or whatnot. But this too develops. Then you're always thinking, "Can't say that anymore." Right. Then you are always straight away, well, you are identified as somebody who is born before the eighties or whatever. Well, things like that […].
> Maike: Is it important to you that your German develops parallel to the German in Germany?
> Jörg: Well, I'd at least want to know what people are talking about. And to be able to understand that and not to show up there at some stage and say some

sentence where they all say, "Tell me, where have you been the last twenty years" (translated interview Jörg, May 21st, 2010)?

Gustav measured his language maintenance by reactions of Germans in Germany. He stated: "When I go to Germany I mean, many people say: 'Considering that you have lived 50 years in Canada… we have seen people after 20 years, they lost their language.' And they always give me compliment and say: 'You speak German well'" (translated interview Gustav, June 8th, 2010).

However, some of the older migrants had a very different perception of language maintenance. One woman who has very limited contact to Germany told me: "I think German is a beautiful language. And here people speak a better German than in Germany where everything is mixed with English and French" (translated conversation, May 20th). These diverging opinions on language maintenance and the appropriate language variety to be maintained might again be related to forms of connections to the homeland and the different temporal frames of reference resulting from it. Those who keep local ties seem to have a tendency to define language maintenance with reference to a variety spoken at the time when they left Germany in a similar manner as they define German culture as what they have known at that time. Those who keep transnational ties seem to have a tendency to define language maintenance with reference to a current variety spoken in a German-speaking country.

In both ways, the avoidance of language loss and the endeavor of language maintenance require a sustained and deliberate effort which translates into language differentiation. Language differentiation and the resulting inaudibility of English or French in German are therefore valued as a strategy to prevent or to counteract language loss and as a sign for successful language maintenance. Although many of my

interlocutors noted some signs of language loss, none of them was afraid that they would lose German completely and this might be precisely because many make a conscious effort to ensure language differentiation. However, the use of German is also limited to the private realm and the domain of leisure where majority languages are also used – and increasingly so over the years. By consequence, the transmission of German from one generation to the next is limited and language shift occurs cross-generationally as I have demonstrated in the third chapter.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that bilingualism is highly valued by German migrants for the economic, social, cultural, and emotional advantages it bears. My interlocutors were aware of the utility and necessity of bilingualism in their lives, but they also pointed out that it was fun. Although bilingualism is generally valued by German migrants and by society at large, the form of bilingualism valued might differ from one speech community to the next. German migrants strongly value a bilingualism characterized by language differentiation and disapprove of bilingualism characterized by syncretism.

I have further demonstrated that language differentiation is typical of diglossic situations. While the functional differentiation of German and English and/or French according to private and public domains coincides with the characteristics of diglossia, I have argued that these languages are not simply hierarchically ranked – as diglossia would normally have it – but indeed valued for different attributes. Thus, German, the language used with family and close friends at home, is valued on emotional grounds

whereas English and/or French, the languages of work and public encounters is valued on rational grounds.

As an explanation for the valorization of language differentiation among German migrants, I propose that language differentiation bears advantages both for English or French and for German. In terms of the majority language, language differentiation can be seen as contributing to the inaudibility and the broader invisibility that German migrants generally strive for. As I have pointed out, rather than being merely coincidental, inaudibility and invisibility are also intentional. Thus, ethnic minorities make a deliberate effort to create and keep a low profile. Language can constitute one of the signifiers that ethnic minorities try to purposefully deemphasize. By aiming at a relatively pure version of English and/or French with no traces of German, my interlocutors therefore try to avoid being identified as migrants and increase their inaudibility. Of course, this reasoning constitutes an idealization as accents might reveal their immigrant-status as soon as speakers open their mouth.

In terms of the German language, the aim to preserve relatively pure language varieties, in this case of German, is valorized for its assistance in language maintenance. In the previous chapter I have pointed out that the delineation of ethnicity resulting in ethnic visibility is, in part, a reaction to the threat of an impending loss of ethnicity due to assimilation. A similar point can be made for German as the language of an ethnic minority. The awareness of language loss as one element of increasing assimilation might trigger a reversal of this process resulting in an increased commitment towards the ethnic language which manifests itself in the increased desire for language differentiation. This coincides with Fishman's assertion that the link between ethnicity and language is most

salient in contexts of sociodemographic variability (Fishman 1997:328) and that "the lingering of marginal ethnicity supports respect, interest and nostalgia for the ethnic mother tongue" (Fishman 1965:36).

6. Conclusion

May 17th, 2010

  I am a bit early for my first meeting with Eva and decide to take a stroll along the street she is living on. A woman pushing a pram on the sidewalk is coming towards me. Just as she walks past, I hear her telling her son: "Papa ist auch schon zu Hause [Daddy is home already]." Whereupon the boy squeals with delight: "Papa! Papa!" The woman turns right onto a track leading to a house, pushes the pram up the two steps on the patio and opens the front door. The house which she enters is just two or three houses away from the one Eva is living in.

  Still intrigued by this coincidence, I walk to Eva's house and ring the doorbell. A tall, slim woman opens the door and greets me, smiling. Eva then guides me through her apartment. On our way, we meet Julien, Eva's French Canadian husband. In fluent German he introduces himself and explains that he is about to leave to go jogging. We continue and get past the room with the computer that is always switched on on weekends so that family and friends in Germany can call Eva using video-calling. We reach the kitchen; Eva just got home from work at university and wants to prepare some food. She has leftovers from the previous night when she was watching a hockey match with her friends and just needs to warm them up. We sit down at the small kitchen table. Behind it, on the wall, there is a large picture frame showing various photos of her and Julien in Germany. Eva serves us the food and while we are eating, I ask Eva if she knows the German woman who seems to be living just a few houses down the street. Eva has never even noticed that she has German neighbors.

I started this thesis by an account of my first meeting with Marion, one of my older interlocutors. To this first description, I want to juxtapose the vignette narrating how I first met Eva, one of my younger interlocutors. And as in the introductory chapter, I want to follow this up by asking what it means to be German in Montreal. Might it mean staying in touch with family and friends in Germany through video-calls? Or decorating an apartment with pictures triggering memories of the time spent in Germany? But not knowing other Germans in the neighborhood? Organizing a hockey night with non-German friends instead? Rather than drawing hasty conclusions, I want to explore this question of what it means to be German in Montreal through the findings of my research which I have presented in the previous chapters.

6.1 Sauerkraut, Sausages, and Success Stories

In literature on German immigrants to Canada, German migrants are presented as either being German *or* Canadian. Bassler divides German immigrants to Canada into two categories. The first one – constituting the majority of German migrants – consists of those who "aspired to full linguistic and cultural assimilation in the first generation" (Bassler 1991:12). The second one, representing a minority, comprised those Germans who were "eager to preserve their German heritage [and who] devoted themselves to maintaining a world of ethnic organizations, social clubs, educational institutions, cultural events, and churches" (Bassler 1991:12). In a similar vein, Gumpp argues that most German immigrants "sought entry into Canadian society and assimilated rapidly into the Canadian community, apparently abandoning many of their ethnic traits (including language) and affiliation in the process" and that only "a small portion of the German group established ethnic institutions and attempted to maintain their language

and their culture among themselves and their children" (Gumpp 1995:75). Thus, most German immigrants supposedly dropped their German ethnicity in order to assimilate to Canadian society and only a minority maintained and cherished their German ethnic identity. Would Eva who does not know any Germans in her neighborhood and who does not attend any German associations belong to the majority that dropped German ethnicity? And would Marion whom I met in a German parish and who likes to participate in various German events then represent the minority that clings on to Germanness in clubs and associations? This might be a matter of definition, but there are several reasons why the binary opposition of being ethnic or being assimilated is problematic. I will address two issues with this conceptualization based on the findings of my research. First, in these categorizations, maintaining one's German ethnic identity is closely associated with participating in, and contributing to, German associations and institutions. This is certainly true for some of my interlocutors like Marion. Ingeborg who is very proud to be German and who even after forty years of life in Canada would not consider giving up her German citizenship is another example. She illustrated her belonging and attachment to her German categorical identity by her participation in six German associations and organizations centered on music, culture, and charity. In the second and third chapters of this thesis, I have outlined that German associations and organizations do indeed play an important role in the lives of many of my interlocutors. These associations and organizations constitute a meeting place and a locus for practicing patterns of social interaction and cultural traditions known from the homeland and in this way enacting a German categorical identity. Through these local interactions and relationships they feel as part of, and connected to, the *Deutschtum*. Moreover, the

existence and state of German clubs and associations constituting the anchorage of the *Deutschtum* in Montreal is taken as an indicator of the presence and strength of the German ethnic group in Montreal.

Yet, it is far from being the only way of being German. If this involvement in local German associations is taken as *the* indicator of being German, this leads to a very narrow understanding of what being German means and, I argue, to a somewhat distorted image of Germanness. It would mean that Eva who is regularly in touch with family and friends in Germany, who hasn't solved the question whether she and her husband would move to Germany, and who integrated objects brought from Germany into her daily life, could not be labeled *German* simply because she is not a member of a German association. It would mean that Sandra who does not participate in any German association or contribute to any German institution counts as a fully assimilated German immigrant who abandoned her German ethnicity. She does mainly speak English at home with her husband, her friends are mainly anglophone Montrealers, and her work has little to do with her German background. And yet, stating that she has left behind her German categorical identity would contradict her own self-understanding: "I am German. […] This is my origin and you can't erase it. That's just who I am." She further elaborated:

> Well, somehow this is dyed into the fiber. Even if I don't speak German for a while or if I don't listen to German music – in the second where I hear German music, I feel completely there. It's as if you wouldn't see a friend for five years and then you see each other again and you have the feeling, you just saw each other yesterday. That's the feeling I have. And that's why I don't need to get into the spirit of German culture, I am actually always in it (translated interview Sandra, June 28th, 2010).

As I have shown in the second and third chapters, many younger and more recent German migrants cannot identify with the way of being German practiced in German clubs and associations in Montreal and also do not have any interest in doing so.

However, this does not preclude them from assuming a German identity. Drawing on her research on Caribbean migrants, Olwig states:

> When shifting perspective from immigrant communities to migrant lives, one uncovers a variety of paths of movement, and spaces of belonging that do not necessarily conform to the more collective diasporic representations emanating from major migration settlements when ethnic organizations seek to further the interest of particular ethnic communities typically promoting an idealized version of their native culture, as, for example, through music , drama, Carnivals, and other cultural festivals that celebrate particular diasporic cultures. From the perspective of individual migrants who may only have a passing connection to the identity politics of ethnic communities, the relationship to culture connected with a place of origin has a much less performative character (Olwig 2007:24-25).

For many younger German migrants being German similarly has a limited performative character and is instead part of their ordinary background and day-to-day life. I have outlined in the second chapter that many Germans maintain transnational social fields with family and friends in Germany or Austria. Through this exchange with family and friends in their homeland - who often constitute their strongest connection to their place of origin - they continue to some extent to live according to German values, norms, and patterns of interaction. These social ties often also motivate or facilitate other forms of interaction with their country of origin in the cultural, the economic and the political domains.

In conclusion, it should be obvious that there is not only one way of being German or enacting German ethnicity. This justifies asking and examining the questions of *who* belongs to the category and *how* these individuals experience and understand it. In response to these questions, I want to argue that a more nuanced understanding of the category *German* and the ways it is drawn on is needed - an understanding that allows us to accommodate the heterogeneity of those who fall under the category and the variety of ways in which they interpret and live the category. Part of this nuanced understanding

involves stepping away from the group as the only agent and the only form of ethnicity and allowing a space to consider alternative agents of, and ways of expressing, ethnicity. This does not mean a rejection of the relevance of ethnic associations and institutions for the meaning and experience of ethnicity. Rather, it involves accommodating the importance of other forms of sociation as well. The example I have used in this thesis is that of personal networks in general and transnational social fields in particular. This is not to suggest that ethnicity is lived either in ethnic associations or through social ties. Rather, I meant to broaden the perspectives by examining two examples which might be complementary to each other and which might be complemented by other forms of sociation. These different uses and experiences might constitute a major obstacle for the mobilization of the category on a local level. If other uses of the category which are more convenient for, and more adapted to, the individual interests and needs of some of my interlocutors are practicable, these might be preferred over the mobilization of the category in German associations and institutions.

It also involves considering the complexities of the meaning and experience of ethnicity in its interplay with other forms of identification. I have shown in the second chapter that linguistic and cultural affiliations are most often seen as the basis of being German and the maintenance of German language and culture is sometimes stated as the purpose of German clubs in Montreal. Besides the fact that other foundations of the category such as being of German descent, having German ancestors and thus German blood were sometimes put forth, the meaning of the category also varied with the significance of its interplay with other forms of identification and frames of reference.

This has been especially obvious in the second and third chapters where I described why most transmigrants do not need and want to adhere to the *Deutschtum* on a local level. This is partially due to different temporal frames of reference used by those mostly older immigrants who form the majority of club members and mostly younger transmigrants who are absent from these clubs. The claims of Germanness made by some older German immigrants in Montreal based on an image of their homeland anchored in the past is ignored at best or outright rejected by younger German transmigrants who have a more regularly updated vision of their homeland. These different temporal frames of reference in which being German is interpreted and enacted might enhance differences in attitudes and practices regularly present among members of different generations. Different interpretations and experiences of German ethnicity might therefore, in some cases, be interrelated with different generational identities.

Different temporal frames of reference are only one example of the heterogeneity of interpretations of Germanness. In the fourth chapter, I have shown that spatial frames of reference might also be the basis of different claims to Germanness and their rejection. I have outlined that German migrants come from a variety of regional backgrounds which comprise not only different regions within Germany, but also regions in different countries such as Austria, Switzerland, and in Eastern Europe. While German migrants might seek similarities and draw on shared linguistic and cultural practices in order to identify with each other, they might also seek out differences between them which lie in regional or national particularities. Therefore, the interplay of regional and national identities with ethnic identifications can yield a changing relevance and meaning of being German. Moreover, I have demonstrated that it is an essentialized, stereotypical regional

identity, that of southern Germany and Austria that regularly comes to signify Germanness generally. (For me personally this has been most obvious in the smell, sight, and taste of sauerkraut and sausages served at almost all events. This is why I am drawing on the sausage as a signifier of Germanness in the section-titles of this chapter.) While many cherish this regional representation others refuse to adhere to it. In sum, it can be said that being German takes on different meanings if it is seen in its interrelationship with generational, regional, and national identifications. Therefore, ethnicity cannot be considered in isolation.

These different meanings and interpretations of a German categorical identity constitute another major obstacle for the mobilization of this category. Given the variety and variation of its meaning, the ethnic category might unify as well as divide German migrants in Montreal. Not all of its meanings are compatible with those interpretations prevalent in German associations and institutions in Montreal. These interpretations are marked by a high degree of specificity in that they are tailored to the needs and interests of those first generation immigrants arriving in Montreal in the 1950s and 1960s. In addition to this specificity, some of these interpretations are marked by a high degree of essentialism defining and interpreting the category in terms of a stereotypical regional identity. This specificity and essentialism constitute important barriers for the mobilization of many of my interlocutors – mainly younger, more recent migrants – who hold divergent interpretations of the category.

A second problem of these binary oppositions between being ethnic and being assimilated lies in the narrow definition of what being assimilated means. In the fourth and fifth chapters, I have pointed out that "integrating" and "blending in" are highly

valued by most German migrants. Thus, Ernst for example made a point of demonstrating his integration by his addressing francophones in French, anglophones in English and by never speaking German except when only Germans can hear him. He considers himself as truly integrated and as first and foremost Canadian. However, Ernst is also actively involved in the *Deutschtum* in Montreal. He created several German groups in Montreal and has the ambition of contributing to the maintenance of German language und culture in Montreal. He is proud of both - of integrating into the Quebec and Canadian contexts and of fostering the German language and culture in Montreal. Indeed, many Germans do not see a contradiction between integrating and maintaining German language and culture.

Indeed, Brubaker has pointed out that the concept of assimilation "enables us to ask questions about the domains and degrees of emergent similarities, *and* persisting differences between multigenerational populations of immigrant origin and particular reference population" (Brubaker 2006:131). Assimilation is thus not opposed to difference. In the fourth chapter I have shown how assimilation and difference – being German and being Canadian – are not only not opposed to each other but are in fact intertwined. On the one hand, I have shown that German migrants strive for "integration" in order to achieve the social mobility and high standing in ethnic hierarchies that they value and that indeed are often interpreted as characteristics of a "good" German immigrant. I have shown that the low visibility of group differences between members of the German ethnic minority and the Canadian majority was seen as key in increasing economic and residential integration. At the same time, this low visibility and the resulting integration are also perceived as being to the detriment of German ethnicity

through assimilation. It is precisely this perceived threat that for some of my interlocutors enhances their commitment towards their German heritage.

In the fifth chapter, I have also illustrated this kind of dynamic for language use, one of the most common signifiers of ethnicity. I have pointed out that language differentiation is highly valued, although not always achieved, by German migrants. I suggested that language differentiation bears advantages both in terms of the majority and the minority language. In terms of the majority language, language differentiation can be seen as contributing to the invisibility that German migrants generally strive for. By aiming at a relatively pure version of English and/or French with no traces of German, these migrants therefore try to avoid being recognized or recognizable as Germans and increase their inaudibility. In terms of the minority language, the aim of preserving relatively pure language varieties - in this case of German - is valorized for its assistance in language maintenance. The awareness of language loss as one element of increasing assimilation might trigger a reversal of this process resulting in an increased commitment towards the ethnic language which manifests itself in the increased desire for language differentiation.

Rather than being either ethnic or assimilated, German migrants can be situated between the two extremes and show some elements of both. While I have focused on different ways of being German and belonging to a German homeland, I have also pointed out that these ways of being and belonging are combined with being Canadian and belonging to Canada. This simultaneous interaction and identification with two places is at the heart of transnational theory. I have pointed out that it is not limited to transmigrants but that immigrants in the classic understanding of the term also have ways

to be German while living in Canada and connecting with a German homeland. This dual belonging can best be illustrated in the ways German migrants talk about their homes. Many indeed consider themselves to have at least two homes, one in Canada and one in their homeland. In terms of interaction, it can be said that while many older migrants are involved in German clubs and associations, they might also take part in non-German Canadian associations. Franz, for example, is a member of several German clubs, but he also alluded to his participation in a group committed to line dancing. Younger migrants like Eva have insurances and investments running in both Germany and Canada.

6.2 Everything Has an End, Only the Sausage Has Two

There was certainly a tendency among most of my interlocutors to be German and Canadian. Being German and being Canadian was not contradictory and mutually exclusive, but complementary. There was a balancing of both. While the concept of simultaneity which describes the constant and simultaneous interaction and identification – the possibility of being both German and Canadian – might therefore constitute a convenient alternative to the strict opposition between being assimilated and being ethnic, this concept too would benefit from a more nuanced understanding at least in the case of German migrants in Montreal. Here, it meant being both German and Canadian but in different instances and to varying degrees. I therefore now want to turn to the questions of *if* and *when* German ethnicity is drawn on by German migrants in Montreal. In order to begin to answer these questions, I want to recall how being German and being Canadian are distributed according to domains in which they have significance and according to the values attached to them.

First, being German has most significance in the private realm and the domain of leisure. This has been most explicitly established in the fourth chapter in which I have demonstrated that ethnic visibility and ethnicity generally occurs in the domain of leisure and in the private realm. It is in these contexts that some Germans might wear *Lederhosen* at an ethnic festival, read a book in German before going to sleep, go to a German bakery to buy *Brötchen* [rolls] for a family breakfast, wave a German flag when watching a soccer match, listen to CDs with German music while cleaning the house, call a friend in Germany to catch up on the latest gossip or cook sauerkraut for friends. As these examples show, Germanness can be enacted in the private sphere in multiple ways among which are those outlined in the second chapter. Thus, Germanness can be enacted in ethnic institutions and associations and/or be part of ordinary day-to-day interactions with other Germans, and influence values, norms and modes of life.

The same is true, for the German language. It can again be observed that German is mostly used in the private realm and the domain of leisure. Magda whose husband is German and whose children were both born and partially raised in Germany described German as the "family language" (translated interview Magda, July 29th, 2010). The situation was similar for many of my interlocutors who had a German partner. Those who had few occasions to speak German at home because their partner is not German, for example, often pointed out that they used German with their family members in Germany or Austria. As I have pointed out in the third chapter, many, especially those of the older generation, attend German clubs and associations where they predominantly, but not exclusively, speak German. Nina, for example, confided that she loved to hear German all around her at the weekly meetings of the *Montrealer Trümpfe*. This confinement of a

language to certain domains in multilingual contexts is, as I have shown, typical for diglossic situations.

It is also in the private sphere and the domain of leisure that the social reproduction of Germanness and the German community evoked by some of my interlocutors is a concern. Thus, it is in private life, within the family that the transmission of culture and, even more so, language is a concern and in the domain of leisure that the integration of young blood is a concern. It is in mentioning and discussing strategies for social reproductions – and their clear limitations – that a concern for German language and culture and its circumscription to the spheres of family life and leisure activities becomes obvious. None of my interlocutors who sought to reproduce the German *Gemeinschaft* ever expressed a concern about the place of German language and culture in domains of work or settlement, for example. This was clearly not the place for being German. The domain of education seems to provide an exception since some parents made a point of sending their children to a German school. However, those who did so were trying to reconcile their life in Canada with the possibility of a return to Germany. Most of those who came to stay wanted their children being educated in an official language. Many of those who later decided to stay also consciously decided to have their children educated in one of Canada's official languages.

Being German has least relevance in the domains of work and settlement. Thus, I have shown in the fourth chapter that it was not a priority for most of my interlocutors to settle close to other Germans or to work with them. Although some might have done so in the 1950s immediately following their migration, it became clear that this was always transitory and that they ceased to rely on ethnic networks in order to find employment

and accommodation as soon as they could afford to do so. I have also shown that most German migrants were reluctant to speak German in the public sphere and preferred to speak German only when they were exclusively with other German-speakers. Given that most of my interlocutors did not seek to work with other Germans or to settle in the same areas, this means that speaking German is in many cases restricted to the same domains of leisure and private life and is hardly used in public life such as in the domains of work and settlement.

In conclusion, the notion of part-time ethnicity (Amit Talai 1989:3) might therefore also apply to German migrants in Montreal who enact and render visible their Germanness in their private lives, but generally do not draw on their Germanness and indeed render it invisible in their public interactions. Of course, this does not mean that German migrants always automatically switch to being German when they enter the private sphere and switch to being Canadian when they enter the public sphere. There are exceptions to both tendencies in that being German does not always have relevance even in the private realm and in that it can also be evoked at times in the public realm. But German migrants are more likely to evoke their ethnicity in the private realm and this is the realm allocated to ethnicity. It does not mean that it is exclusively reserved to German ethnicity or to ethnicity in general.

In a very similar vein, the community to which some of my interlocutors feel they belong is also a part-time community. It is a *Gemeinschaft* that is evoked and enacted in some of the same circumstances and contexts where German ethnicity has relevance. It is evoked in the realm allocated to ethnicity. Those of my German interlocutors who evoke the *Gemeinschaft* illustrated its existence by evoking clubs and associations and the

opportunities to gather among Germans that their leisure activities provide as well as their strong ties of friendship to other Germans and the comfort and support that they offer to each other in private life. Of course, this does not mean that the community is always evoked in the private realm and the domain of leisure. Rather it *can* be evoked in these contexts. This means that it can be enacted to varying degrees and that the possibility of the community not being evoked also exists.

Second, German migrants attach very different values to their being German and their being Canadian. Some distinguish between the two along lines of rationality and emotion. In the fourth chapter, I have shown that some of my interlocutors explicitly draw a distinction between the two when they maintain that they are German by heart or soul and Canadian by reason or citizenship. Clearly, these two ways of being do not have the same connotations. While being German is valued on affective grounds based on a strong emotional attachment, being Canadian is valued on more rational and practical grounds as something indispensible and of immediate relevance in every-day life. This strong emotional attachment to being German also became obvious in the third chapter where I outlined the affect-belonging and clinging on to one specific way of being German by some of my interlocutors – that marked by participation in local German associations and institutions – and the community that is associated with it.

Parallels to this distinction in terms of values can also be seen in the values attached to the languages spoken by my interlocutors. In the fifth chapter, I have outlined that the German language is considered to be the language of the heart by some of my interlocutors. As such it is preferably used in intimate relationships or to communicate emotions. The same differences in meaning are true for the German home and the

Canadian home. Let me draw out some of the parallels between the connotations of the languages used by my interlocutors and their places of belonging in order to exemplify these different meanings. Like speaking two languages - the German language and the Canadian language to which they affiliated – many German immigrants have two (or more) places of belonging – their German *Heimat* and their Canadian *Zuhause*. Like the two languages, the two homes are an integral part of their lives; they are of use and significance. But like the two or more languages used, these homes are used and valued differently. Many of my interlocutors distinguish between their homeland and their place of residence, frequently compare between them, drawing out advantages and disadvantages of each. Among all the differences, the most fundamental one lies in the relevance of each of these. The Canadian *Zuhause* is relevant on a daily basis – as is the Canadian language. It is the place where people return to everyday after work, where they can invite friends to, and where they live their private lives. It is concrete and tangible. The German *Heimat* is much more exclusively of emotional significance – as is the German language. It is inside oneself, similar to the feeling of being German by heart or soul and speaking German as the language of the heart. Like the pride in being German and the tendency to render invisible one's Germanness, like the desire to speak English and/or French perfectly and the struggle to maintain German, living in one place and keeping a close connection to another constitutes a fine balancing of two seemingly contradictory needs and desires.

So far, I have pointed out how this balancing occurs according to different spheres of life and domains of interactions and values and feeling attached to each of them. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the balance achieved is a very fragile one. In fact,

a broad tendency of the balance tilting to one side – away from being German - over time can be observed. This has become obvious throughout the ethnographic chapters and is a powerful illustration of the considerable difficulties in mobilizing an ethnic category. In the second chapter, I have pointed to the limitations of the continuity of two different ways of being German. I have shown that the transnational ties that allow especially younger, more recent migrants to enact their Germanness in their every-day lives become weaker or are discontinued over time. There certainly is continuity of some of the ties German migrants maintain with their homeland. But there certainly is also discontinuity of other ties and a weakening of remaining ties that can be observed over time. Thus, while the concept of simultaneity introduced in the transnational paradigm is important, the pendulum has swung too far from one extreme to the other, from rupture to continuity and simultaneity. A more nuanced perspective is needed that takes into consideration both ruptures and continuities and that investigates fluctuations in the strength of ties over time. Certainly, those of my interlocutors who could be termed transmigrants have not burned the bridges behind them. The bridges that they maintain between Canada and Germany or Austria across the Atlantic Ocean are in many ways like the Champlain Bridge connecting Montreal and the South Shore across the Saint Lawrence River. Champlain Bridge, Canada's most used bridge, over time has been going through a process of deterioration accelerated by the use of salt in winter and by the heavy circulation for which it was not built. The ties that many German migrants maintain to Germany or Austria might similarly become weaker over time due to prolonged periods of absence and new, changing experiences that erode part of the structure of the bridge. Just as there is an awareness within the Montreal population that eventually there might

be a risk of collapse for Champlain Bridge, many of my interlocutors are aware that their migration might involve discontinuities of social ties and disjunctions. For Champlain Bridge, this awareness has led to periodic investments into the maintenance and repair of the bridge. German migrants in Montreal similarly periodically invest into their social ties and partially rebuild them often, triggered by certain events or developments in life such as a wedding, a sickness of a close family member or an important holiday like Christmas. But just as the Champlain Bridge might not live on forever, social ties to Germany or Austria might eventually also come to an end.

The situation is similar for those of my interlocutors, mostly older, earlier migrants, who live their Germanness through their local ties to other Germans who might be their close friends or members of the same associations and organizations as they are part of. For most of them, migrating to Canada has not meant a clear and immediate rupture with their Germanness although some of them might indeed have burned the bridges to their homeland. I have argued that being German for them does not rely as much on continued ties to a physical place as it does on a continued identification with a linguistic and cultural space. Just like the transnational ties of younger migrants to Germany or Austria, the involvement in the *Deutschtum* might lessen over time for these older migrants. The awareness of the uncertain and insecure future of this way of being German becomes particularly obvious in the fear for the continuity of the *Deutschtum* and the *Gemeinschaft* it involves which I have illustrated in the third chapter. Many of these older migrants are aware of the precariousness and the fragility of the *Deutschtum* in Montreal. Like the younger migrants, some of them periodically attempt to invest in the maintenance of the *Deutschtum* in Montreal. Thus, the *Montrealer Trümpfe,* for

example, have started three years ago to organize a free public tournament once a year where prices can be won and the *Montrealer Stadtanzeiger*, a monthly newsletter, has recently integrated two pages for young readers. However, I have shown that the integration of newly arriving migrants and the second generation into the local German *Gemeinschaft* is of limited success. Therefore, many older migrants fear the impending end of their *Gemeinschaft*. So, while there has been considerable continuity of the *Deutschtum* in Montreal and the *Gemeinschaft* associated with it, over time and cross-generationally there might be a risk of discontinuity.

In the fourth chapter, I have similarly pointed to the awareness or fear of an impending assimilation triggered by the fact that ethnicity is relegated to limited spheres and domains of interaction and that it therefore becomes increasingly irrelevant or of secondary importance. Again, this might be counteracted at times through an enhanced delineation of signifiers of German ethnicity and hence of ethnic visibility at ethnic festivals, for example. Similarly, I have outlined in the third and fifth chapters that while most of my interlocutors are bilingual, they are concerned about language loss. Even if complete language loss does not occur in the first generation, many of my interlocutors were acutely aware of the risks of language loss and their fear of this development becomes obvious in their inflation of partial language to loss to signify complete language loss. Although this awareness leads, in some instances, to an increased commitment towards the German language, language loss might indeed occur cross-generationally when children cease to speak German within the family. The balance might thus be tilting to different sides at different moments and in different contexts. However, it remains the case that in the long run, it has the tendency to tilt away from

being German. In this spirit, I want to close with a German popular wisdom evoking one of the signifiers of Germanness: *Alles hat ein Ende nur die Wurst hat zwei* [Everything has an end; only the sausage has two].

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Glossary of German Words

Alpenfest	Festival of the Alps
Alpenland	Land of the Alps
Bayern-Magazin	Club magazine of German football club (FC Bayern München)
Beibehaltungsgenehemigung	Permit to keep German citizenship
Das Echo	Name of German language newspaper meaning *the echo*
Deligiertenschule	School for children of delegates
Deutsch	German
Deutsche Gesellschaft zu Montreal	German association, English name: German Society of Montreal
Deutsches Haus	German institution, English name: German House
Deutscher Verein Donau-Deukanier	German association meaning *German association of the Danube-Deukanier*, *Deukanier* being composed of *Deutsch* (German) and *Kanadisch* (Canadian)
Deutsche Schule zu Montreal	German School of Montreal
Deutsche Solidaritätsgemeinschaft	German organization meaning *German Solidarity Community*
Deutschland	Germany
Deutschtum	A German linguistic and cultural space, sometimes translated as *Germandom*
Dirndl	Traditional dress worn in the Alpine regions
Donau-Schwaben	Danube Swabians, German-speakers originally settled in the former Kingdom of Hungary, especially alongside the Danube
DSM	abbreviation for *Deutsche Schule zu Montreal*
DSM-Denglisch	Linguistic practice composed of English and German elements observed at the *Deutsche Schule Montreal*
DSM-Deutsch	Linguistic practice composed of English and German elements observed at the *Deutsche Schule Montreal*
Edelweiß	Edelweiss
Edelweiß Trio	A German band named after the European mountain flower
FC Bayern München	German football club based in Munich
Fensterladen	Shutter
Frau	Mrs (form of address)
Frauengruppe	Women's group
Geburtsstätte	Birthplace (the term has a sacred connotation)
Gemeinschaft	Community
Geodreieck	Tool combined of a ruler and a protractor

Gummibärchen	Gummi bears, confectionary
Heft	Notebooks
Heim	Home; house or apartment where one lives and where one feels at ease and in security
Heimat	Home, homeland; region where one was born and grew up
Junges Blut	Young blood i.e. young Germans
Kirchweihfest	Anniversary of the consecration of the church
Kulturnation	Cultural nation
Landsleute	Fellow countrymen
Leberkäse	Specialty food made from mixed ground meats baked into a loaf
Lederhosen	Leather pants
Leitmotiv	Guiding principle
Lesezirkel	Reader circle
Mama	Mom
Mischen	Mixing
Montrealer Trümpfe	a German card-playing club meaning *Trumps of Montreal*
Mutti	Mom
Papa	Dad
Reichsdeutsche	Germans from the state of Germany
Richtige Einwanderer	Real immigrants
Sachertorte	Viennese chocolate cake
Seniorengruppe	Senior group
Skat	A German strategy card game
Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz (StAG)	Citizenship Law
Stahl AG	A big German company
Stammtisch	Regular gathering of certain people in German pubs
Schuhplattler	Traditional folk dance from Bavaria and Austria
Schuhplattlergruppe Alpenland	German association practicing the Schuhplattler dance meaning *Schuhplattler Group Land of the Alps*
Volksdeutsche	Ethnic Germans usually from ethnic enclaves in Eastern Europe
Weißwurst	White veal sausage, typical of southern Germany
Weißwurstäquator	Imaginary dividing line in Germany, North of which people are said to not eat the white veal sausage, typical of southern Germany
Willkommen	Welcome
Zufällige Einwanderer	Coincidental immigrants
Zuhause	Home; house or apartment where one lives and where one feels at ease and in security