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FRENCH NATIONALS IN MONTREAL
POST-COLONIAL, TRANSNATIONAL PROJECTS

Mary Lee Stevenson Maurel

A Thesis
in
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of
Sociology and Anthropology

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Abstract

French Nationals in Montreal, Post-colonial, Transnational Projects

Mary Lee Stevenson Maurel

This study is a small scale ethnography of French nationals living in Quebec. Although there are French metropolitan institutions in Montreal, this group does not fit the usual concept of an ethnic community as they do not know each other and the French institutions serve the local community as well. I argue that the concept of transnational is a more appropriate term to describe these people as they invest much time and money in maintaining personal and economic links with France as well as taking advantage of the media links. Although Quebec has not been a French colony for over two hundred years, the French in the sample group have a similar relationship with France as did the former colonials.

Cette étude est une ethnographie d'un groupe cible de Français vivant au Québec. Bien que des institutions métropolitaines françaises existent à Montréal, le groupe adhère mal au concept de communauté ethnique. Les individus se réunissent peu et les institutions qu'ils ont créées desservent largement la population locale. Néanmoins, ils investissent beaucoup de ressources

économiques et personnelles pour garder des liens étroits avec la France. De ce fait, ils devraient davantage être considérés comme des transnationaux. Le Québec n'est plus une colonie française depuis plus de deux cents ans, mais dans leurs relations avec la France, ces Français présentent des comportements similaires à ceux des anciens coloniaux.

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Mary Lee Stevenson Maurel

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FRENCH NATIONALS IN MONTREAL,
POST-COLONIAL, TRANSNATIONAL PROJECTS

Introduction

The Factory

Several years ago a transnational company based in a former European imperial centre decided to open a branch factory in one of its former colonies so that the company could have access to a wider market. Managers were approached at the European headquarters and asked to transfer to the new plant. Despite advantageous conditions such as a generous relocation package, trips to the metropole paid for two or three times a year and private schooling at schools which followed the metropolitan curriculum, approximately half of those approached refused the offer. However, eventually the plant opened with a suitable number of expatriate managers from the head office and a labour force made up of locals. Daily contact was maintained with the head office through telephone and fax.

The plant was situated about an hour's drive from a large city because management thought that they could prevent a union being formed in this way. The disadvantage of this location was it was

also more difficult to hire experienced workers who tend to live in cities. The labour force was perceived as unskilled and not hard-working by management. The labour force's opinion of management was that they were authoritarian, difficult and impossible to please. The workers were used to a more egalitarian style of management where the employees' ideas on ways of improving the work place and/or the workers' efficiency were requested and considered. After a short time a trade union was created and the workers went on strike for better working conditions and more power in making decisions about plant affairs. The strike lasted about a year before an agreement was reached.

Transnational companies with branches and employees in various parts of the globe are increasingly commonplace in an era of global capitalism. However, what is unusual about this case is that the plant was not built in what is called a developing or Third World country but near Montreal in Canada. The transnational company is based in France.

The French who refused to work overseas mainly cited family upheaval as a reason for not re-locating, a spouse's job, the children's education or the necessity to care for elderly parents. Probably an important reason was also staying close to the power centre of the company in France. As Amit-Talai (1996) found in her study on expatriates in the Caymans, it is not always a given that people can return to equivalent or better jobs in their former homelands after temporary contract migration. Tung's study of executives in large American transnational companies (1997)

discovered that when the executives returned from short term overseas postings, they faced uncertain advancement prospects, decreased responsibilities and reduced perks. Families also had problems re-adjusting to the home country as well as having had difficulty adapting to the overseas post.

The French who wanted to come to Quebec often were people who had already spent time in other countries. The fact that only about half of the managers approached were prepared to spend several years overseas also shows the ambiguity of the French vis-à-vis emigration. There are only 1,700,000 or three per cent of the total population (56 million) living outside of France with 831,000 living in countries of the the European Union (mainly in Belgium, Germany and Great Britain), 350,900 in North America (242,200 in the United States, 108,700 in Canada), 126,400 in central Africa, 103,900 in North Africa, 42,800 in the Middle East and 62,300 in Australia (Ministère des Affaires Etrangères:1995).

This example of the factory also illustrates the fact that there are cultural differences between the French and the French Canadians despite speaking the same language and sharing ancestry. The strike was reportedly caused by different perceptions of correct labour-management relations. The style of management imported from France was not deemed appropriate by the Canadians who were used to a more democratic style of management with decisions made by consensus. Lamont (1992) noted the different culture of American and French executives.

Most of the French managers live in Montreal and send their

children to private schools which follow the academic programme of France. The company pays for the schools and for the managers and their families to spend holidays in France several times a year. Several of the French management team did not want to leave Canada when they were to be re-transferred to France or elsewhere and have found other jobs in Montreal. They constitute a part of the approximately seventy thousand Frenchmen and Frenchwomen in Montreal (Bottin des Français au Québec:1994-95). Most are Canadian citizens, some are landed immigrants and others are contract migrants many of whom work for French companies. Many spend a month in France every summer visiting family, telephone family in France several times a month and send their children to the French metropolitan state schools in Montreal. They also watch the same programmes on television including daily newscasts as the French do in France because of the international French television station.

Introduction

This thesis is about French nationals who live in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. It is a small scale ethnographic study, not a survey, of a mostly binational population. The concept of an ethnic community as it is usually defined does not seem to apply to the French community in Montreal as its members do not know each other and the French institutions such as the school and Union Nationale are not at all exclusive to French nationals but serve the local population as well. Actually, students with French nationality are

a small minority in the metropolitan French school. The French in Montreal are overtly invisible in the French Canadian majority except for the auditive marker of metropolitan French.

While many of their friends are locals, and they do not participate in an ethnic French community, the French are nevertheless quite involved with France. Their contacts are directly with France through the media, school and travelling; investing time and money in retaining their personal and economic links with their homeland. Therefore, the concept of transnationals is used in this paper to describe these people rather than ethnic connections.

This study is unlike most studies of transnationals because it is not a study of labour migrants (Basch et al:1994) nor of transnational occupational cultures (Hannerz:1992, 1996) which are the two areas which have dominated the study of transnational networks. It suggests that the facility of transnational connections may replace ethnic community organization instead of complimenting it. It also emphasizes the fact that there is always a social cost to immigration in the maintenance of family ties even for privileged middle class migrants from the mother country to an old settler colony. While this is only a preliminary ethnographic study, it addresses a gap in the literature on migration, transnationalism and ethnicity which has very little information on French ex-patriates or on other similar groups.

Transnationalism

Recently there has been a new area of inquiry in migration studies. Formerly migrants' social fields were considered to be bounded by the nation-state but now researchers (Basch et al.:1994, Schiller et al.:1992, Rouse:1991, Feldman-Bianco:1992, Almeida:1995), have argued that migrants build social fields that cross national borders. Migrants are involved in both their home and host societies and form social networks which cross borders. "Home" remains the word used to describe their country of origin although migrants also make a home in their country of settlement. They are referred to as transmigrants or transnational migrants because their lives are not bounded by the nation state. Mexican farmworkers in the United States are transmigrants as they remain in close contact with family in their villages in Mexico and with their neighbours in the United States. Mexican transmigrants participate in decision making in two or more localities by using the telephone and spend part of the year in each country (Rouse:1991). Transnationalism has a high price at times as Brazilian immigrants in the United States spent approximately \$85.00 to \$150.00 per month on telephone calls "home" (Margolis:1994).

Most current research looks at Third World economically depressed people who have immigrated to the United States. Migration from one Western country to another has rarely been a

subject of enquiry but this kind of migration occurs. Hannerz writes of occupational migrants from the West, diplomats, businessmen, hockey players and others (1992, 1996), the cosmopolitan elite who are at home everywhere, but not about the majority of migrants who do not belong to the elite and who immigrate. There are few studies on middle class migrants. Possibly this may be because researchers rarely look at themselves. This paper is about middle class, First World, inter-migration ; that of the French in Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

A sample of French immigrants in Montreal are transmigrants as their lives span borders. They remain in close contact with their families in France and elsewhere by using the telephone, E-mail and faxes and spend at least a month in France every year while living and working in Canada. Some own property in France and in Canada. Several of them plan to retire to France. Should they become unemployed, they expect to return to France. Many of the French who immigrate to Canada are said to leave after a short or long stay. However, according to study on landed immigrants over a ten year period (Ste Marie:1996), 85 % of European immigrants (from France, Roumania, Poland and Portugal) tended to remain in Quebec. The proportion was high for all of the above European countries.

Colonial Connections

The French who immigrate to Quebec are coming to a former

colony where the majority are also of French descent. Immigration is facilitated in an old settler colony for migrants from the metropole as they retain their socio-economic status and find work in their occupations with little difficulty as their qualifications are readily accepted. Francophone immigration is encouraged by Quebec who has the right (along with the federal government) to approve or not of future incomers.

A sample of French nationals who are landed immigrants or Canadian citizens stated that they were welcomed by the long time residents and have many French Canadian friends. Some also had family in Canada who helped them when they first arrived and many had come as tourists before deciding whether to immigrate. One could say that their immigration situation was almost ideal.

Approximately one half of the French in the sample had colonial connections of their own. Although it is not possible to generalize from a small sample, it may be that the French who come to Montreal are not representative of the general population although all of the people in the sample were born in France and most have parents in France. They are often experienced migrants who have already lived in other countries.

Colonialism

Because of France's history as an imperial power, there are French institutions worldwide which were created for the French

overseas and the colonized. Colonial administrators and the military often spent most of their lives in circuit migration as they were sent to various colonies for a specified time period. They had long yearly paid vacations in France. Schools were provided for their children in the colonies by the French state. These schools followed the same programme worldwide as that of the French Ministry of Education based in Paris. A child in Dakar had (and still has) the same textbook as a child in Toulouse. In the colonies, the French lived in a European cocoon and a colonial culture developed.

At the time of the French Empire during the XVI to middle XX centuries, many people in France either were involved with the colonies through the military, colonial administration or the church or had family or friends in the colonies who were involved in transnationalism, living their lives across borders. Although the border may not have been political at the time, it nonetheless existed. Many of the French are still involved with their former colonies through staffing the French metropolitan schools and sometimes military aid. Some of the teachers from France who come on contract to teach in the French metropolitan schools decide to remain in Canada.

Post-colonialism

There are French language state schools in Quebec. Yet, the

French who immigrate to Canada seem to continue a colonial culture as they send their children to the French metropolitan schools in Montreal and also spend long holidays in France. They watch French metropolitan television and telephone France often. France remains their "imagined community" although they are well accepted in Quebec.

Even the most privileged migrants like the French in Quebec are not immune from the vagaries of the global market place (Sassen:1988, Amit-Talai:1997). Downsizing, creating loss of jobs is a stressful event that is not unusual and may be best lived with the support of the extended family. Family crises such as illness or death may also precipitate unplanned returns to the homeland. Return migration is largely undocumented but homesickness, problems with employment, or retirement are some of the reasons given for return migration (Caroli:1990, Saenz and Dairla:1992).

A Perspective on Transnationalism

Culture has been defined as "meanings and meaningful forms which we shape and acquire in social life" (Hannerz:1996:8). Because of globalization "the complete structuration of the world as a whole" (Robertson:1990:20), the boundaries between cultures may have eroded to some extent. Nevertheless, transmigrants continue to keep in contact with their families, friends and homeland. They may feel obligated to do so although transnational

projects may decrease when there are no longer any nuclear family members in the homeland.

Maintaining transnational family and friendship networks is simplified by present day communication, media and transportation systems. Migrants from former imperial powers such as France seem to be following entrenched colonial pathways as transnationalism is facilitated for citizens of France because of long established, overseas, homeland outposts such as schools. In an old settler colony such as Quebec, the French have all the comforts of home when they are away from home yet they spend thousands of dollars on travel and phone bills every year.

In Chapter 1, I will discuss the methodology of this study and focus on the implications of my being both an outsider and an insider as far as French nationals in Montreal are concerned. Chapter 11 is about the colonial backgrounds of many of the participants in the study. While France has not ruled Quebec directly as a colony for three hundred years, I argue that colonialism still provides a transnational status hierarchy in the perceptions of the French who migrate to Quebec. In Chapter 111, I argue that the participants in my study do not fit into the concept of an ethnic community but rather are transnationals who invest much effort and resources to maintain personal and economic links to France. In Chapter 1V I relate the immigration experiences of my informants and the kinds of immigration they are involved in (return and yoyo) as preferred migrants from the mother country. Chapter V includes kinship charts and themes from the life stories

of fifteen French immigrants which include divorce, previous migration, colonial connections, Canadian relatives, connections with restaurants and schools, gender and generational differences re return migration and "home". In the last chapter, the Conclusions, a call is made for further research on migration, ethnicity transnationalism and post-colonialism among similar groups.

Chapter II Methodology

Introduction

My own life history as a Canadian who spent several years living and working in France has probably influenced my choice of doing research on the French who are living and working in Canada. I spent four years in France teaching English and studying French and later returned to Canada with my French husband. In Montreal, I taught English to New Canadians from many countries including France for several years.

When I started doing participant-observation for this paper, I arranged to spend time outside one of the French metropolitan schools and in a nearby café frequented by and owned by French nationals. I had previously attended several events at the Union Française where the French associations and community service agencies are housed.

Besides participant-observation, open-ended in depth interviews were taped using informants chosen on a quota basis as somewhat representative of the French in Montreal as far as professions were concerned (see appendix for occupations of French permanent residents arriving in 1992). They were chosen on the basis of gender, length of residency in Canada, level of education and age.

Ethnography

"Ethnography is not a vain attempt at literal translation, in which we take over the mantle of another's being, conceived of as somehow commensurate with our own. It is a historically situated mode of understanding historically situated contexts, each with its own, perhaps radically different, kinds of subjects and subjectivities" (Comaroff J. and J. :1992:9-10).

Ethnography is the form of research which most resembles the way that children are socialized in a society. By participating in and observing the social life of his family and community, the child learns his culture. The ethnographer tries to understand his research subject in the same way. This form of interpretation is called "Verstehen" (to understand) and based on naturalism.

Naturalism in an ideal form encompasses the carrying out of research in its natural state without disturbing the natural world under study. Symbolic interactionism, hermeneutics and phenomenology have contributed to this approach. Naturalism was based on the interpretation of actions which were shaped by norms, values and beliefs.

In recent years both positivism which is based on the scientific method, stimulus-response and the use of quantitative data in surveys and experiments as well as naturalism have been under attack. Politics has also had an effect on ethnography and

led to feminist and critical theorists' ethnographies (Hammersley and Atkinson:1983,1993).

Ethnography is commonly used by anthropologists although other fields such as sociology and cultural studies also find it a valuable tool. Ethnography can also be used to understand ourselves as we can try to step outside our own culture and look at it critically.

Liz Stanley and other feminist sociologists feel that the basis of research is a relationship. The researcher has no choice but to be involved as a person so Stanley feels she should take full advantage of this and fully explore this (Stanley and Wise:1983). Reflexivity can be a tool according to Stanley. "Reflexivity implies that the orientations of researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations including the values and interests that these locations confer upon them" (Hammersley and Atkinson:1995:16). I feel that my life history enables me to use myself as a useful tool when doing research on French migrants because of many similar values and interests. Verstehen may be enhanced when the researcher and the informant have shared the experience of immigration albeit in opposite directions and meanings may be more easily understood when the researcher and the informant have been in close contact with each other's culture.

Another advantage of ethnography is that different methods can be used to gather information. The results of each method can be compared to see if there is agreement in the findings.

Historical documents were important to my research because of

Canada's colonial past which involved the French (and the British). Participant-observation in the French community, (I will argue that a community in the usual sense of an ethnic community does not exist), was also an important means of gathering information. By observing parents at the school and people at the Union Française and in French restaurants I was able to see somewhat who belongs in the various social networks.

I also did in-depth interviews to expand my knowledge of family and friendship networks. Life stories were told and form the basis of this thesis. Feelings of belonging or not, experiences of migration, (sometimes twice or thrice migration), childhood memories, homesickness or stereotyping are not always easily related except in person and to someone who is trusted. The life stories were mostly told by friends and students of my friends and family. Feelings are too multifaceted to be brought out in a survey type questionnaire and much of the "nuances" would be lost.

Documents

A literature search was not very helpful in finding information about migrants from France in Montreal, in Canada or elsewhere. Frenchmen and Frenchwomen tend not to migrate. There is a gap in the literature which needs to be addressed. French, British and American immigrants were found to be the most residentially dispersed immigrants or members of an ethnic group on

the island of Montreal when compared to the total population of Montreal (Velman, Polèse and Leblanc: 1986). Richmond (1969) noted that many British and American immigrants in English Canada insisted on their homeland identity, kept in close contact with their country of origin and often returned there after a long or short stay in Canada. Portuguese immigrants in the United States also emphasized Portuguese identity and the former Portuguese overseas empire with organizations like the Prince Henry the navigator society. Some Portuguese immigrants returned to Portugal but their children then sometimes returned to the United States, a kind of yoyo migration (Feldman-Bianco:1992).

Some information was available on other French speaking immigrants; those from North Africa (Lasry and Tapia:1989). In this study Jewish immigrants from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia were found to adjust easily to life in Quebec and have few psychological problems in the new country. Some of them intermarried with French Canadians.

I went to the French Consulate to see if they could give me any information on the French community in Montreal but they could not disclose any information as they said it was not allowed. The Consulate referred me to the "service de presse" next door where I was shown some articles about the French in Montreal, Quebec and Canada. Many of the stories were taken from a monthly magazine which used to be published by the Union Française. These articles contained information on the population and professions of French nationals in the city. Fifty-five per cent were reported to work in

the business and service industry especially restaurants, bakeries and pastry shops, fifteen to eighteen per cent worked in manufacturing, an equal number were professionals and one to three per cent worked in agriculture (Courrier Français :1992).

I was also given a book on statistics which was published by the equivalent of Statistics Canada, INSEE in France, but there was no information on the Overseas French living outside of French possessions. Statistics Canada provided the figures on the number of and professions of landed immigrants arriving from France.

Through the Union Française there was some more information available about the history of the "community", the various associations and the activities that take place in the Union's building.

Participant Observation

My child had just started to go to the "lycée français", one of the two French metropolitan schools in Montreal, as I began my project. I made a point of arriving early to pick up my daughter at the school as the other parents tended to converse as they waited for their children. In this way I was able to observe the parents and become acquainted with some of them. I also talked to some of the teaching staff at the school. I met some French people there who had left Montreal and then returned. Others were short or long time residents. Some French nationals were in Canada on three or

four year contracts.

Other French nationals that I talked to in other places had lived in Montreal, gone back to France or to the United States and returned to visit friends. Some that I met on a trip to France had lived in Canada but returned permanently to France for family reasons. Others live in Montreal but visit France every summer.

Questionnaire

In order to get more detailed information on the social fields, experiences and attitudes of the French in Montreal, I prepared a questionnaire with open-ended questions and plenty of opportunity for the informants to talk about anything and everything that interested them. In this manner I could get a better picture of their pre-occupations, feelings and histories. Questions about demographic data such as birth date, professional history, marital status, education and members of their families were asked. Open-ended questions about their immigration experiences, contacts with friends and family in Canada and elsewhere, feelings about home, about identity, about the people and life in Canada were also included. The questionnaire was also used for building rapport with the informants and putting them at ease as well as a means to organize information. We often spoke about other things in their lives. Some said they needed to give a life history and in fact many did so as relating their experiences

in a time frame seemed easier.

Informants

Informants were chosen on a quota basis depending on their gender, age, time in Canada and professions. All were required to have been born in France. I tried to recruit half men and half women, people of different ages and half newcomers and half long time residents. My goal was to find people employed in professions that were often those of the French in Canada according to the data from Statistics Canada. Many students also come from France but tend to be temporary residents and return when their studies are over. There seem to be many students coming from France to take courses at the universities (478 students over eighteen years of age arrived as permanent residents in 1992, Statistics Canada). Their French diplomas are accepted in Quebec and they pay the same fees as residents of Quebec.

As the service industry was found to be the largest employer of the French in Quebec I contacted four people who worked in restaurants, two were owners and two were chefs. As it turned out another informant's parents had owned a restaurant and a newcomer's mother also owned a restaurant situated in France. The professions of the other informants included a student, a teacher, a draughtsman, an engineering technician, a travel agent, an artist, a doctor, an optician's assistant, a secretary, a designer, and a

co-owner of a computer business. There were eight men and seven women ranging in age from sixteen to sixty-nine. They had come to Canada between 1949 and 1995.

To find my informants I had asked family and friends to suggest people. Some were found through the snowball method. Most of the informants did not know the other informants but everyone knew someone who knew me and who introduced me to them. Because of my insider-outsider status among the French, and the large number of French nationals in Montreal, finding informants was not difficult. It is of course not possible to generalize from such a small sample. However, when the number of people interviewed informally through doing participant-observation in my role as the wife of a French national are added, the number of respondents is approximately sixty.

Interviews

Hour-long interviews took place at places of the informants' convenience. Some were in their homes, some on their lunch break at work and some in a public place on their day off. They lasted an a minimum of an hour. They are all in the informants' first language, French. I taped the interviews and transcribed them.

As some of the informants preferred to tell their life stories I later asked the questions that were not dealt with during the life story. I found it was best to be very flexible during the

interviews as this enabled me to amass information that came in useful even if not all of it was at first relative to my research questions.

By using this method of interviewing I found out about some aspects of their lives such as stereotyping that I was unfamiliar with from participant-observation in the role of the wife, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, aunt or friend of a French national. Stereotyping in Canada which seemed to consist of being called a "maudit Français" by French Canadians was something that had not been previously mentioned by other informants.

Ethical Considerations

All of the respondents signed consent forms. My research was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Concordia University before I began the interviews. Some of the people I talked to while doing participant-observation were also told that I was doing research on the French in Montreal. Before beginning each interview I told the informants that they were not obliged to answer all the questions and could stop the interview at any time. The names used in this paper are not their real names.

Insider-Outsider

Impression-management (Goffman:1959) is always important in face to face interaction. Because of my insider position as the wife of a French national and a former resident of France I knew how to present myself to the informants and they knew how to present themselves to me. This probably helped to minimize misunderstanding. My insider-outsider status was an advantage in some ways and a handicap in others. I am an outsider because of being a Canadian of British ancestry. As an insider I had easy access to information and informants. Sixteen people were approached for interviews and all but one, who did not return my call, agreed to take part.

Whereas the fact that I was in some way an insider helped me in finding informants and information, there were also disadvantages. One of these is that objectivity may have been more difficult. Things that at first seem normal, mundane and unworthy of mention may actually be important for the research findings. As somewhat of an insider I may have questioned less why informants did certain things.

I do not consider myself an insider as far as the French are concerned but I do not consider myself a complete outsider either because of my own life history of migration and family ties. Perhaps it is because of my own insider-outsider status vis-à-vis the French that I find the us/them dichotomy problematic in ethnicity studies. This will be further discussed later.

Summary

Participant-observation and intensive interviewing were the methods used for this research. The French community of Montreal was the unit of analysis. Informants were chosen for a quota sample using gender, age, level of education, profession and length of residence in Canada as indicators. Informants were found through personal contacts and the snowball method. Open-ended questions were asked during the interviews which lasted approximately one hour. The interviews were taped and transcribed. There were fifteen in depth interviews involving a questionnaire and the possibility of telling life stories. I have also been in contact with approximately forty-five other French migrants through participant-observation.

Chapter II Imperialism and Colonialism

Introduction

" Direct colonialism has largely ended but imperialism lingers where it has always been in a kind of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic and social practices" (Said:1993:9).

Imperialism is the attitudes, behaviour and theory of a metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory. Colonialism is the emplacements of settlements of people from the imperial centre to the distant territory. France has a long history in Canada as the first permanent settlements by Europeans were built by the French. New France became a possession of the French king in 1534. While Canada has not been a French colony since 1759 the contact between Canada and France has always continued (Fournier:1994).

Most of the ethnic French live in the province of Quebec where they form the largest ethnic category and continue to speak French, one of Canada's official languages. The other official language is English. The population of Quebec is 7 million (census 1996). The Catholic Church was generally considered to be the institution which helped to preserve the French language in a mostly English speaking Canada during the time that Canada was a British colony (1759-1931).

The early French inhabitants of New France came into contact with the Indians and were probably influenced by their culture which was less stratified than that of the Europeans. Even at the time of New France, the inhabitants seemed to have some control over the colony as the colonial militia was used rather than soldiers from France. Administrators were also from the colony and often even the governor (Hardy:1953). France was occupied with other affairs and in particular wars in Europe.

After Canada became a British colony (1759-1931), other cultural influences may have been at work although the French language, Catholic religion and French civil law were guaranteed by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. France was later to conquer and administrate a large colonial empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with colonies on many continents. Soldiers, missionaries, merchants, colonial administrators and settlers from France went to the colonies and colonials went to the metropole.

This migration is continuing. There are 55,200 Canadian residents who gave France as their place of birth on the 1991 census (SOPREMI:1995). The main sources of independent immigrants in Canada are the Philippines, France and Hong Kong (idem). France is also a receiving country for immigrants and approximately 100,000 permanent residents arrived in France in 1993 (idem) with more than half of them coming from Africa.

Post-colonial ties may well encourage the French to come to Canada and the Africans to go to France. Knowledge of the language spoken in the host country can simplify the immigration experience.

Approximately half of my sample of French immigrants had ties to former French colonies. Although the sample is too small to make generalizations from, it is interesting that the sample does not represent the general French population but rather consists of many with colonial connections. All of them were born in France.

Throughout this paper, I will be telling the stories and quoting the French I talked to while doing participant-observation and while doing the in-depth interviews. The informants are referred to by their first names which have been changed to preserve their anonymity.

Colonial Reflexivity

"Colonialism was as much about making the centre as it was about making the periphery" (Comaroff J. and J. (1992:293).

Comaroff and Comaroff have argued rightly that colonialism was not one-sided or even two-sided but multi-sided. Comaroff and Comaroff (idem) also mention the reflexivity of colonialism as they relate how British imperialists, usually missionaries, tried to convert the savages to middle class values of self improvement. However, the example of the Africans who adopted these values and for example built Victorian homes presented a subtext to the British in the metropole who still lived in hovels. The subtext was that the British in the cities who were not under the control of

the bourgeoisie should adopt middle class values as even the savages had done so. This was a way of shaming the poor in London by telling them that even the Africans had improved their living conditions and the Africans were lower on the imperial racial scale than even the poorest European.

What Comaroff and Comaroff neglect to mention is why middle class values were much in evidence. This may have been partially due to colonialism as well with wealth coming into the metropole and allowing more people in Britain and in France to become middle class and the middle class to become more powerful and spread middle class values to the larger society.

Early plantation colonies were founded to provide goods for the metropole such as that of Martinique which provided sugar. Canada was a source of beaver pelts and the French migrated to take part in the fur trade when fur hats became fashionable in the metropole. Many merchants and adventurers made their fortunes in the colonies and then returned to France where they were able to mount the social ladder.

A "nouveau riche" who made his money in France was despised by society because he was thought to have cheated someone (a white Frenchman). However, a "nouveau riche" who made his fortune in the colonies was well received. Distance made the money symbolically cleaner and the person who might have been cheated was not a Frenchman. In the case of New France it was probably a "sauvage", a member of the First Nations, who was underpaid for his pelts (Naylor:1987). The colonies brought wealth to those involved in

trade making the middle class more powerful than it had been before.

Colonial Communities

Colonial communities were very different from communities in the metropole. Initially, there were no European women. Children were sent "home" to boarding schools to continue their educations while the sick or aged were quickly expatriated. Colonial communities were middle class and made up mostly of young and middle-aged adults. The elite remained in Europe and so did most of the underclass as they were not encouraged to migrate except to the "white" colonies of the now Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States. In the colonies with large non-white populations, poor whites were discouraged.

Poor whites were a problematic. They tended to be in competition with the colonized for employment and mixed with them socially. This upset the colony's power structure which was racially based. European colonials formed relief agencies to feed, clothe, house and educate the poor whites to try to keep them up to European standards (Stoler:1992).

In the French colonies in Africa, the "petits blancs" often were non-French Europeans with different political views from the French elite and from the skilled black Africans with whom they were in competition for jobs. The imperial powers often re-

patriated poor whites. The middle class colonials formed the elite overseas as the upper class was in Europe. (See Delavignette:1935 for the life of a district officer "commandant de cercle" in French colonial Africa). While many colonials returned to Europe, it is not surprising that they did not always feel "at home" in Europe because of having often spent much of their lives in communities that were socially, demographically and geographically very different from those of Europe.

Migration from France during the Empire

During the time of New France, up to 1760, 27,000 immigrants, "colons", came to Canada but two-thirds of them fled the country (Miquelon:1994). Besides soldiers, missionaries, merchants and administrators, sometimes beggars and thieves were rounded up and sent out to the colonies under the "ancien régime" (feudal system) (Hardy:1953).

The population of the French Empire before World War I was 67,341,000. Europeans, (Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians and others), made up only 1,471,100 of the total. There are no statistics on French nationals in the Empire but in Algeria, the colony with the largest French population, the French made up less than half of the European inhabitants (Yacono:1969). Even at the height of the empire, few citizens migrated. One reason may be the low birth rate which was twenty-two per cent about 1900 (Ganiage:1968).

Post-colonial Migration

Joseph was born in Oran, Algeria when Algeria was a part of France (see Camus:1965 for a description of the French community in Algeria). He was educated in metropolitan French schools, served in the French navy and then left for Paris. The rest of his family later were evacuated to Marseilles with the other French nationals after Algeria became independent. He later came to Canada to join his Canadian wife whom he had met in Paris.

Nathalie was born in France but taken to Senegal as a baby by her parents. She went to French metropolitan schools in Dakar. After high school, she went to Paris to continue her education and later came to Canada to join her Lebanese from Senegal boy-friend who is a university student in Montreal.

"Etant étrangers, on ne se voit pas dans les universités africaines" (Nathalie, aged 27, an optician's assistant).

Laurent's father is a soldier who has served in several countries. Laurent spent several years in Senegal and in Venezuela with his parents. Later on, Laurent returned to Senegal to do his military service (as a chef) and afterwards he decided to immigrate to Canada.

These vignettes illustrate the continued contact between outposts of the former French Empire through the migration of the French. A common language and educational system facilitates migration. Joseph, Nathalie and Laurent were socialized in French communities in North and West Africa and attended French schools there but seemed to have had little contact with Algerians or Senegalese. The French community in Dakar is quite large as was the French community in Oran. During the nineteenth century there was already a large French community in Senegal who were temporary residents and also Syrians and Lebanese who were often involved in trade (Hardy:1953). However, Joseph and Nathalie left for Paris when they became adults because of limited prospects for education and employment in Algeria and Senegal.

Later they were involved in yoyo or circuit migration between France, Africa, Canada and other countries. There seems to be a family history of migration as Joseph went from Algeria to France to Canada while his son went from France to Israel. Nathalie's parents left France for Senegal, her father returned to France and Natalie also returned to France to leave for Canada. Laurent's father's occupation in the military involves circuit migration.

"J'ai l'impression que je suis chez moi ici. J'ai l'impression de déjà vu. En France, en Afrique et Venézuéla, c'était autre chose. Il faut que je fasse ma vie et c'est ici" (Laurent, aged 24, a sous-chef).

Other informants also have ties with colonial France. Jacques was based in Egypt and travelled throughout the Middle East on business before coming to Canada and Michelle's husband is from Morocco. Perhaps this tendency to migrate is because of a sense of non-belonging for Nathalie, Joseph and Michelle's husband in their post-colonial countries of birth. Anti-French nationalist feelings may be prevalent in these former French colonies. Joseph and Michelle's husband are also Jewish and were born in North Africa so they may feel marginalized in France. The colonial French may also feel that they do not have a "home" in France as they and others from the French colonies are called "pieds noirs" in France. This expression is somewhat pejorative.

Some of the French born in the colonies or protectorates seem to prefer to live in another former colony than in the metropole. Most lived in Paris before coming to Canada. They are twice and thrice migrants (see Alvarez:1994 and Bhachu:1996 for other twice and thrice migrants).

Alice spent six months in Martinique where her partner's parents live. Martinique is an island in the Caribbean which is part of France for administrative purposes. The majority of the population on the island are descended from Africans brought as slaves to work on the sugar plantations. Alice had planned to spend several years there at least but she and her partner left earlier than planned for Canada.

"Il y a des problèmes, le problème d'être Français, d'être

colon. Il y a du racisme et cela nous a pas plu" (Alice, aged 32, a designer).

Neither the black Martiniquans nor the white Martiniquans who are descended from wealthy French plantation owners (Békés) seem to welcome the metropolitan French to Martinique. The French may no longer feel welcome in the remnants of their overseas empire.

Diasporas

One does not usually speak of a French diaspora although there are French communities in many parts of the world and 1.7 million French nationals outside of France. This is perhaps because of ethnocentrism as one speaks of other diasporas of what are essentially often transmigrants; the Chinese, Indian and Haitian diasporas to name only a few.

Diasporas have been a problematic in migration research partly because of varying definitions of the concept of diaspora (Clifford:1994). Diaspora communities were formed through displacement and usually suggest an exile and a return that is not possible in the near future. This would seem to apply to people displaced by the breakup of the European empires including that of Russia. Diaspora communities are multiple and dispersed with "myths/memories of the homeland, alienation in the host country, a

desire for eventual return, ongoing support of the homeland and a collective identity importantly defined by this relationship" (idem:305).

The Jewish communities worldwide have often been considered to form a diaspora but many other communities could be included in this definition such as the Lebanese with 2.5 million in Lebanon and 2.5 million outside Lebanon, 1.8 million Armenians outside the former Soviet Union, 2.5 million Chinese in the West, and 1.5 million Indians outside the Indian subcontinent (Chaliand:1995).

However, with political changes in the homeland, a return is often now possible, if not practical for most of the above peoples. The concept of diaspora now seems to include all dispersed people. Transnational communities would probably be a better way of denoting overseas ethnic based communities than a diaspora.

Summary

European imperialism and colonialism from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century is still influencing the lives of the colonizers and no doubt the colonized today. Several languages have spread to many parts of the world facilitating interaction and intra-migration. However, the spread of the French language did not take place due to the migration of large numbers of French nationals. Few left France even during the French Empire and many of them returned to France afterwards.

Many different peoples came into contact during the Empire which had colonies and/or administrated areas of North and South America, Africa, Asia and Oceania. The overtly stated goal of the French Empire was to bring French civilization to the colonies "la mission civilisatrice" but power, prestige and trade were probably more important concerns.

In the case of the French, the language and French metropolitan state schools worldwide allow people to migrate within other francophone countries where their qualifications are readily accepted and where they find all the comforts of home. There appears to be a family history of migration within the former French Empire with twice and thrice migrants. Some are people who were displaced because of nationalist movements in Algeria and Morocco.

Transnationalism for some of the French in Canada seems to be a continuation of the colonial migration circuit with most of the French in the sample spending at least a month in France every summer just as the colonials did.

Chapter III Ethnicity and Transnationalism

Introduction

"What they eye is to the lover-that particular ordinary eye he or she is born with-language-whatever language history has made his or her mother tongue-is to the patriot. Through that language, encountered at mother's knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined and futures dreamed" (Anderson:1983, 1991:154).

Language may bring the French and French Canadians together but may also be the social boundary between them. The French and French Canadians share the ethnic markers of a language, a religion (Catholic), an ancestry (French), and an origin in a territory (France). However, the French in Montreal that I interviewed all stated that there were also linguistic and cultural differences between the French and French Canadians. The boundary is a different accent and vocabulary in French, an auditive marker.

Because of sharing many ethnic markers the French and French Canadians may well consider each other to be of different categories but not very different. When some French Canadians were transported to Australia in 1839, their closest friends were the French in Australia (Lepailleur:1839-45). Ethnicity may be related to distance from the homeland in the case of people from old

settler colonies and people from the metropole. For the French in Australia, a French Canadian may be "one of us" in an English speaking, Protestant country, whereas in France he might be considered in a somewhat different category "not quite one of us". Transnationalism may be a means of retaining the boundary between the two categories, French and French Canadian, in Quebec.

Ethnicity and Community

"Mais on n'a pas du tout la même mentalité, la même culture, même le français est différent. Même si la souche est la même, quelquefois on ne se comprend pas. La chose veut dire le contraire" (Alice, aged 32, a designer).

"Il y a une barrière, une différence de culture plus avec les Québécois qu'avec d'autres ethnies comme les Suisses" (Catherine, aged 48, a travel agent).

Max Weber defined an ethnic group 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 emigration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation: conversely, it does not matter whether or not a group relationship exists" (1968:389).

Members of ethnic groups in receiving countries often form ethnic communities. A community is a group of people who have something in common which distinguished them from other groups. The exclusion point is the symbolic boundary (Cohen:1985). In an ethnic community, ethnicity is often the boundary. Sometimes ethnic communities are geographical with migrants from the same country living in the same neighbourhood. Longtime residents may help the newcomers to find lodging and employment. Second and third generation migrants may continue to participate in the ethnic community. The ethnic community may have a political voice in the city. Often, the community is centred around a religious institution, social clubs and a school. Shops, restaurants, the media from the homeland; all cater to the community. This home away from home may mitigate the newcomer's sense of displacement. (See Ledoyen:1992 on eight ethnic communities in Montreal, Iacovetta:1994 on Italians in Toronto, Amit-Talai on Armenians in London and Lamphere:1992 on newcomers in the United States). The construction of an ethnic community in a province where the majority is of the same ethnic category as the immigrant may be a problematic.

Theories of Ethnicity

Barth has had much influence on studies of ethnicity. He

emphasized the importance of social boundaries between groups rather than enumerating the differences between them. In his research on the Pathans (1969a), he argued that there was a border that was marked by knowledge and custom, not by territory. This symbolic boundary divided the Pathans from their neighbours, the Baluchi. People and information crossed the boundary but the border between the Pathans and the Baluchi remained firm. However, Barth stated that Pathans could change their ethnic identity and become Baluchi. His work would also seem to apply to migrants in receiving countries as well, who for reasons such as language, racism or a different culture, may deal with symbolic boundaries in the new country. Over time, the boundaries may lessen and some migrants may change their ethnic identity.

Feldman-Bianco (1992) notes that the second generation of Portuguese in the United States consider themselves American and act as cultural brokers for their parents between the two cultures. The second generation of French in my sample consider themselves French, not French-Canadian. This will be further discussed in Chapter V.

Eriksen (1993) has suggested a graduated scale model of ethnicity. He based this model on Diana Forsythe's research in Germany (1989). The Germans ranked others as being more or less like Germans. The Germans felt that other Northern Europeans were not really foreign (Ausländer) and that ethnic German minorities in other countries were not really German.

Eriksen has done research in Mauritius where there are four

major ethnic groups who speak the same language (Kreol) but are educated in French and use English as an official language. High culture is usually in French. This non-use of the native language but rather use of the imperial languages is an example of a vestige of imperialist thought remaining in post-colonial nations. In such polyethnic not to mention multi-lingual nations, the usual us/them dichotomy may be problematic. Also in countries such as Canada, where everyone's ancestors came from somewhere else except for the native peoples', the us/them separation seems difficult. For the French and French Canadians, the scale seems useful as they would probably say they are both French but.... The relationship may be somewhat like that of the Germans and the ethnic Germans in Forsythe's study.

The French Community in Montreal

Ethnic Associations

Lavigne (1987) has argued that there are two kinds of ethnic communities. One type of ethnic community he calls a colony. Immigrants in colony communities are considered to be those who have been admitted under family re-unification or as dependents of Canadian citizens or residents. The colony type community reproduces itself and the second and third generation participate in activities along with the recent arrivals. The members of the

colony community have many layered ties; kinship, friendship, and organized social activities involving a religion, education, political or other interests. Lavigne mentions the Greek and Italian communities in Montreal as representing the colony type ethnic community.

The other sort of community is linked to independent immigrants. There are a few organizations which mainly provide information or aid in dealing with the inhabitants and institutions of the new country. Lavigne considers the French community in Montreal as an example of this kind of community. However, there is a problem with his argument as the recent arrivals from Hong Kong are independent or investor immigrants, yet participate in a colony-type ethnic community.

The French in Montreal have founded associations which generally meet at the Union Française. (This was also the name of the union of France, its colonies and protectorates which took place in 1946). The building where the Union Française is located is owned by the Union and also includes a travel agency and an employment agency. Social assistance is available here for needy French nationals. English classes are also held here and outings are organized. The difference from other ethnic community organizations is that with the exception of the employment agency and the welfare department, the association is not designed for the exclusive use of the French. I have attended Bastille Day dances and other social events where the clientele was as often non-French as it was French. None of my informants participated in any

association activity.

A newcomer who has opened a restaurant felt that the French are on their own whereas the other ethnic communities (Greek, Chinese, Jewish, Portuguese and many others) in Montreal help each other. The other ethnic communities are funded through multiculturalism Canada whereas the French receive no federal government funding because of speaking one of Canada's official languages.

"Vous avez les communautés portugaises, italiennes qui sont puissantes. Vous avez des communautés françaises, il n'y en a pas-une petite Union Française qui réunit des Italiens, des Espagnols. Il n'y a pas de Français" (André, 58, a draughtsman).

Lycée Français

As in Quebec in general, language seems to define the community rather than national or ethnic origins and this is particularly apparent in the French schools (lycées français) where the students are multi-ethnic. There are two schools in Montreal which follow the programme of the Ministry of Education in France and are subsidized by the governments of France and Quebec. The French baccalauréat is awarded on successful completion of secondary and collegial studies. This is equivalent to a community college or CEGEP in Quebec. The schools in Montreal are largely

attended by francophones, many with roots in the old colonies such as Lebanon or Haiti and some anglophones of many different ethnic origins. French nationals are in the minority.

The school is a post-colonial outpost. France keeps its nationals in Canada and elsewhere through the schools. The children use the same textbooks and write the same exams as children in France and through historiography are exposed to French nationalism. The "imagined community" for French children in Canada who attend the "lycée français" may, therefore, be France. Quebec provides free French language schools but children in Quebec schools are exposed to Canadian and Quebec nationalism and culture. Retaining the marker of a somewhat different accent and vocabulary in French from that of French Canadians may also be a consideration for sending children to the "lycée français".

La Cuisine Française

"Il n'y a pas de fromage, un morceau de Roquefort cela fait mal au coeur et le vin est cher" (Morganne, 27, an executive secretary).

Food is also an important part of ethnicity and the ethnic community. Several immigrants stated that they missed only good cheese and cheap wine in Canada. However, the many French

restaurants, pastry shops and other businesses in Montreal are not used exclusively by the French either. In an old settler colony, the infrastructure has long been in place to make newcomers from the metropole feel at home.

The French Community circa 1950-1960

A bounded ethnic community of French nationals does not seem to exist in Montreal. However, a community seemed to exist in the past. People who immigrated between 1950 and 1960 according to two of my informants used to live in a French cocoon. They spent most of their time with other French nationals, usually in restaurants and perhaps in the associations. At this time there was a war being fought by the French in Algeria and the French in Canada were also conscripted for military service. The war and the less direct contact with France at the time may have brought the community together. At the time telephones were less common in France and a sea voyage took a week from Montreal to Le Havre. It was much more difficult to keep in touch with friends and family in France. People wrote letters.

"Mon oncle et ma tante qui ont immigré en 1954 restent dans un cercle très fermé de Français, les fils ont l'accent parisien, bien qu'ici depuis l'âge de sept, huit ans" (Jacques, aged 46, an engineering technician).

Transnational Links

Basch, Schiller and Szanton Blanc (1994) define transnationalism as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (1994:7). They argue that Caribbean and Filipino populations in the New York metropolitan area are transnationals particularly because of the racist structuring of the United States. To avoid being put into a racial category in the United States as African-Americans or Asian-Americans, they emphasize their identity as Haitians, Grenadians or Filipinos, as people who come from these countries or whose parents came from there. The fact that nationalism has grown in the home country and that the migrant population has grown has also been important. Living transnationally is a creative accommodation the Filipino and Caribbean peoples have made to the controlling forces of global capitalism and their ranking in the global racial order.

The migrants mentioned in Basch et al.'s framework may also have some political influence in their countries of origin because of their wealth vis-à-vis that of those who remained at home. The politicians in the home country may be wary of the diaspora, fearing for new ideas being brought back with the visitors. Some countries have granted citizenship to the diaspora (i.e. Portugal, Grenada) whereas others consider the diaspora as symbolically part of the country of origin (Haiti) or grant special privileges (Philippines). In Haiti, the diaspora are called the tenth

department. Haiti is divided into nine administrative zones called departments. President Aristide called the ex-patriate Haitians residents of an overseas department and in this way affirmed their right to be Haitian nationals and encouraged their continuing help in the nation re-building going on in the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. The government of the Philippines also encourages ex-patriates to send remittances and allows them to send large boxes of goods including appliances and electronics back to the country almost tax free. President Aquino praised overseas Filipinos as heroes and heroines.

Ex-patriates in St. Vincent, Grenada, Haiti and the Philippines are still recognized as part of the nation and encouraged to return for visits. They are appreciated for their economic aid. Basch et al. and Rios (1992) mention that some politicians try to curry favour with the diaspora.

I would argue that keeping in contact with their families is probably an important reason that migrants lead transnational lives and why some return "home". Some immigrants left Canada and returned to France permanently to look after aging parents. Another former Canadian resident felt that as a single mother, she would have a better life in France near her family but she visits friends in Quebec every year.

Life without the extended family, which is the case for most migrants, can be difficult. Often parents offer support to their adult children be it financial or otherwise and since young adults are the ones who usually migrate, this help is less available at a

distance.

Formerly in France, nearly everyone took the month of August off and businesses closed because workers are allowed a paid vacation of six weeks by law. Long holidays, often spent visiting family, are still usual in France although most people cannot afford to go away for six weeks. While the Canadian based French are visiting family in France, some may also keep in touch with the situation of the labour market as everyone is vulnerable in the present day market place. Because of French and Canadian citizenship, the European Union and Canada (and for professionals, the United States) are open labour markets for these migrants. Everyone must keep his options open in the global economy.

Language and Transnationalism

Hannerz (1996) argues that language may not be quite so important in dispersing cultural flows at the present time as because of media technology we may be beyond words. I disagree. Language is still very important because of communications systems such as computers and in particular the internet. The French and French Canadians are presently setting up a French language internet with the aid of their respective governments. Most of the internet is presently in English and most of the information is from the United States.

Nationalism is often tied up with language (Anderson:1983,

Anthony Smith:1991). Nation-states are still the most powerful macro organization although there are supra-national organizations. The Francophonie is an example of a global language based organization which was organized as recently as 1986 and includes France's former colonies and other French speaking countries. Nationalism had much to do with the foundations of empires and also with the foundation of the Francophonie although languagism would probably be a more suitable concept then nationalism to express the feelings about one's mother tongue. There is a Ministry of the Francophonie in Paris, a descendant of the former Ministry of the Colonies.

Summary

Migration from the mother country to old settler colonies may present some particularities. It would seem that the French who migrate to Canada while sharing many ethnic markers with French Canadians tend to use an auditive marker, the way of speaking the French language, to mark off a boundary between themselves and the French Canadians.

While there are schools and associations in Montreal which have been founded by the French, these institutions are not considered to be for the exclusive use of the French but rather for all francophones. Possibly, this is also what occurs in other French metropolitan schools worldwide. One of my informants spent

most of her life in Senegal; another was brought up in French Algeria and they both appeared to have lived in a European French speaking cocoon although not all of the Europeans in Senegal or Algeria were French.

A French ethnic community based in restaurants seems to have existed in Montreal in the past but now there appears to have been a shift towards transnational direct ties with France because of the present day facility of direct contact. Post-colonial outposts such as metropolitan schools and television bring France to Canada.

Chapter IV The Immigration Experience

Introduction

"The writer who is out-of-country and even out-of-language may experience this loss (of the past) in an intensified form. It is made more concrete for him by the physical fact of discontinuity, of his present being in a different place from his past, of his being ~elsewhere~" (Rushdie:1991:12).

Migration to another country can be a difficult experience. The migrant's previous socialization does not always serve him well as the meanings of actions may be different in the new country and he may also have a new language to learn. Stereotyping and/or racism may also make his immigration experience difficult. The French who migrate to Quebec are fortunate in that they may have few obstacles to surmount in an old settler colony. They also come from another highly developed, Western democracy with a recently weakened but still present welfare state. They are not out of language and "elsewhere" may not be so very different from "home".

The French like the Portuguese (Feldman-Bianco:1992) do not approve of migration from the metropole. Usually only the middle to working class migrated and some in the imperial centre see emigrants as marginalized. As we saw earlier, the French tend to stay home. There were very few Europeans living outside France during the French Empire and few Frenchmen live outside France

today. Yet, they come to Canada, 3,105 permanent residents in 1992 and nearly all of them to Quebec (2,776), (Statistics Canada). Most were between twenty and thirty-five years of age as are most migrants in general worldwide.

The majority are independent immigrants who are admitted on a point system. Points are given for having a profession that is in demand and for speaking the official languages. People immigrating to Quebec must apply both to Immigration Canada and Immigration Quebec for admission. Quebec encourages francophone immigration and extra points are given to candidates who speak French. In this way, Quebec favours migration from France and former French colonies.

Reasons for Migration

Many of the early migrants to New France did not chose to migrate, however, at the present time, this has changed. Some of my informants came because they wanted a change and wanted to travel. Most came to Canada as tourists "pour prospecter" before deciding to immigrate. Others wanted to leave Paris because they felt that life there was too stressful and expensive. "Les Parisiens vont au travail et ils rentrent chez eux. Ils ne sortent jamais. Ils sont très stressés" (Nathalie, 27, an optician's assistant). All five of the informants who were in their twenties said this. They did not like life in Paris or in one case Nice because they found it

stressful. Housing is difficult to find in Paris and there is air pollution. Children and elderly people in Paris as well as those with breathing problems are advised by the state to stay indoors at times because of air pollution.

Recent arrivals also say that the cost of living is higher in France and they are financially better off in Montreal. Some had gone to the big city because jobs were not available in their home towns.

"Paris, c'est épouvantablement cher, ici on a plus de facilité de vivre avec pas grand'chose" (Morganne, 27, an executive secretary).

Those in the restaurant business also mentioned economic reasons as they said that there were fewer jobs and the employer-employee relationship was difficult. They were told that Canadian employers treated the employees better when they visited Canada before migrating. Most of the migrants had visited Canada before immigrating. Earlier migrants had come seeking a better life after World War II while some of the later arrivals had had French Canadian friends in France and wanted to see Canada after having heard so much about it.

Only one came alone, a twenty-one year old assistant-chef. Others came with partners and/or had family in Canada. Two of them had future spouses living in Canada and one had a boy-friend in Montreal. There seems to be gender differential re migration. The

women in the sample tended to follow the men although one man followed his Canadian wife.

The French in the sample come to Canada for much the same reasons as the French went to the colonies; for adventure, to make a fortune, because of dissatisfaction with the metropole or to join or accompany their spouse. They also feel that they have the option enjoyed by migrants from the centre during the Empire; to return "home".

Immigration Papers

It seems to be fairly easy for the French to receive their immigration papers. "Français, éduqué, ça passe tout seul" (Morganne). One person in the sample was offered his immigration papers at the airport when he arrived in 1967. Others said it took three to six months. This has perhaps changed as unemployment rates are higher in both countries in the 1990s. Unemployment in France was 11.6 in 1995 (ILO, INSEE) and 11.3 in Quebec (Statistics Canada).

"On a beaucoup d'amis qui ont demandé d'immigrer et qui n'ont pas eu de réponse. C'est très long actuellement" (Alice).

Alice's friends may have occupations that are not in demand in Canada or there may be a slowdown because of a larger number of

applicants.

For professionals immigration to Canada is more of a problematic.

"C'était très difficile. Moi, j'avais la chance d'avoir un poste demandé par l'université. Ça m'a facilité les choses. Au dernier moment, il y a eu des complications. Il a fallu que le poste soit offert à tout le Canada" (Yann, 47, a physician).

A doctor was not allowed to work in Canada when her doctor husband was hired. Professionals such as doctors, lawyers and engineers may have more difficulties immigrating to Canada because their professional organizations limit the number of foreigners allowed to practice in Quebec and/or Canada. On the other hand, people from France in the food service industry are much in demand in Canada (and worldwide).

"Les métiers d'hôtellerie, on n'a pas de difficulté de venir ici, les restaurants qui ouvrent et donc cherchent beaucoup de personnel. C'est une région touristique donc qui embauche serveurs, cuisiniers, pâtisseries" (Laurent, 24, a sous-chef).

Immigration to the former colony continues to favour the middle class. As the French are mostly independent immigrants and not usually admitted under family re-unification or family sponsorship, only those who are expected to find work easily in

Quebec are accepted. This restricts the entry of some immigrants because upper-middle class professionals are blocked because of licencing problems in Canada and those of working class background may not have occupations which are in demand in Canada. Post-colonial emigration from France is, therefore, somewhat similar to post "ancien régime" colonial emigration to the colonies.

Adaptation

Adaptation is the process of becoming at home in the new country and feeling at ease with the long time residents. Feeling "at home" ("se sentir chez soi") should be differentiated from "home" ("être chez soi"). "Home" is tied up with one's identity (Sarup:1994) and is usually the place of one's childhood where one's parents live but "at home" may vary. After more than half a lifetime spent in Canada, "home" is still the village where one Frenchman grew up although he is "at home" in Montreal. Age at immigration seems to be a factor in the locality of home.

The French I interviewed seemed to adapt and feel at home in Quebec fairly easily. They find friends and jobs without much difficulty. An exception may be for teenagers and non-working mothers. Melanie arrived with her parents at the age of thirteen and goes to a French Canadian school.

"C'était d'ur la première année". On s'est moqué de mon accent

mais je n'ai pas fait attention" (Melanie, now 16).

Catherine's daughter who was about this age was also unhappy for about six months whereas the younger children adapted much more quickly to the new country, school and friends. The adolescent years are difficult and changing countries, friends and perhaps school systems add to the problems. Grinberg and Grinberg (1989) relate that some migrating children became mentally ill because of missing grandparents and friends in the homeland.

Melanie's mother is still not at home in Canada after three years. She may feel isolated with less of a possibility of building a new social network when she does not go out to work. She is a housewife. Another contributing factor to her lack of adaptation may be that several of her children are in France and she misses them.

"On est issu de la campagne, de la ferme. J'ai retrouvé les grandes espaces que j'ai connu dans ma jeunesse" (Jacques, 46, an engineering technician).

The wide, open spaces of Canada were also an incentive to migrate. Most of the informants said that it only took three to six months before they felt at ease in Canada. The two men and two women who had difficulty adapting at first plan to return eventually to France and in one case, Senegal.

Stereotyping

When people from different places come into contact, stereotyping may occur. Ethnic stereotyping can be defined as attributing certain characteristics to a person solely because of where he or his ancestors came from. While all of the people in my sample said that the French Canadians were "très accueillants", some of the informants reported that they had been called a "maudit Français" (damn Frenchman) by French Canadians. One or two also said that it had been said in a nasty manner. This stereotyping may be because of perceived neo-colonialism. The French Canadians may feel that the French still think that they are in the colonies when they come to Quebec and have a superior colonial attitude.

In the Cayman Islands, a British colony, Amit-Talai (1997) found that some of the Caymanians felt this way about British expatriates in the island. She argues that in reality, businesses in the Caymans have recruited the British and the British are as vulnerable as any foreigners as they can be deported if they lose their jobs. In Quebec immigration from France is encouraged by the government. Canada, however, encourages permanent residents and eventual citizenship; the Caymans do not. Most of the French in Canada take out Canadian citizenship but automatically retain French citizenship.

Friendship Networks in Canada

The French I interviewed in Montreal seem to have French and French Canadian friends in Montreal. Some have friends with other ethnic backgrounds but the determining factor for choosing friends seems to be language. Only one person had no French or French Canadian friends. Her friends were from the French speaking Lebanese from Senegal community that her boyfriend belonged to. One informant who has lived in Montreal most of his life has only French Canadian friends. Several had family members already in Canada, a sister, an uncle, aunt or cousin who helped them when they first arrived.

Most, therefore, have social networks comprised of equally French and French Canadian friends and many have relatives in Canada. They are welcomed and make friends with people from the host country. There is very little prejudice as a "maudit Français" or damn Frenchman is not a very strong insult. They easily find jobs in their professions and usually their standard of living is higher in Canada than in France. The French in Montreal are privileged migrants. They would seem to experience the best of all possible immigration experiences, yet, they lead transnational lives and often return to France.

Migration Circuits

Some of the French in Montreal are on three or four year contracts with transnational companies and are on a migration circuit like some Mexican migrants in the United States (Rouse:1992). The circuit for the French who work for transnational companies usually begins and ends in Paris. One family with three young children has already been in England, Africa, Canada and is now in Switzerland. They stay in each country for four years and are provided with help in finding housing and a yearly paid vacation to France by the father's employer.

The father works for a French bank and transnational postings are part of the corporate culture. In order to gain mobility within the bank's hierarchy, one must relocate. The family's standard of living is higher outside of France according to the mother of this family and she dreads returning to Paris. The family owns a house in the South of France where they spend vacations but will have to live in Paris eventually because the head office is there. The children have attended the lycée français in each posting.

"Sans les écoles, on ne le ferait pas" (the banker's wife).

When migrants are involved in contract circuit migration, their expectations are not always met when they return to the metropole. The people who have remained at the head office seem to have more of an opportunity to climb the company's employment

ladder than those who accept foreign postings and the return migrants may find that an inferior has become a superior during their absence.

Return Migration

"Je me dis toujours que j'aurai au moins la maison familiale où je pourrai retourner de la guerre" (Alice, 34, a designer).

With all the comforts of home in an old settler colony including homeland schools and television, it is somewhat surprising that possibly one half of those who immigrate to Quebec return to France. Many return because they cannot adapt to life in Canada. Some remain for a short time, others a lifetime.

"Je ne vivrai jamais ici" (André's brother-in-law who immigrated and then left after six months in Canada).

Some return to France and find that "La France, c'est bien pour les vacances mais pas pour le travail" (a parent at the school). Then, they return to Canada. Moving back and forth is expensive and stressful.

One of the people I interviewed was recently laid off due to downsizing after twenty years with the same company. He is presently trying to start up a company in France but his wife and

family are still in Canada. Family ties and the global economy may force migrants to make difficult choices including First World migrants. Unlike Hannerz' (1992, 1996) transnational, occupation based, cosmopolitan elite who seem to face few problems when migrating because of a cushion of wealth and prestige, the French in Canada and other middle class Western migrants are vulnerable to changes in the economy.

Summary

The French are encouraged to migrate to Quebec, are welcomed when they arrive, speak the language of the majority which helps them to easily find jobs, retain their socio-economic status and adapt quickly to life in Quebec. According to Basch et al.'s transnational framework, they would have no reason to be transnationals. Their mobility is not blocked in the receiving country.

However, the French maintain transnational ties. Circuit and return migration is common among the French in Montreal. Those who return may have difficulty re-adapting to France and sometimes have difficulty finding employment. Many return because of family or employment and some are involved in yoyo migration, going back and forth. Other countries may also be involved in the circuits especially for those with colonial connections.

Kinship Ties and Home

Introduction

"Le coeur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît pas"
(Pascal:1670).

"Un Français est toujours un Français. Nous avons le tempérament et la nationalité" (Joseph, 69, an artist).

The French and the French Canadians call each other cousins to denote a shared ancestry. However, some of the French in the sample had first cousins as well as aunts, uncles or siblings in Canada who had migrated previously. Immigrants settle where they have kin (Du Toit:1990). Most of the French I interviewed, however, have parents, brothers, sisters, children and grandchildren elsewhere albeit not necessarily only in France.

At the end of the chapter I have included kinship charts for fifteen French immigrants in Montreal. They include the usual genealogies as well as the year of arrival in Canada and the countries where the other members of the family live. The sample, while too small to be representative of the population of French immigrants in Montreal, is also not representative of the general population of France with its over representation of colonial

connections.

The kinship charts partially illustrate the migrants' life stories as family ties may be reasons for displacement. Life stories have been used for studying racism (Knowles:1996) for indicating epiphanies in people's lives (Denzin:1989a) and also for showing how displacements can have an impact on the constructions of identities and locations of "home"(Nixon:1994, Pollock:1994). Several themes are noticeable in the stories of fifteen immigrants from France in Montreal. These are divorced or deceased parents and kinship and friendship connections to other countries as illustrated in the kinship charts. There is also a restaurant connection and metropolitan school connection in nearly every family. There is also a gender differential in return migration and contact with "home". The location of "home" also varies for once versus twice or thrice migrants and there is also a generational shift vis-à-vis "home".

Kinship Networks

Culture "the idea of an impersonal, pervasive style of thinking, feeling, and acting which permeates the minds of men without their being aware of it and guides them in thought, feelings and conduct"(Gellner:1992) may be one reason why the French in Montreal lead transnational lives as they derive little economic or social gain from transnationalism. On the contrary, one

could argue that they could improve their economic and social status if they used the funds involved in transnationalism for other means. Some, in fact, may telephone and visit relatives because they feel they must.

One theme in the stories of these migrants is having divorced parents which can be seen in the kinship charts (Morganne, Michelle, Alice, Nathalie, Marc and Pascale). Others are orphans (Michelle, Michelle's husband, Eric's wife). Several of the informants have been divorced (Joseph and Jacques; Eric is separated from his wife). Perhaps people with divorced or deceased parents migrate more often because of lessened family ties. Those who have been divorced may envision a fresh start in a new country. However, they telephone and visit relatives as often as those with parents who live together. Michelle's divorced parents are dead as are her husband's parents, yet:

"Avec ma belle-soeur, on se téléphone une fois chaque deux semaines et normalement on passe un mois en France chaque année. On va en camping. On loue une voiture et on va trois jours chez un, trois jours chez l'autre" (Michelle, 35, co-owner of a computer company) "

Kinship and Migration Choices

Another noticeable feature of the kinship charts is the number of people who have family in many different countries. All of them have relatives in France. There is a sister-in-law in Australia (Alice), a sister in Switzerland (Francis), parents-in-law in Martinique (Alice) and from Morocco (Michelle), a son and granddaughters in Israel (Joseph) and parents in Senegal (Laurent and Nathalie).

Some also came to Quebec as immigrants when they were unable to go to their first choice country of migration. André applied to live in the United States but was not accepted. Morganne who is bilingual wanted to go to Australia but her application was refused and Laurent plans to go to Australia after he learns some English in Canada. One reason for choosing migration to the United States and Australia rather than Canada or return migration to France may be that some find the winters too long and cold in Canada.

"On reproche le Canada pour le climat" (André, 58, a draughtsman).

Friendship Networks

"Tout le monde vient. Ils veulent en profiter pour voir le Canada, l'Amérique du Nord. New York n'est pas loin. C'est

pour cela que l'on a pris un plus grand appartement avec une chambre d'amis, parce que régulièrement on a des amis qui viennent" (Alice, 34, a designer).

While the French in the sample have mostly French and French Canadian friends in Montreal, most of their friends elsewhere are French although they live in other countries, not only in France. This is the same for the metropolitan migrants, the migrants with colonial connections and the second generation. They visit back and forth and keep in touch with their friends through telephone calls and E-mail.

They also seem to have friends who are travellers and perhaps decided to become travellers themselves because of having French Canadian friends in France, participating in travelling in other countries as children or being displaced because of war or nationalism. Many, however, have brothers or sisters who lived similar experiences and yet did not become migrants as can be seen in the kinship charts. Their families are mostly in France including the ex-colonials but not the second generation.

"Le Restaurant Français et Le Lycée Français"

"La France, c'est le restaurant" (Marc, 52, a restaurant

owner).

"On vit en France tous les jours au restaurant. C'est peut-être pour cela que l'on ne ressent pas le besoin d'y aller" (Pascale, 48, a restaurant owner).

Other recurring themes in the stories were connections to restaurants and to metropolitan schools. Many of the French in the sample own or work in restaurants; those with parents who own restaurants are Nathalie (in Senegal), Francis (in Canada) and Laurent (in France) as well as Marc (in Canada) who has now taken over his parents' restaurant along with his wife, Pascale. Eric and Laurent are chefs and hope to own their own restaurants one day. French restaurants along with French metropolitan overseas schools are probably the main employers of the French outside of France.

Besides the restaurant connection, many people mentioned sending children to the metropolitan schools. Melanie who was chosen for the sample as a student at a public school also had sisters at the metropolitan school. Most of the informants' children go to the lycée français. The school and the restaurants also seem to be the most important symbols of France for the overseas French. Some of the teachers come to Canada to teach at the lycée français in lieu of military service in the armed forces (co-operation). Some decide to remain in Montreal at the end of their contracts.

Return Migration

Most of the people in the sample plan to stay in Montreal at the present time. However, there seems to be a gender differential as the women more often want to return to France whereas the men prefer to stay in Canada. Melanie and her mother who is a housewife both want to return to France where three of Melanie's sisters are studying. Melanie's father wants to stay in Canada.

One family (Francis') returned to France after ten years in Canada because the mother missed her relatives. Three years later, they returned to Canada because Francis' father was unable to make a good living in France. The ties of family in the "home" country are sometimes in juxtaposition against the higher standard of living in the new country.

"C'était un conflit entre ma mère et mon père. Ma mère voulait rester en France. Elle pensait que c'était mieux pour les enfants" (Francis, 52, a teacher).

Men and women tend to maintain the strongest family links with mothers and grandmothers in the Caribbean (Wiltshire:1992). This also seems to be similar for the French who keep in closest contact through women; mothers and grandmothers.

Two of the men, André and Yann plan to retire in France. They have houses in France and appear to come from wealthier families than average. As the cost of living is higher in France than in

Canada, many would find it difficult financially to move back to France. All of the people in the sample feel that the option to move back to France is available to them but actually, for many of them, it would be quite difficult to do so after spending many years in Canada unless they had private means. Finding a job is also a problematic for a returning labour force in countries of fairly high unemployment where there are now many short term contract jobs such as in France (Mermet:1992) and Canada.

Colonial Connections and "Home"

For those with colonial connections "home" does not seem to be in France unlike those who are first time migrants from France. As mentioned in an earlier chapter on colonialism, the former colonists cannot always return to the place they may consider "home" because of nationalism or lack of jobs available for Europeans. Although they are French nationals they do not seem to adapt to living in France. They seem to feel more at home in a multi-ethnic, mostly middle class former colony like Canada than in France. None of them plan to return to France.

"Ce que je trouve bien ici, c'est que il y a beaucoup d'étrangers, les races qui se mêlent et chacun s'accepte. Alors que l'autre est habillé d'une certaine manière, il y a le respect de l'autre personne que l'on ne trouve pas à Paris.

Quelqu'un qui est habillé différemment n'est pas de cette planète comme on dit là-bas" (Laurent, 24, a sous-chef).

Children as Ethnic Ties

Another theme in the stories was the use of children for keeping in contact with the family and France. Basch et al. (1994) mention that children are used to maintain kinship and ethnic ties and we see this with Nathalie spending holidays in France with her grandmother while living in Senegal. Pascale also spent summer holidays with her grandmother in France as a child living in Canada. Yann and Catherine's children have often been to visit family without their parents and Melanie's sisters who are studying in France spend holidays with their grandmother. When the migrants are unable to return every year because of their employment or finances, the children may be sent to spend the summer holidays with the grandparents. This also helps the children to construct French identities while living outside of France.

The Generational Shift

Marc and Pascale own a well known French restaurant in Montreal. Their parents came to Canada because of unemployment and

general hard times after World War II. They both immigrated as children and consider Canada as "home"

"Le Canada, c'est mon pays" (Pascale).

French Canadians tell Pascale "vous n'êtes pas d'ici" because she and her husband have a metropolitan French accent. Marc and Pascale have not been to France since 1977.

This vignette illustrates a generational shift vis-à-vis France. Marc and Pascale consider themselves and seem to be considered by others as French but Canada is "home". The restaurant is a part of France in Montreal and along with Marc's mother constitute important ties to France. However, Pascale's parents and Marc's father in Canada watch TV 5. Marc's father receives a pension from France and votes in French elections. They are much more involved with France than their children.

The third generation, Marc and Pascale's sons, consider themselves Canadians and speak metropolitan French, Quebec French and English depending on whom they are speaking with. Like many children of immigrants in Montreal, they have multiple identities (Meintel:1992). Their ties to France are symbolic, through their parents' restaurant and retaining metropolitan French.

Identity and Home

"Je vais avoir un problème qui n'arrivent pas aux autres. J'ai des enfants qui sont nés ici, qui malgré qu'ils aillent en Europe chaque année, ils voyagent en Europe avec nous. Ici c'est leur pays. Si moi je veux repartir, c'est ma famille, celle que j'ai faite qui risque de rester ici" (André, 58, a draughtsman).

Yann and Catherine have the same problem as André when it comes to returning to France permanently. They might have to return without their children and, therefore, may remain in Canada. There are problems with migration even for middle class migrants in the most ideal conditions. There is a conflict between the generations as to the locality of "home".

"Même si je reste ici, je ne serai jamais Québécois, pure laine" (Yann, 47, a physician).

Home seems to have something to do with identity although there are boundaries according to Sarup (1994). In a city like Montreal where there are many migrants and people of different ethnic origins, difference is not unusual. The children and grandchildren of the French immigrants may construct multiple identities but because of birth elsewhere and migration the new country may never become "home" for the French who immigrated as

adults.

Nevertheless, the former country of residence has also changed and may no longer seem familiar. Time has not stood still since the migrants' departure and the natal village may now be very different from what it was when they left. Visiting for a month in the summer may be very different from living in a country all year round. The returned migrant also might miss family and friends in Canada.

"On a l'impression que l'on n'est pas tout à fait chez nous ici où en France" (André).

Summary

The French in the sample are in very close contact with their parents, children and friends in France and elsewhere. Many must spend much of their salaries on telephone bills and airplane tickets. Visiting family and taking a month's holiday are customary in France and this tradition is continued when the French migrate to Canada. The distances are not that great which facilitates the contact between the two countries as most of the French settle in Quebec. They are able to afford transnationalism as most are middle class.

There seems to be a gender differential with women keeping in

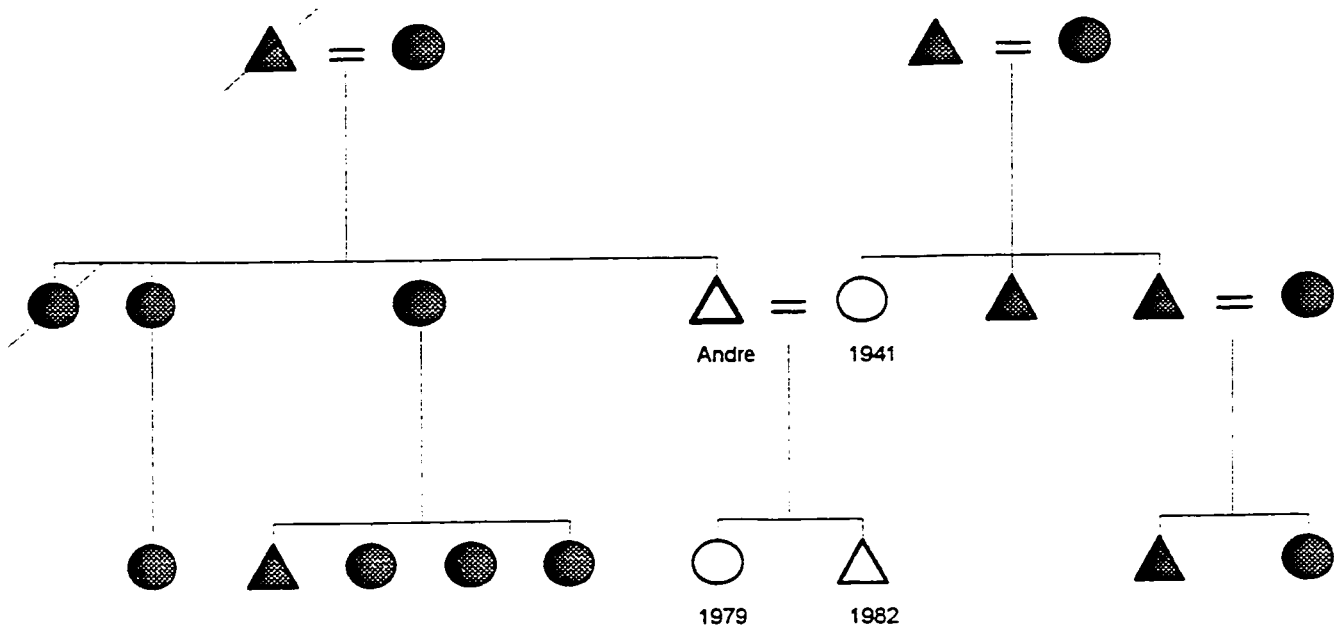
touch with relatives on behalf of the whole family and with women wanting to return "home" more often than the men. Return migration may depend on owning a house in France or having above average income. Those with colonial connections do not plan to return to France despite having members of their nuclear families there.

There is a generational shift as "home" for the second generation is in Canada not France. This presents problems for those who would prefer return migration as their children would probably remain in Canada. The second generation seems to have fewer transnational ties and the third generation only symbolic ones. "Home" is an elusive place for some migrants.

ANDRE

Year of birth : 1940

Year of arrival : 1966



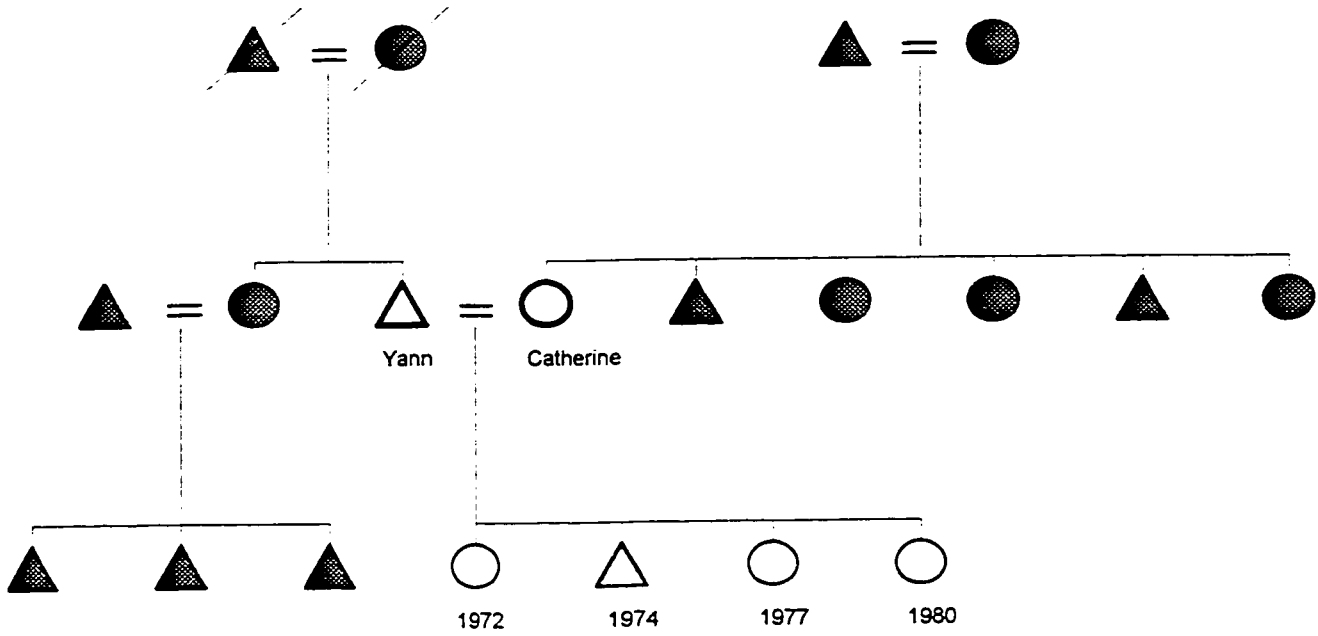
 CANADA

 FRANCE

YANN & CATHERINE

Year of birth : 1949
 Year of arrival : 1985

Year of birth : 1948
 Year of arrival : 1985



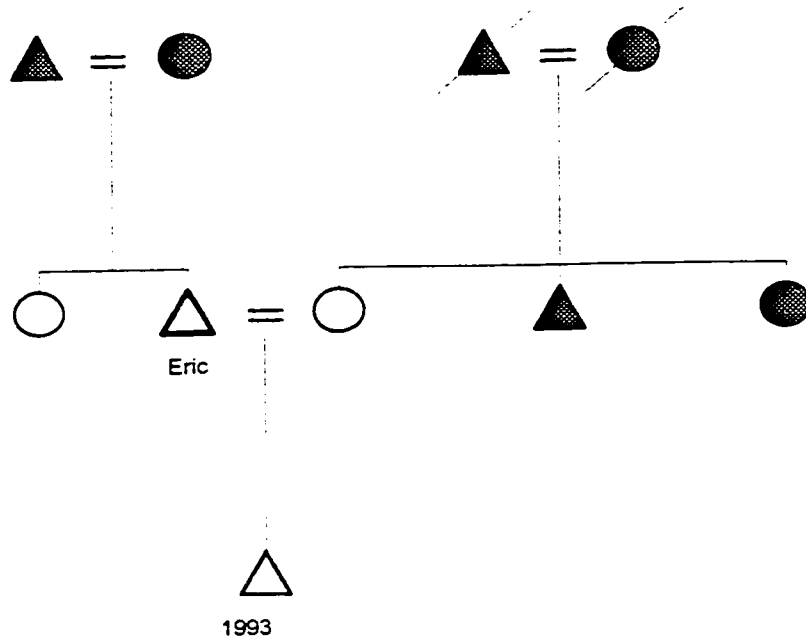
 CANADA

 FRANCE

ERIC

Year of birth : 1966

Year of arrival : 1993



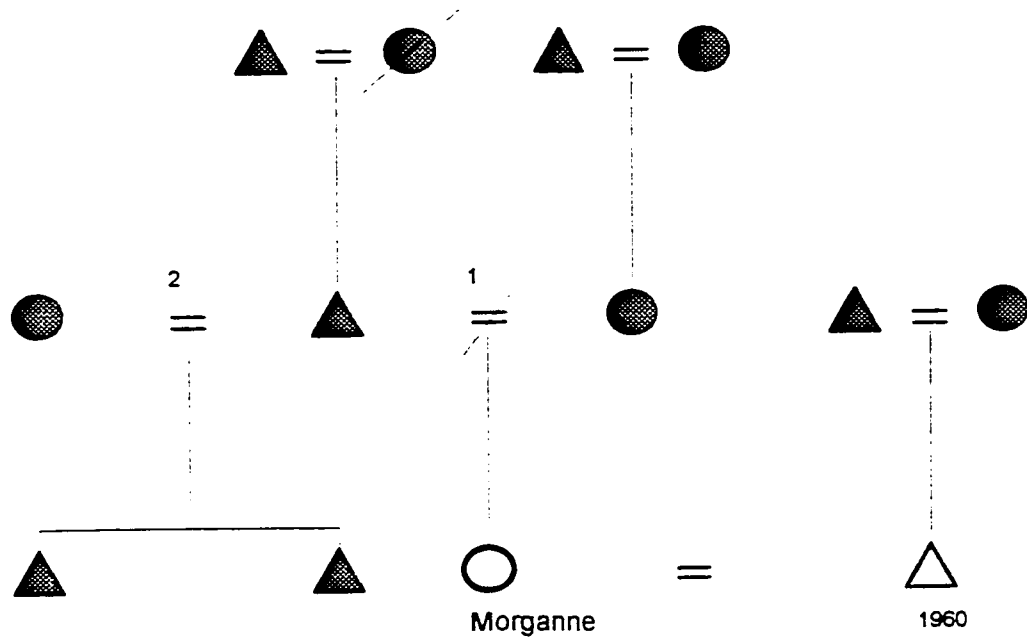

CANADA


FRANCE

MORGANNE

Year of birth : 1969

Year of arrival : 1993



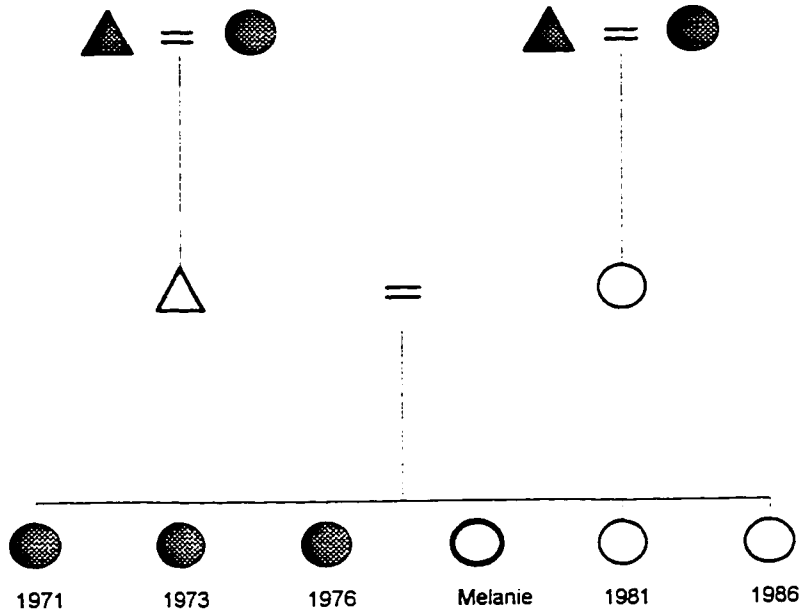

CANADA


FRANCE

MELANIE

Year of birth : 1979

Year of arrival : 1992



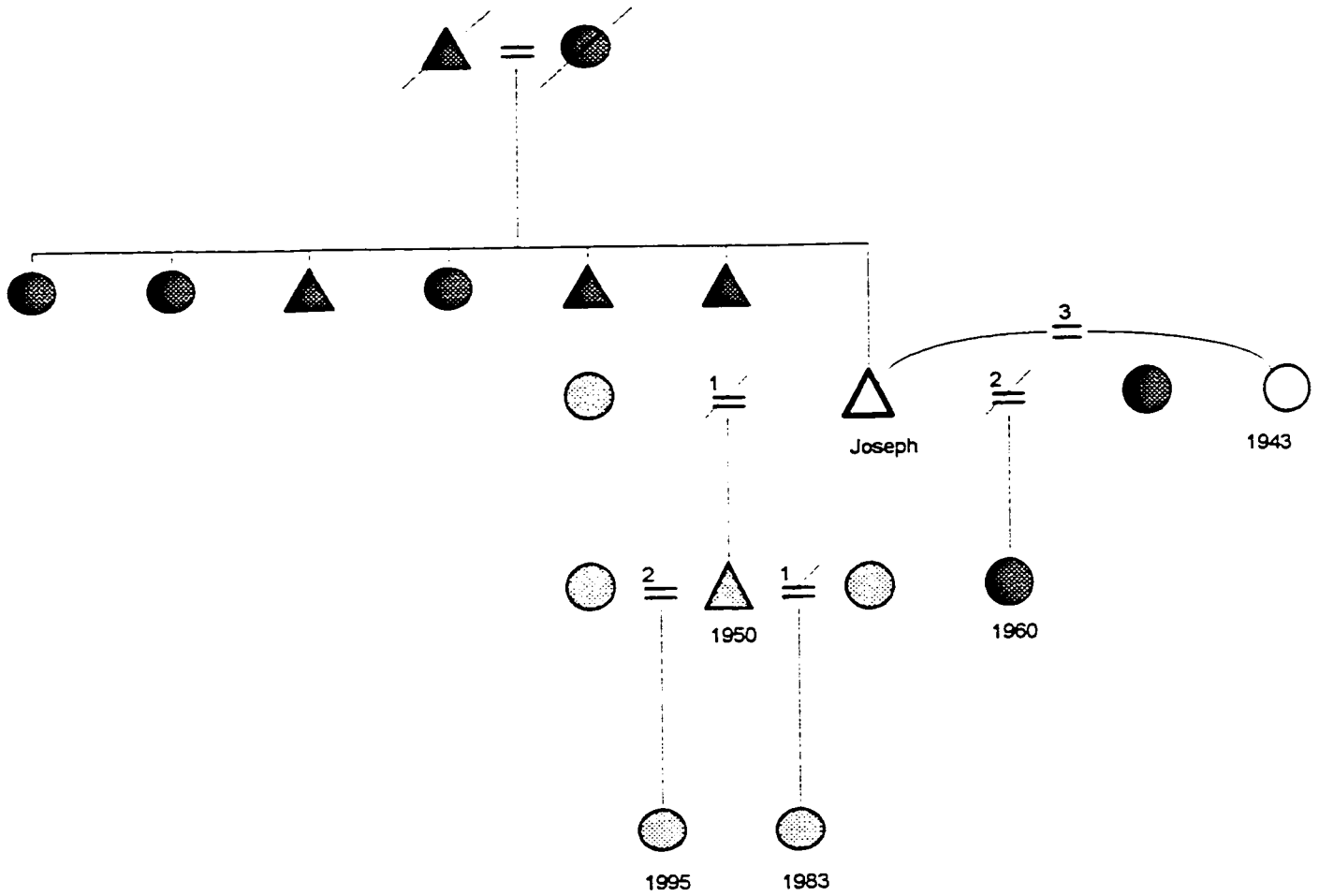

CANADA


FRANCE

JOSEPH

Year of birth : 1927

Year of arrival : 1969



 CANADA

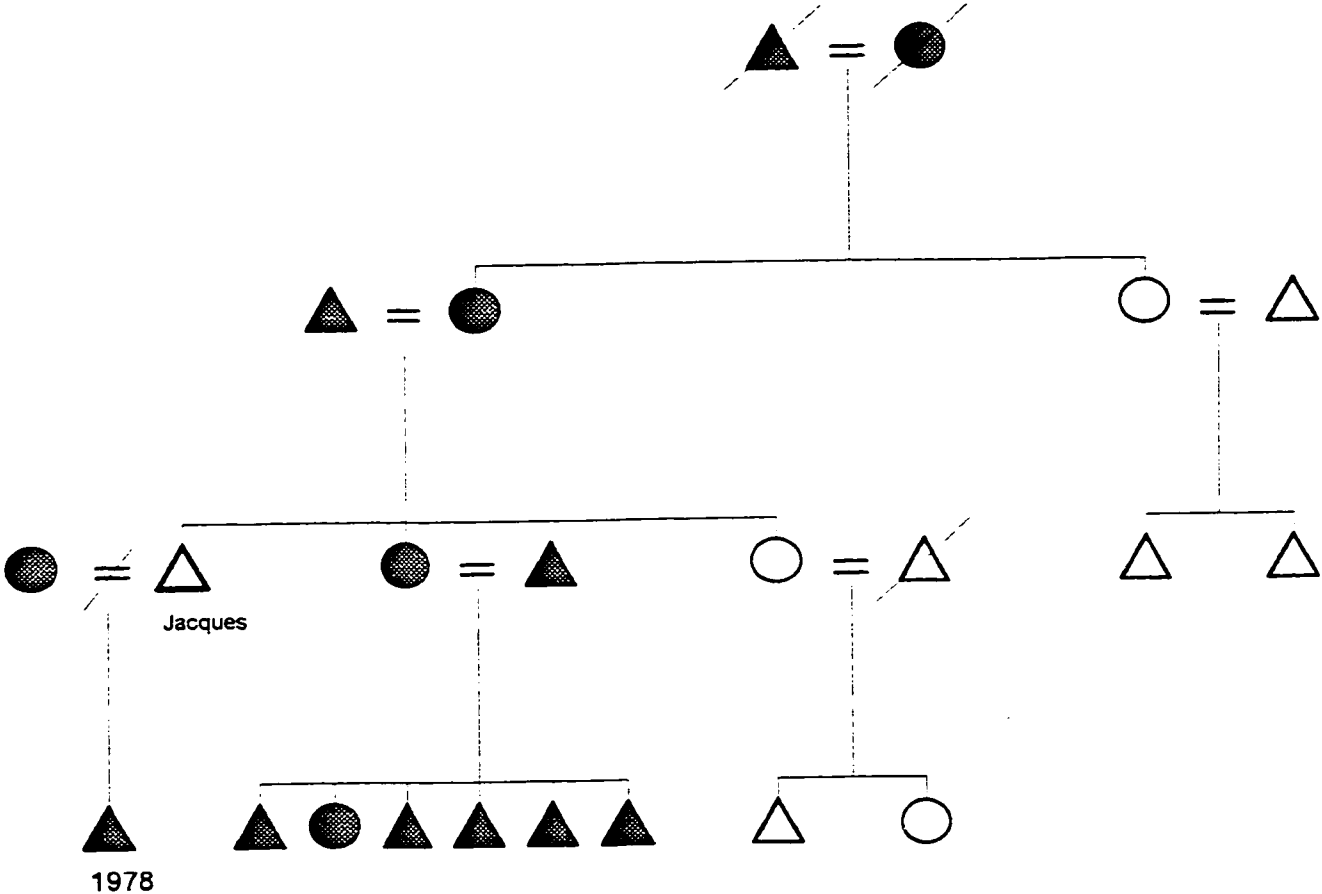
 FRANCE

 ISRAEL

JACQUES

Year of birth : 1949

Year of arrival : 1990



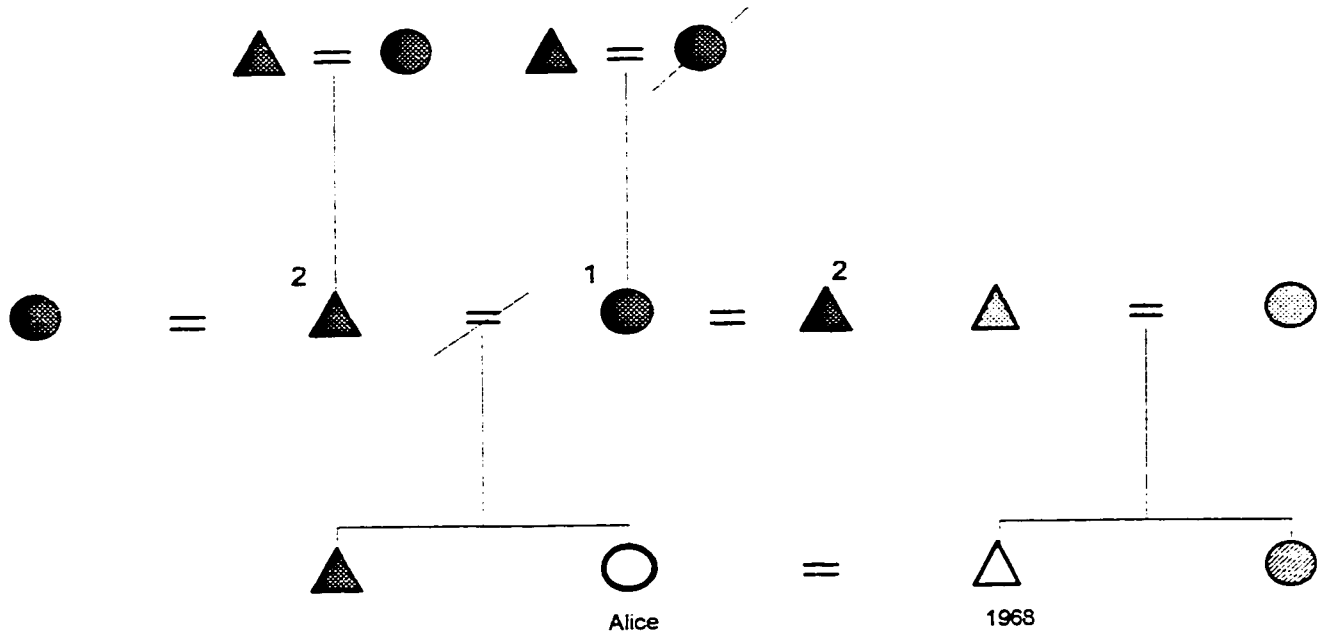
 CANADA

 FRANCE

ALICE

Year of birth : 1964

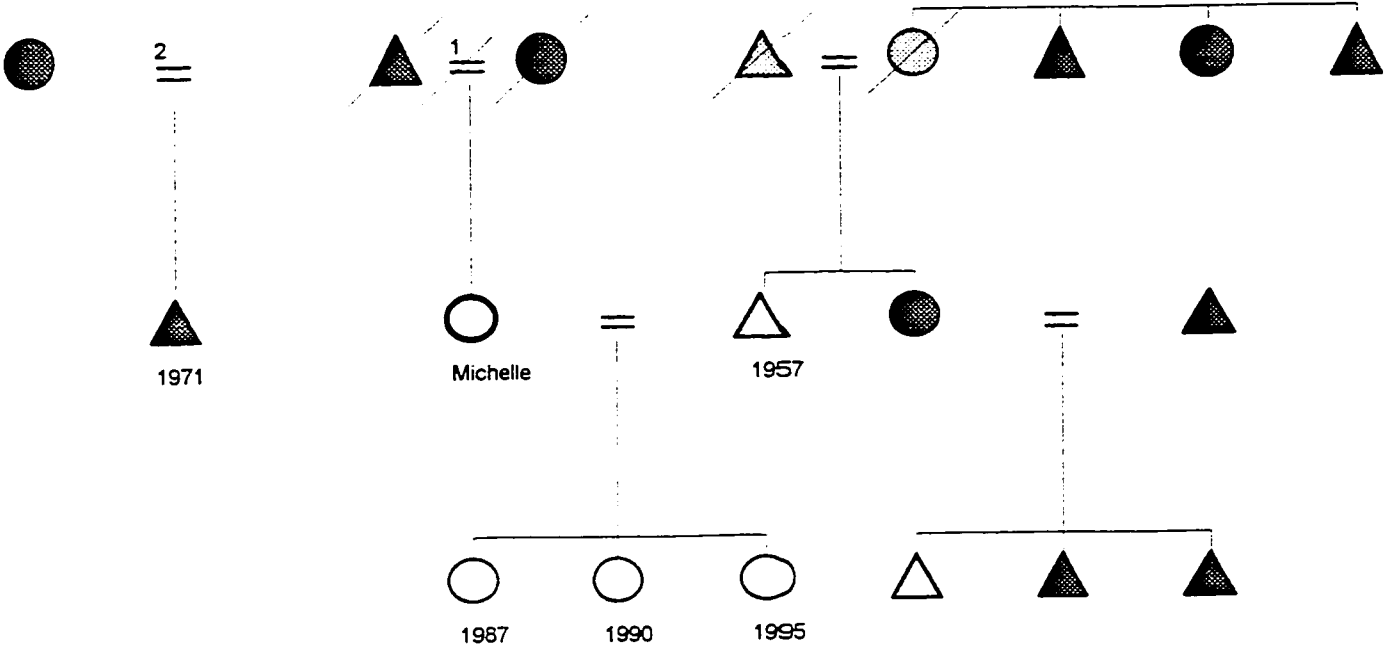
Year of arrival : 1994



MICHELLE

Year of birth : 1959

Year of arrival : 1978



 CANADA

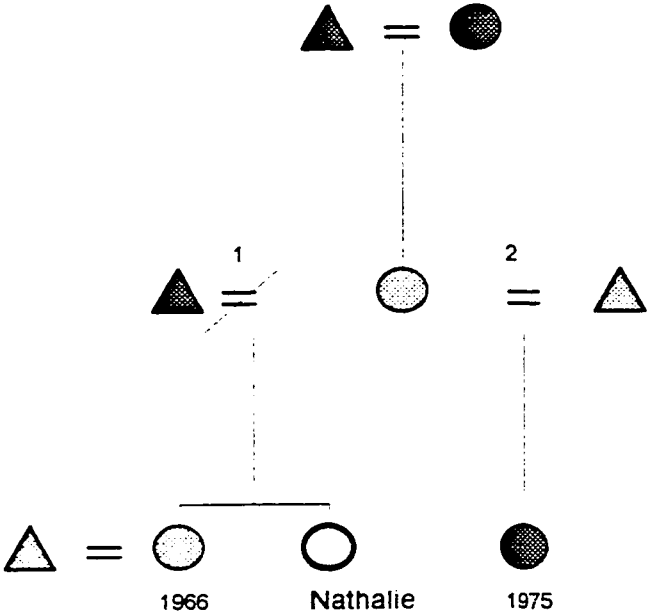
 FRANCE

 MOROCCO

NATHALIE

Year of birth : 1969

Year of arrival : 1994



 CANADA

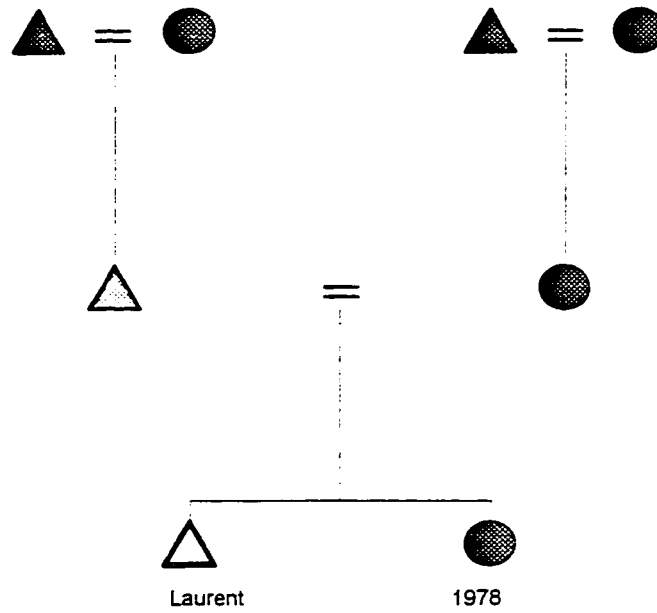
 FRANCE

 SENEGAL

LAURENT

Year of birth : 1972

Year of arrival : 1995




CANADA

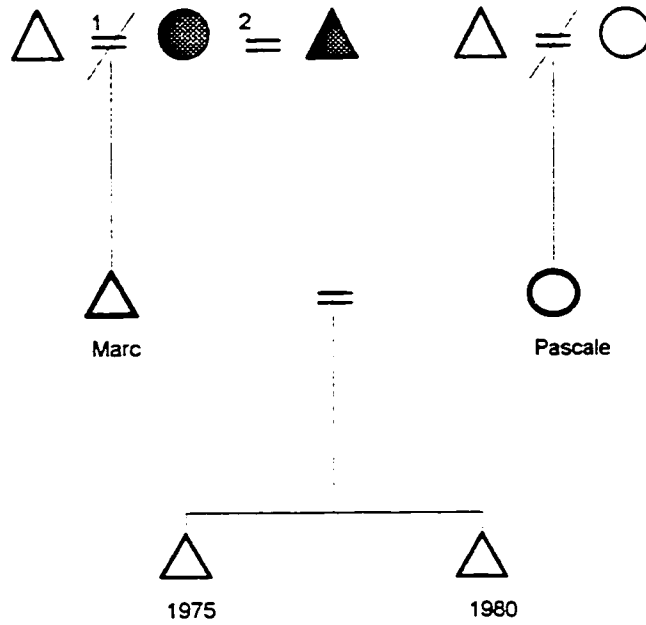

FRANCE


SENEGAL

MARC & PASCALE

Year of birth : 1943
Year of arrival : 1955

Year of birth : 1947
Year of arrival : 1956



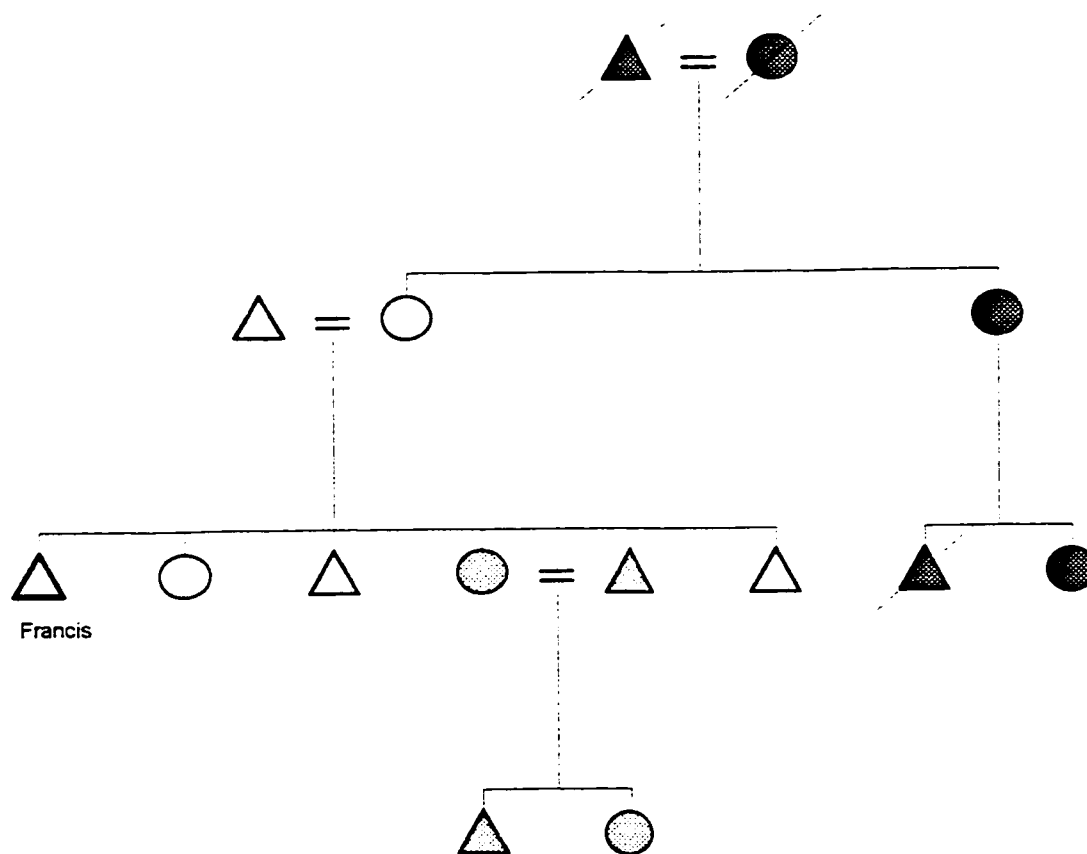

CANADA


FRANCE

FRANCIS

Year of birth : 1944

Year of arrival : 1949



 CANADA

 FRANCE

 SWITZERLAND

Conclusions

Home and Away

"Transnational social fields are in part shaped by the migrants' perceptions that they must keep their options open. In the globalized economy that has developed over the past several years there is a sense that no one place is truly secure although people do have access to many places" (Basch et al.:1992:12).

A sample of French immigrants in Montreal invest much of their time and money in transnational connections. They want to travel and yet stay at home through familiar institutions such as schools and the media. Immigrating to Quebec gives them the best of both worlds as they can feel quite at home where nearly everyone speaks their language. They are well accepted by French Canadians. Indeed, French immigrants from the former colonies feel much more welcome in Canada than in the metropole where some prejudice exists towards the "pieds noirs", particularly those who are Jewish or from North Africa.

Globalization has perhaps led to fewer boundaries between the French and French Canadians than in the past as contact between peoples is omnipresent in a global system. In Montreal the French

do not seem to feel the need for an ethnic community as this is usually conceptualized as they are able to be in direct contact with France through communication systems and the media. Perhaps, this will also occur in other ethnic communities who will change from locally based communities to exclusively transnational communities as far as contact with the country of origin is concerned. The community in the receiving community may also become language based rather than ethnically based. This appears to be happening in the Latin American community in Montreal where Spanish speaking people have created somewhat of a community. There are also Spanish language part-time schools for children from Spain and Spanish speaking Latin America.

There was formerly a French cocoon of French nationals who got together in restaurants but today the French cocoon in Montreal is created by communication systems such as TV 5, the French language transnational television station, rather than by social relationships. Contact between human beings seems to be decreasing in general in favour of contact with machines such as computers, telephones and television.

Moreover, France aids the French overseas by supplying state funded metropolitan schools which are staffed by French nationals. Nationalism may be a reason for attending the schools as may be the preservation of the auditive marker in the French language.

Transnationalism- Advantages and Disadvantages

All of the French in the sample except for the second generation spend thousands of dollars every year to keep in contact with their families and friends outside of Canada. For some, migrating to Canada means an increase in their socio-economic status while for others because of all the expenses involved in leading a transnational life, they may be less well off than they would have been had they remained in France.

People in the food service industries seem to improve their socio-economic status by migrating and make up the largest occupational group of French in Canada and probably worldwide. Many eventually open their own restaurants and bakeries. People in other occupations retain their socio-economic class positions in Canada but private metropolitan schools, trips "home" and telephone bills can be very expensive. Return migration or yoyo migration depletes the coffers as well.

Reasons for Transnationalism

Family ties are the main reason given for keeping in touch with France. Many seem to feel pressured to travel to France every year to see family. Telephoning often may be out of a sense of obligation also. Those who have divorced parents perhaps prefer not to be too close to unpleasant situations. From Canada, it is possible to keep in touch but at a distance. However, those with divorced parents also telephone every other week, spend a month in

France every year and receive many visitors.

Keeping in touch with the labour market on both sides of the Atlantic is also made possible by transnational connections. As the French in Canada are often binationals, the labour markets of many countries are open to them and they may re-migrate or return because of changes in their employment prospects.

Problematics of Migration

While probably having more difficulties than Hannerz's elite occupational transnationals (1992, 1996), middle class migrants from France in Quebec have far fewer problems than economically depressed or racially marginalized transmigrants. There are, however, some difficult moments in a nearly optimum immigration scenario.

In the case of return migration or circuit migration, an equal or similar position may not be available when the migrant returns and/or overseas experience may not be considered as valuable. There is also the cost of moving; even if not financial, as the employer may pay for an employees's relocation in a transnational company. Moving is always stressful.

Another problem is the children for whom "home" is usually in Canada and who may not wish to return to France with their parents. "Home" may also have changed and the migrants may not feel entirely

at home anywhere.

Further Research

This thesis while a small ethnographic study brings out several points which could lead to further research. One of these is that there is an enormous gap in the literature on migration from North America and the European Union as most studies focus on migration to the above areas, that is to say migration from the poorer parts of the globe to the richer areas and on labour migrants almost exclusively.

Another point is that the effects of post-colonialism and neo-colonialism on present day migration, ethnicity and transnational projects has also largely been neglected as a field of study in the social sciences. Most work on post-colonialism seems to be in the field of cultural studies such as that by Said (1973, 1993).

Other research could be undertaken to see if other ex-patriate communities have developed transnational connections exclusively with the homeland instead of participating in an ethnic community and also maintaining transnational networks.

There are many British and American ex-patriates living and working overseas. A project could be to investigate their social networks to see if they are bounded by ethnicity and/or

nationality, whether they participate in a language based or nationality based community and whether they are transnationals. Their childrens' ethnic identity and the place they call "home" may or may not be similar to the findings of that of the study of the French in Quebec.

Britain has a recent colonial history in many countries; much more recent than that of France in Quebec. The transnational status hierarchy provided by colonialism still seems to be in place in France vis-à-vis perceptions of the old colonies. Another research project could be on the British migrating to Canada, Australia or New Zealand as to whether a transnational status hierarchy shapes their perceptions of the former colonies.

It would also be interesting to do a study on British immigrants in English Canada to see if there are similarities with the lives of French immigrants in French Canada as to the ethnic community and transnational connections. One would expect some congruence because of colonial ties although Britain does not have a state school system overseas. To my knowledge, the second generation of British children in Canada does not continue the auditive marker of a different vocabulary and accent in English (from that of Canadian English).

Another gap in the literature is the effects of transmigration on families. Research could be undertaken to study how family ties are maintained when migration takes place and on the problems involved which occur even in the best case scenarios such as that of the French in Montreal. An interesting study could be the so-

called astronauts, wealthy Hong Kong businessmen with overseas passports, some of whom own property in Vancouver, Canada, who are always travelling and the effects of this kind of transnationalism on family life and inter-generational ties. Globalization facilitates transnationalism and much more research needs to be done in this area.

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