

**The French in Shanghai: A Study of Cosmopolitan Culture under
the Predominance of Anglo-American Globalization**

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of the Requirement for the Degree of
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Abstract

Hou Jing Rong

This research asks whether the French expatriates residing in Shanghai are cosmopolitan. Do the French retain the basic elements of their culture of origin within a mostly exclusive French community? Or, due to the nature of the globalized corporate world to which they belong, do they develop a community as part of an international cosmopolitan one with its own cultural norms and patterns of behavior?

Globalization and transnationalism make us homogenized and heterogenized at the same time. This research looks into the social interactions of the French with other nationalities, and goes beyond the daily life in Shanghai to investigate the transnational connections with France. Based on interviews and participant observation for 12 months in 2006, this research finds that the majority of the French expatriates in Shanghai develop a cosmopolitan culture which incorporates the consumption of exotic cultural products of the Other—Asian antiques, furniture, Chinese materials which are not for decoration, reading French literature including that on the exotic Asia, learning Chinese and English language, speaking English, mobility, and French lifestyle. However, they are not cosmopolitan in terms of social network.

Globalization has witnessed the wide-spread adoption of English language and Anglo-American culture. Today the French, a previous world power, are still trying to promote the radiance of French *haute culture*. This research adds to the study of cultural imperialism and also contributes to the anthropological study of foreign communities in China, by linking cosmopolitanism, globalization, and transnationalism.

上海的法國人—英美主導的全球化背景下的都市文化研究

侯井榕

本研究探討居住于上海的法國人是否乐于接受其他文化。他們是自成一體 還是相反地，融入到眾多的外國人社區中？

全球化和跨國主義使得我們變得一致化，同時又異質化。本研究探索法國人與其他國籍的文化社群的社會文化互動，并調查他們與法國的聯系。研究于 2006 年進行，為期 12 個月，于 2007 年 1 月結束第一次調查。第二次調查持續大約一個月，在 2008 年 12 月完成。研究發現大多數的法國人并不很乐于融到其他文化中去。但是他們的文化表現出了對異文化的接納性。此文化包括對有異國情調的文化產品的消費，包括亞洲的古玩、家具、中國的一些并不用于裝飾的日用物品、讀法國文學、包括關於浪漫的亞洲文學、學習英文和中文、生活流動性和法國生活方式。其余人則對其他社區表現出很大的興趣。

全球化已經見證了英美文化在全球的廣泛傳播。作為一個昔日的世界權勢，今天的法國人仍然努力傳播他們的高文化光芒。本研究希望通過上海的法國人的調查能進一步對文化帝國主義的話語的作出貢獻，也希望通過把全球化、跨國網絡、和都市文化的討論，對居住于中國的外國人社區的研究作出貢獻。

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Language and Expression

Language

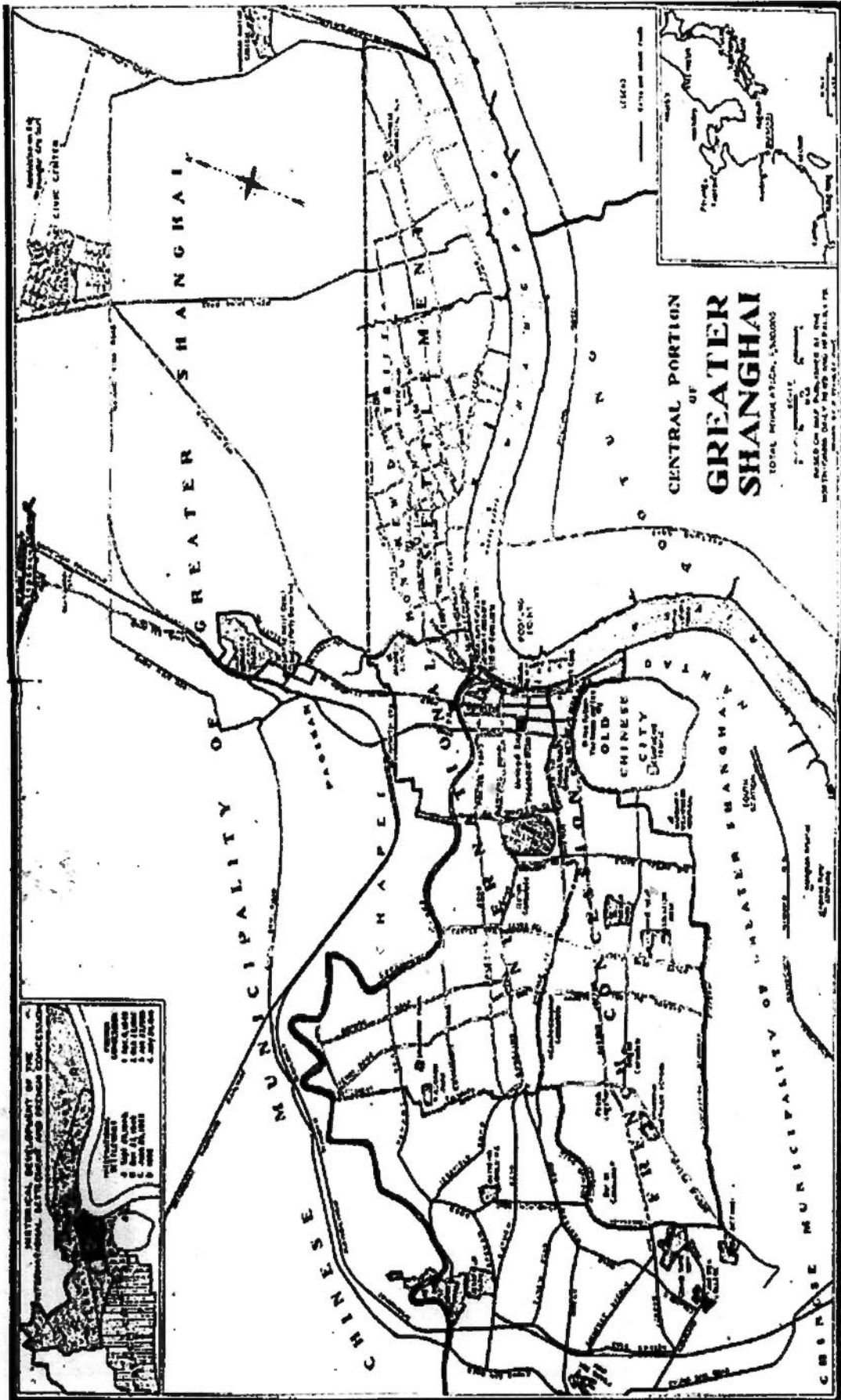
In this thesis, French and Chinese words are both written in italics. Chinese words are written according to the *pinyin* system and without tones.

Expression

Some of the expressions follow what is used locally. Some French slang is used so as not to change the words of the informants. The Chinese word “*ayi*” is used in the thesis to follow Shanghai practice. Generally “*ayi*” in Chinese (aunt in English) is the address for a woman who belongs to an older generation while in Shanghai term of the female domestic workers and cleaners in commercial companies are called “*ayi*”.

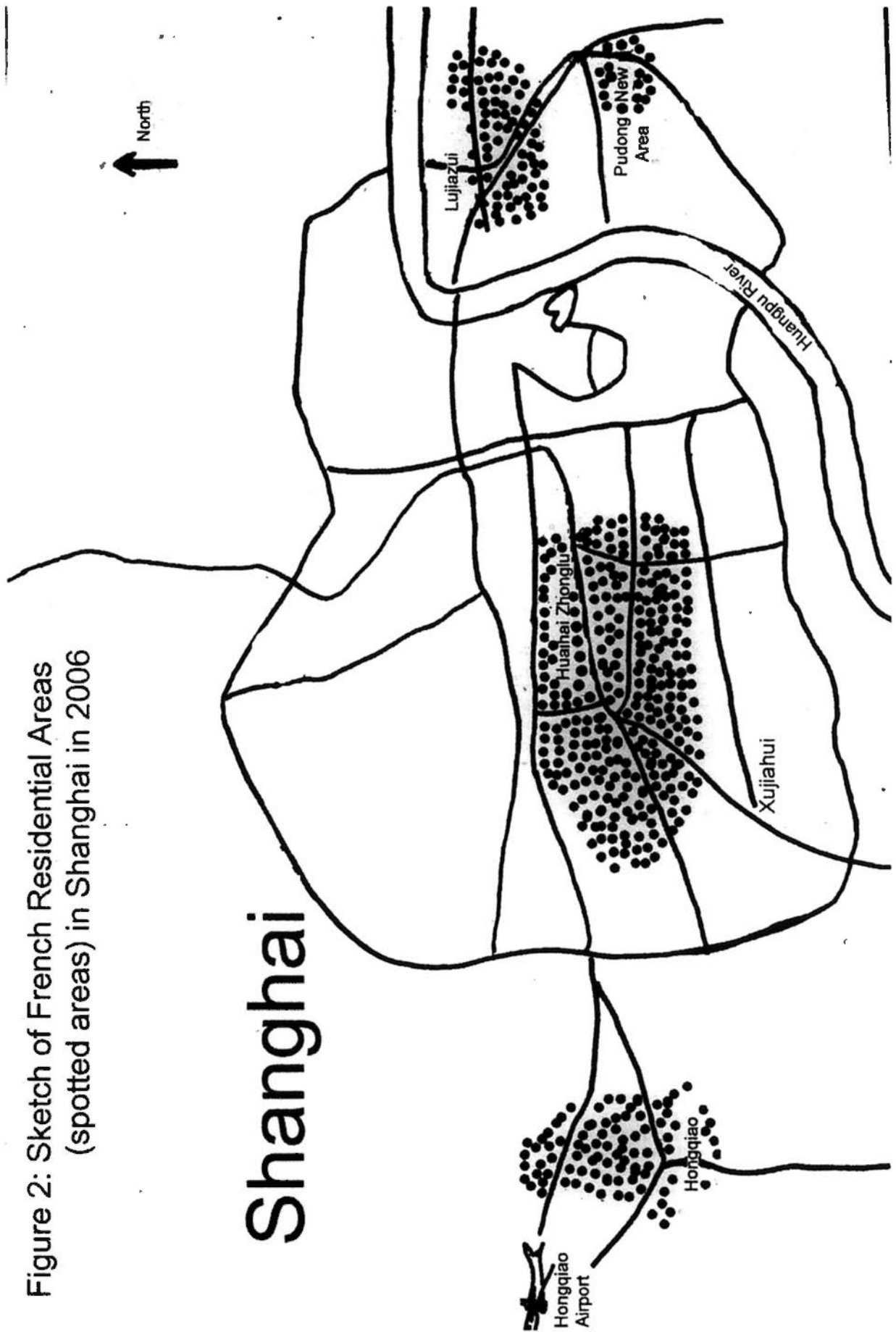
In addition, for the sake of confidentiality, nearly all personal names in the thesis are pseudonyms.

Figure 1. Map of historical foreign settlements in Shanghai (undated but from internal evidence, in the late 1910s)



source: Pan Ling. 1984. Old Shanghai Gangsters in Paradise.

Figure 2: Sketch of French Residential Areas
(spotted areas) in Shanghai in 2006



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Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis is a study of the French expatriates residing in Shanghai to see to what degree globalization forces them to adopt Anglo-American culture. Or in other words, this research looks at the relation between power, mobility, and ideology. In this global world, what is the cultural consequence of increasing mobility and economic and political power? Is it a new cultural imperialism or cosmopolitanism? This study will answer these questions by examining the French expatriates' pop culture, networks and social relations in Shanghai.

Ever since the 1980s, we have witnessed the increasingly intensive economic globalization which has helped to spread cultural products. During this process, the most obvious phenomenon is the power of American economy and the spread of American mass culture. Consequently, for example, in France, the import of American culture has made many French scared of Americanization. For instance, English has become the second foreign language. Hollywood movies enjoy popularity among the French. The French also eat more fast food than before. Actually France now has over 800 McDonald's restaurants. Leaving aside José Bové (the farmer who drove a tractor into a McDonald's), many French seem to enjoy *McDo* as it is called by the French. In other parts of the world such as Africa, South and Southeast Asia, we have seen the growing reach of Western multinational corporations (Sklair 1991). Globalization has assisted in cultural exchanges by bringing Western ideologies and civilizations to the East and vice versa. During this process, the party that has stronger economic power often plays a decisive role in affecting the direction of the cultural exchanges as its economic might can help to spread the use of its language and its ideology. The widespread use of any language often connotes a predominant cultural power and cultural dominance can sometimes

be seen as cultural imperialism (Tomlinson 1991). Many are convinced that a globalized world is becoming homogenized or westernized, more specifically dominated by American culture.

Globalization has also brought in multiple flows of people, commodities, and currents of information, symbols from other parts of the world. However, the spread of commodities from other parts of the world and consuming them does not mean a person is cosmopolitan, because cosmopolitanism is a matter of world view or attitude instead of a sum of cultural traits. The word cosmopolitan is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as “belonging to all parts of the world, not restricted to any one country or its inhabitants” (1989: 985). That is to say a cosmopolitan is open-minded and receptive.

Nevertheless, this “cosmopolitan reality” (Beck 2002: 29) has increasingly opened up social spaces that make it possible for social actions to go beyond the local and national. In addition, this “cosmopolitan society” (Beck 2002) provides us with more choices than before which makes it difficult to generalize a socio-cultural group. However, as every socio-cultural group lives within a given historical, social, and cultural context, decisions among its members are made within this context. Every group is distinctive in its cultural behavior, cultural flavor, its mythology, its rituals and customs.

Globalization and Culture

By examining whether the French expatriates in Shanghai adopt American culture my research seeks to understand cultural consequence of globalization. This era of globalization, argues Beck (2002), is a process of cosmopolitanization. During this process, modern communication and technology provide easy access to foreign media and allow travel across a long distance in a short time. These, in turn, expose

people to cultures beyond their own and as a result, many people are attracted to the otherness of the Others, finding them more satisfactory to their own national culture or, at least to aspects of their native culture. In other words, some people become cosmopolitan because of globalization. However, it is doubtful that this cosmopolitanization leads to the loss of ethnic memory and history. Globalization is also a narrative of power, Beck (2002: 34) argues, and the power of the state is withdrawing and receding to multinationals. It may be true that multinationals are sweeping the land around the world, and their social actors—expatriates—are increasingly crossing the border and seem to be beyond the control of states, but the narrative of power of states persists. The French also have witnessed the growth of American influence in France. That is why the French government tries so hard to continue to spread their cultural radiance (*le rayonnement de la culture française*) against Anglo-Americans. In the early 1990s, France was also fretting about the development of common European market that French National Geography Committee felt the need to talk about French position in Europe and worldwide. That was how the book “*La France dans Le Monde*” (*France in the World*) (1992) came into being. It remains to be seen whether the French expatriates reduce their French cultural attachment to the otherness.

To see whether the French expatriates are cosmopolitan, I investigate their everyday engagements with people, events and things both local and global, for example, what they watch and listen to, food preferences, and whether they buy local produce. Specifically, I explore whether their network is primarily based on relations with other French, or whether it includes other foreigners and Chinese. The goal is to see how much they adopt other cultures, including the Anglo-American culture, the degree to which the French are in practice creating an exclusively French community

as opposed to an international community, or a hybrid Chinese-French community. To what degree do French business professionals working in Shanghai follow a global way, a French cosmopolitan way, and/or a hybrid Chinese-French way?

In the 1990s, there were serious discussions on the influence of globalization on culture. Scholars like Mike Featherstone, Anthony Smith, and Roland Robertson argued about the hybridization of culture as a result of globalization and the idea of global culture (see the 1990 *Theory, Culture and Society* special issue on “global culture”). Featherstone argued that globalization has produced global cultures which are in the form of “third cultures”. In addition, global cultures are not to be conceived as the culture of the nation-state writ large (Featherstone 1993: 173). But “third cultures” discussed by Featherstone are corporate cultures developed in global corporations:

The majority of these third cultures draw upon the culture of the parent country from which the organization originated. It is therefore evident that the *cultures which are developing in many of the global financial firms* have been dominated by American practices. The same situation applies with regard to many industries, such as television, film and advertising. (Featherstone 1993: 174, italics added)

A corporate culture is tied to corporate values, goals and interests but this thesis is looking at social interactions outside these business corporations instead of the work life within them. Featherstone seems to acknowledge the domination of American practices in multinational corporations although what he is talking about is corporate culture. In other words, his “global culture” is a euphemism for Anglo-American corporate culture.

In another similar discussion of global and local culture, Featherstone (1995: 91) argues that increasing cultural flows between nations do not necessarily produce a greater tolerance and cosmopolitanism, because the meeting of different cultural flows can lead to the retreat into one’s secure niche of ethnicity or traditionalism. On the

other hand, the emergence of a global culture assumes that people accept other cultures and are willing to experience them and adopt aspects of them. In other words, these people take the globe as one world which has no boundary by accepting other cultures as equally valid and even seeking to experience them. This is what scholars also describe as “cosmopolitanism”.

Today, migrating humans are able to travel and reside in foreign societies without sacrificing the customs and products with which they were socialized or enculturated. This is due in large measure to technological development. Through modern air travel, nowhere in the world is one physically more than a day’s journey away from any other part of the world. This provides the modern traveller with a feeling of security. The time-span is reduced to seconds through modern communication. Satellites permit us to communicate by phone and even to send images across tens of thousands of kilometers in what is effectively “real time.” The invention of television has made it possible for the French in Shanghai to enjoy the same shows being shown in France. Food, clothing, and other material goods, even daily newspapers, are at your doorstep “overnight” through the courtesy of express carriers like DHL, Federal Express or UPS. In short, if the French in Shanghai wish to be “French” they certainly have many facilities available to do so. But, as indicated in the beginning of this chapter, there are just as many forces that facilitate their adopting other cultural products and behaviors.

Transnational business professionals travel frequently beyond the borders around the world. However, they do not necessarily become cosmopolitan as social interactions induced by transnationalism and globalization make many people realize that they are different from others. In this global era, Jonathan Friedman (2003) argues, many European urban areas where immigrants have tended to live have witnessed the rise of enclavization because of lack of integration and exclusion from labor markets.

This enclavization is demonstrated in the “practice of cultural identification in which origins, language, and history are summoned in the construction of collectivities” (Friedman 2003: 746). Expatriates are not immigrants, but they are similar to those immigrants mentioned by Friedman in the way that they do not really integrate into the local society and there is an exclusion from the local host society. But how cultural origins, languages, and history influence their social interaction needs further research. It is in this sense I expect this study helps to understand the relationship between cultural origin, history and social interaction.

A Cosmopolitan Culture?

Culture in the holistic sense is a process rather than a fixed, closed, stable structure or a boundary-maintaining system. In a dynamic world, it should be seen as an on-going and non-stop process. Through culture, people produce, reproduce, or reconstruct meanings and common routines. In particular, today when different cultures come together, the exchanges between them disrupt their boundaries (Yanagisako 2002: 6). At the same time, phrases of national culture such as “French Culture,” as practiced in either France or in Shanghai, require relative meaning – the boundary-maintaining sense. Then we can best define it as a process of French identification that tends to translate the cultural difference into practices and evolve through accepting new elements continuously.

A 2002 document from the United Nations agency UNESCO states that culture is the “set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs”. This is apparently based on Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn’s 1952 study: *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definition*. These two American anthropologists compiled a

list of more than 200 different definitions of culture. In the final analysis they came up with a definition not too distinct from that of Sir Edward B. Tylor who in 1871, wrote that “culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.” A small but important detail is that Tylor was defining culture in the holistic sense (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952).

Along this line of thought, we can view the culture that is forming in the French expatriates in Shanghai as the behavior they learn as a member of French society. But as culture never stops incorporating new elements, the meaning of being French also changes with time. However, the question is whether these French expatriates form a French cosmopolitan culture which can involve the incorporation of new Anglo-American elements without feeling less French and without being viewed as less French by others in the French and expat communities.

However, determining whether or not the French in Shanghai are “cosmopolitan” creates a problem as cosmopolitan is individual. Are we really dealing with ordinary French citizens who, because of their displacement for employment purposes, learn one or more foreign languages and explore a new cuisine? Are they thus becoming global? Or are they adopting new foods in large part because they are more convenient to obtain than their accustomed diet? Are they more aware of cultural differences than they would be by simply tuning in on a documentary film about China on a French television channel but which really has little impact on their general “enculturated French behavior?” Are those French who show evidence of “cosmopolitanism” merely behaving as do most persons who are raised in metropolitan environments but have never left France and would be quite unhappy to leave? Does the French person

employed in Shanghai practically never leave his European-style apartment, decorated with French-style furniture, and spend all his or her time either in the place of employment or the residence? In short, what is cosmopolitanism and how does one measure it? Is it little more than a “buzz” word?

The word “cosmopolitan”, derived from the Greek word of “cosmos” (world) and “polis” (city), refers to “citizens of the world”. For cosmopolitanism there is no a consensus definition as different scholars define it from different angles. For instance, for Hannerz (1996), cosmopolitanism is more an attitude and a tendency. Thus, the concept of cosmopolitan culture remains unclear.

As a tentative definition for this research, cosmopolitan culture will be taken to mean open to multicultural experiences, not “overly” dependant on one’s formative cultural affiliations, and displaying cultural merging. However, I need to point out here that this is different from what the French writer Victor Segalen (2002) says about exoticism in the colonialism period. For him, exoticism is based on cultural diversity, but it can only be achieved when one tries to experience the diversity and while remaining detached or as he writes, “[I]immerse myself in them, then extricate myself from them in order to maintain their objective flavor” (Segalen 2002: 32). For example, “while experiencing China profoundly, I have never had the desire to be Chinese. While I have felt the force of the Vedic dawn, I have never really regretted not being born three thousand years earlier and a herdsman” (ibid: 49). What he really means is to fully appreciate exoticism, one should not become a member of the subject. In addition, he (ibid: 21) argues exoticism comes from incomprehensibility of the other rather than comprehension and it is appreciation of difference instead of adaptation. Cosmopolitanism and Segalen’s exoticism are similar in the way they both point to cultural diversity. However, different from appreciating the exoticism,

being cosmopolitan is to be open to multicultural experiences and involves adaptation to these cultures. Additionally, a cosmopolite understands the otherness of the Other rather than finding it incomprehensible. Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan culture will be further discussed in the next chapter.

The meaning of globalization, on the other hand, is somewhat more complex. According to the Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, “globalization” covers a variety of distinct political, economic, and cultural trends; it is often used as a synonym for different phenomena. In popular discourse, globalization may be little more than a synonym for ideas such as “economic liberalization” or the pursuit of classical liberal or free market policies in the world economy; Westernization or Americanization, in reference to the growing dominance of European and/or U.S. forms of political, economic and cultural beliefs; the “Internet Revolution” which includes the advancement of information technology in general; or even “global integration,” based on the notion that humanity is poised to become a single unified community (as the European Community is struggling to do) and that as a result, major sources of social conflict will disappear (Zalta 2006). More discussions of globalization and its influence on intercultural interactions will be in the coming chapters.

Defining Expatriates

Globalization has created a more compact and interconnected world, as Harvey (1989) writes, “time and space are compressed.” Since the 1980s, with economic expansion and flexible accumulation, we have witnessed the rise of a highly globalized economy, the burgeoning of multinational corporations, the relocation of plants, the emergence of global cities, and the emergence of their representative—the mobile business professionals (Sassen 1991, Friedman 2003, Scott 2006). In a way we

have come to an era of the “expatriate” phenomenon. The expatriate phenomenon is ubiquitous in global cities where many multinational corporations are concentrated and with which cosmopolitanism dispositions are closely associated (Featherstone 2002). These expatriates are less embedded within nation-state societies, enjoy rather easy physical movement and communication, and they are “in stark contrast to those who are confined to place, whose fate is to remain located (Featherstone 2002, Laschi 1996). In 1977, Eric Cohen’s (1977) summary of previous studies on expatriate communities, particularly American expatriates around the world, pointed out the importance of the expatriate study. However, their importance and persistence has not captured enough attention as a sociologically distinct analytical category.

The term “expatriate” in English originally refers to a person who is driven away or banished from his native country, or one who withdraws or renounces his allegiance to it. Today it often means someone who leaves his or her native country temporarily. Eric Cohen (ibid) uses “expatriate” to refer to a range of people who live away from their country of origin, including business people, people on their mission (diplomats, military stationed abroad, missionaries, etc), people in culture spheres (academics, scientists and artists), and some wealthy and the retired.

In French “*expatrié*” (expatriate), according to the dictionary *Le Grand Robert* (Rey 2001: 446), is “*qui a quitté sa patrie ou qui en a été chassé*” (someone who has left his or her country or who has been expelled from it). “*Expatrier*” means “*expulser ou envoyer loin de la patrie*” (to expel or send far from the country) (*Larousse de la langue française*, 1979: 1355). However, among the French living abroad today, “*expatrié*” is used to refer more specifically to people who are sent abroad by their company or the government for a short time, or people who only intend to stay for a short time abroad with their career as their prime objective rather than to discover or

learn about the people among whom they live. Thus “*expatrié*” in French often carries a meaning of foreigners with a distant relationship with the locals. In this thesis I will use “expatriate” for all the French people as this is a study of French persons living abroad and use the French word “*expatrié*” to refer to the people who are sent by their company.

Expatriates are described as typical transnational people who live dual lives: “speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders” (Portes *et al.* 1999: 217). Some studies of expatriates discuss the cultural consequence of globalization. An obvious aspect is that Anglo-American culture has greatly influenced mobile business professionals. This is because as Thomas Friedman (2000: xix) describes, “Today’s era is dominated by American power, American culture, the American dollar and the American Navy.” Featherstone also notes (2002:1) that, expatriates from Anglophone societies, such as the United States and Britain are more salient in this age of globalization because of their strong economy. Echoing a similar theme, Morgan (2001) argues that a transnational community forming among business professionals is dominated by American ideas. A transnational community dominated by American ideas implies the culture formed in this community is also American, or perhaps, Anglo-American. The question to ask in regards to this premise of American domination is: Do the French, whose government tries to promote the idea that “French culture represents universal civilization and the meta-culture of humankind” (Featherstone 1995: 31) and who complain about American cultural imperialism, resist American influence in their work or at least in their normal non-business behavior, or are they also forced by globalization to adopt this American culture?

The French in China

Given the “compression of time and space” (Harvey 1989), and the availability of French television, videos and other accoutrements, it would be interesting to learn if some French persons were interacting more with other foreigners and forming an incipient new culture, which is neither French nor Chinese, nor Anglo/American. There are still other alternatives, of course, one of which is the formation of a hybrid Chinese-French community. All these must be viewed within the context of the global city of Shanghai and against the historical ties between the French and the city of Shanghai. Levi-Strauss (1963:3) writes, “The problem of reconstructing a past whose history we are incapable of grasping confronts ethnology more particularly; the problem of writing the history of a present without a past confronts ethnography.” Many contemporary ethnographies tend to be ahistorical—history is often overlooked in the description of the present. However, nearly everything develops based on a historical past root although sometimes there may be a rupture. Many things in the present have a root here or there. We cannot get a whole picture if we leave out the past. This research focuses on the French expatriates today in Shanghai. But we have to look back the history in order to see the sentiment and base of the current community. On the other hand, as this research is on the cultural influence of globalization, history which is incorporated into the development of culture will be an important part of the discussion. Furthermore, the past social life of foreign communities in Shanghai’s golden era can serve as a comparison with today’s French community.

Shanghai, located at the estuary of the Yangtze River, was chosen as the site for this study partially because of the historical connections. The establishment of the French Concession in Shanghai was a testimony of French colonialism. Shanghai

was called “petit Paris” during the concession period. Examining the French in Shanghai in today’s globalization era provide a continuity of history within the contemporary global context.

Furthermore, Shanghai is China’s most global and cosmopolitan city, with the largest number of French persons residing in China. Until the 1860s, Shanghai was only a midsize port on the Huangpu River. However, the Treaty of Nanking signed in 1842 after the defeat of the Opium War pushed Shanghai onto the international stage. Concessions were granted to Western powers and foreign settlements drew in loads of foreign products, along with the establishment of factories, banks and companies, which made Shanghai a modern industrial and manufacturing center. In the 1920s and 1930s Shanghai was one of the most important cities of Asia and perhaps the world. During its heyday in the 1920s, Shanghai was “a meeting ground for people from all countries, a great and a unique city, one of the most remarkable in the world” (Pott 1928:1). For its fame, Shanghai was called the “Paris in the Orient”, “little Vienna”, “Proud Queen of the Pacific”, and “Little Tokyo’ (Pan 1991: 4, 14). During these periods, Shanghai presented an image of cosmopolitanism.

The historical French Concession did not really start until October 1844 when the first French Plenipotentiary, de Lagrené, signed the Treaty of Whampoa with the Chinese authorities about 10 weeks after Great Britain and the United States signed a similar treaty (Lanning and Couling 1973: 452). These and other Europeans established themselves in Shanghai and by 1937 some 2342 French—bankers, engineers, doctors, servicemen, missionaries, lawyers, and journalists—resided in the French settlement. Over the years French residents felt the need to create a familiar environment and created a “petite Paris in the Orient”. They had their own clubs, schools, theatres, and sport associations where they could meet and practice their

hobbies. They went to theater, cinema, racecourse, game centers, and bars in grand modern hotels, which were grand places in Shanghai (FD 2006).

History has influenced and continues to play a part in Shanghai's attraction. French architecture and the plane tree (platanus, a genus of tree, *platane* in French, *wutong* in Chinese) still found in the historical French concession area (see Figure 1.1), have become one of the attractions that Shanghai has for tourists, including the French. Seeing plane trees provide a nostalgic element for many French residing in Shanghai. It was believed that it was the French who planted the plane trees in Shanghai. Consequently the French concession area is one of the areas where the French concentrate today. In terms of contemporary architecture, some of Shanghai's new buildings are designed by French architects, for example, the Pudong International Airport, the Shanghai Museum, and the new Grand Opera House. In addition, in the old French concession area, French style buildings can still be found, such as around Jianguo Road, Middle Fuxing Road, and South Chongqing Road (see Figure 1.2 and 1.3). All this make the French who live in Shanghai proud and find the city comfortable and familiar. In France there is a strong interest in the history and the culture of the former colonies (Murray 2002, Rouso 1991) as they are the *lieux de memoire* (Nora 1986), embodying concrete traces of the past, visible and durable signs of its past. Quite a few French in Shanghai I interviewed mentioned their attitude towards former French colonies and they would like to visit Algeria because that is the place where their grandparents lived. In other words, the nostalgia for former colonies is an indicator of the collective memory of the empire. In the words of an informant, "There is strong evidence of French culture still being alive in Shanghai." Today, the old French quarter is one of the most important commercial centers and entertainment areas of the city.



Figure 1.1 Middle Fuxing Road with the plane (*platane* in French, *wutong* in Chinese) trees.



Figure 1.2 and Figure 1.3 French style buildings in the old French concession along South Chongqing Road, opposite the Catholic church Saint Peter, taken in November 2008.

During the early concession period, writes Miller (1994: 239), there were several Shanghais: the Shanghai of the Chinese, of the Anglo-Americans, of the French.

Many Chinese lived in the area of international settlement and the French concession. By 1885, the proportion of the Chinese and the foreigners was around 35:1 and within the French Concession, there were about 25,000 Chinese and 300 Europeans (Pan 1991: 19). However, in the 1920s and 1930s there was another Shanghai in addition to the three mentioned by Miller: Russian Shanghai. Although most of them were refugees, by the 1930s the Russian population had far exceeded that of other foreigners and reached over 12,000 (Wang 1993, Ristaino 1998). Many Russians lived in the French concession. The street Avenue Joffre (today's Huaihai Road) in the French concession was named "little Russia" because of the Russian presence (Sergeant 1990: 36). The map of Historical foreign settlement shows the locations of different Shanghai (see Figure 1). From the map, we can see the International settlement was larger than the French Concession, which covered the present Luwan, Xujiahui districts, and part of Hongqiao district.

Obviously, for the French, more so perhaps than for other European expatriates, Shanghai exercises a "centripetal force" as a symbol of the past and of glory, not only because of the global status of Shanghai (Camara 1952), but also for nostalgic reasons as the French are more likely to visit *lieux de memoir*.

On the other side of the ledger, the French government is noted not only for protecting but also disseminating French culture and even has laws and specific institutions to protect the status of the French language and culture. In the 1990's the French government passed the Toubon Law to protect the usage of French in France. As a result of this law, in November 2004, the French staff of an American multinational corporation - General Electric Medical System - sued the parent company for not permitting them to use French in their French workplace (Gentleman 2004).

Such events may indicate that France is trying to regain its old self esteem. Since World War I, the French language has gradually lost its international importance to the English language. Today even in Vietnam, a former colony of France, one is more likely to speak English than French. In the post-World War II period, France suffered an identity crisis caused largely by its own ineptness during the war and the country's occupation by German troops. Coupled with these humiliations was an increasing homogenization of culture, led in large part by the increased power and influence of the United States. Kuisel (1993) argues that this was especially embarrassing to the French because America had twice come to their aid to help remove the Germans from French soil – a task the French were unable to accomplish alone. Their wounded pride and decreasing influence in world affairs may have triggered the fervor of anti-Americanism.

Furthermore, the narrative of French journalism seems to talk about a new version of French cultural imperialism. Soon after America attacked Iraq in 2003, an American recalled what he saw on French newspapers of both the right and the left (Bishop 2003). He was surprised to see they had very little coverage of the war in Iraq. What he found was a preoccupation reflected in French newspapers of France's growing importance in the global economy and its place in the new political and social reality that is being created in Europe. He writes, "The anger you once felt in France about what the French called America's 'cultural imperialism' has lessened." "But the French still detest what they believe to be America's 'economic imperialism.'" The way Bishop describes what he saw and heard in France is interesting as it shows the clash between American and French imperialism because Bishop as an American journalist would think it was important for other countries to track the war the American government alleged to be fighting against terrorism while France was

against the war and mostly covered their importance in Europe in the media instead of the American declaration of its power around the world.

In the second half of the 19th and the early 20th century, Shanghai was the leading cultural center in China and an important juncture of different cultures (Gamble 2003: 6). Shanghai was international and cosmopolitan. Western thought had great impact on the local culture through direct agents such as missionaries and educators, and who brought cultural influences through Western literature and movies. In 1935, 18 of Shanghai's 31 cinemas showed only foreign movies (Ch'en 1979: 220).

Shanghai's current cosmopolitanism is more diverse today than it was before the War, in that it is also an Asian regional center. Japanese, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korean cultures can also be found in Shanghai. In the later half of the 20th century, after three decades of stagnation, the economy of Shanghai started to revive after Deng Xiaoping decided to push the city along a path of economic reform in the early 1990s. The central government backed Shanghai to become an international economic, finance, and trade center and to become "the engine of the Yangtze River Delta" (Wu 2000). This new development epitomized in Shanghai urban skyline on Huangpu River: the Oriental Pearl TV tower, the East Concert Hall, the Nanpu Bridge, the Shanghai World Financial Center. The Lujiazui Central Finance District is another landmark of Shanghai's development strategy to become an Asian financial and high-technological center. With ambitions of becoming "the New York of Asia", Shanghai has begun to attract international banking, multinational corporations, and unprecedented flows of foreign direct investment (FDI) (see Table 1.1). According to the *Shanghai Economy Almanac* (SEA 2004: 55, 96, 99), in 2003 there were about 24,133 foreign-invested enterprises, 14,356 of which were direct foreign investments plus 32,061 foreign invested programs. There were 77 representatives of foreign

invested banks plus another 62 branches, all of which made up more than 50 percent of the investment nationwide. In addition, 56 transnational corporations set up a regional headquarter in Shanghai.

Table 1.1 Direct Foreign Investment in Shanghai (Unit US\$ 100 million)

	2004	2005	2006
Contracted Foreign Capital	\$861.28	\$999.61	\$1145.35
Foreign Investment Actually Absorbed	\$528.06	\$596.56	\$667.63

Sources: SEA 2005: 626, 2006:581; SMSB 2007: 115.

Sassen (2000:21) argues that global cities are “key sites for the advanced services and telecommunications facilities necessary for the implementation and management of global economic operations”, and “tend to concentrate the headquarters of firms, especially firms that operate globally.” Foreign direct investment is generally considered part of the geography of global economy consisting of other indexes such as offshore banking centers, transnational corporations, and dispersal of economic activities bound to multinational corporations (Sklair 1991: 45; Sassen 2000: 12-22). Judging from the above figures, Shanghai is an integral part of the global economic system, even more so now that its stock market is receiving more and more bids from all over the world as Chinese government clears the way for foreign investment (also see Wu 2000; Olds 1997). It is this global city status that attracts the influx of skilled international labor force, for employment in global cities is an important means of contributing to an employee’s mobile professional identity. As Scotts (2006: 1109) argues in his studies on British expatriates in Paris, managers and executives “increase their transnational socio-economic networks and augment their class position”, and many skilled migrants seek adventures overseas in order to more rapidly accentuate their social mobility. This is one of the important reasons that many young French go to Shanghai to work, hoping it will be helpful to their career.

Driven by the ambition of becoming Asia's New York, Shanghai's domestic economy is also keen on incorporating the global economy. In addition to attracting multinational corporations, some Chinese enterprises also enhance their human resource profile in a number of ways, including hiring international talents. Not content with being a passive "partner" in its own industrial development, China is aggressively acquiring important international industries. For example, Rover, a prestigious British auto manufacturer formerly owned by the German corporation BMW, was purchased by a Chinese company and is now making cars in Nanjing, a city not too distant from Shanghai. Made in England since the end of the 19th century, Rover is produced for world markets, and has wide acceptance among European motorists.

The fast growing Chinese economy attracts many other multinational corporations and hence many foreign skilled workers. In 2003, about 50,230 expatriates applied for work permits. People from other Asian countries and areas such as Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan were among the top five. French expatriates were the eighth largest group (SEA 2004: 520). Shanghai has established itself as a place where expatriates from different countries meet and interact. It is in this sense that Shanghai is an important site for research study on globalization and cosmopolitanism. Jeffrey Wasserstorm (2009: 128) argues that the rupture of globalization in Shanghai gives it much value as a place for urban studies to better understand how multiple cultures shape globalization in the city.

While not the main focus of the thesis, it is hoped that the research will add to the study of contemporary China. Anthropologists have done much research on overseas Chinese and minorities in China. However, the foreign population as urban ethnic groups has not attracted much anthropological attention except for a few publications

on foreign communities, most of which were done before 1949. There were studies on the foreign communities during the concession period (1800-1940s). For example, the book of *New Frontier* (Bickers and Henriot 2000) collects different articles on different foreign community such as the American, the British, the Japanese, the Indian, and the Russian (see also Ribeino 1999). There are also studies on a specific single national community, like the British in China (Bickers 2000), the French in Shanghai (Brossollet 1999), Russians (Wang 2000), etc. However, there has not really been any research on contemporary foreign community in China. James Farrer (2002) has done research in Shanghai on the youth sex culture, the Chinese consuming foreign sex in Chinese discos and cross-cultural marriages between the Chinese and Western expatriates (Farrer 2008), but his research did not really focus on the expatriate community. He also studied cross-cultural marriages between the Chinese and Westerners. In contrast to the near absence of foreigners in the Mao period, the present day foreign community is economically powerful and symbolizes globalization and modernity in China, both in its very presence and in their consumption patterns. It is interesting to see how they live in China and whether or not they are influenced by the Chinese. In this way, my research on the foreign community in China also sheds light on Shanghai's domestic globalization process.

Methodology

This research consisted mostly of fieldwork from mid January 2006 to mid January 2007. I also made a second trip to Shanghai lasting 10 days in late March 2007. Then in November 2008 I conducted another month's fieldwork, particularly for the Catholic community in Shanghai. The main source of data was from formal and informal interviews and participant observation.

I tried to make acquaintances with the French people either by joining their social activities or through the introduction of other people. It was not easy to find people who were willing to be interviewed. In part, this is because many people worked very long hours every day. When they had time, they wanted to stay with their family or friends. Internet was another means through which I looked for contacts. The websites of www.thatssh.com and shanghai.asiaexpat.com, were the two basic sites I used. The web page of www.thatssh.com was used primarily for looking for language exchange. While on the site of shanghai.asiaexpat.com I went to the personal column where men and women put their short notices in search of boyfriends or girlfriends. My intention was to see how some French presented themselves, since the image we present of ourselves is culture-laden. All in all, I tried to get to know French people of different categories and obtain more information on the group.

During the activities I came to make friends with a few people, among whom four became my key informants. The first one is Beatrice¹, a married woman in her thirties who lived in Pudong. The second one was Seb in his twenties who lived in the center of Shanghai. The third one, a woman, Alice was in her forties and lived in Hongqiao. The last one was Stéphane, a divorced man in his forties who lived in Pudong. These four key informants knew their groups very well and had great knowledge on other expat groups. They were also very intellectual. Seb studied finance in Paris, and worked in the business of arts in Shanghai. He liked talking about science and research with me, and he was cynical and critical of both the Chinese and the French. Stéphane, influenced by his late father who was a geographer and his mother who was a doctor, liked science and social sciences. He could talk about biology, arts, philosophy for four or five hours non-stop. Beatrice

¹ The names of people I mention here are all pseudonyms.

was very interested in Chinese culture and language. She often read books on Chinese society. These people either often invited me to activities or told me things on the communities.

It was not easy to do research on the French population in Shanghai but the same can be said of fieldwork anywhere, at any time. In the field, I found it difficult to become part of the group, particularly at the beginning when I spoke French poorly. Cultural subtleties were difficult to perceive. Then there were the issues of trust and mutual understanding. I believe there were many misunderstandings between some informants and me due to cultural differences.

In terms of religious practice I admit I was at a loss in 2006. I did not go to a French catholic mass because so few people I interviewed knew about the religious activities in Shanghai or mentioned going to church. Only five of those I interviewed knew there was a French mass. On the other hand, most of the people I met in 2006 said although they were born into a Catholic family and were baptized, they did not practice the religion. I suppose the answer to why some of the people I met said they did not practice lies somewhere in between political sensitivity and privacy. One person I spoke with about the problem told me that in France, religion was a very private issue and the government would not ask someone what religion he or she believed in during the national census. In fact one French woman I interviewed answered me bluntly that what religion she believed in was her private matter and she could not tell me anything about that. She was in a quite high position, with many links to the government. This could be because religion is considered by foreigners in general to be a sensitive topic in China, and so some French refused to respond to my enquiry for fear that they would get themselves or others in trouble.

Being a participant-observer was often exciting but sometimes not very pleasant. Most of the people I met were willing to tell me what they knew of the French residing in Shanghai and eager to know my findings – which is one of the reasons I was invited to talk about the subject at French Alliance of Shanghai during the week of the *Francophonie* in March 2007. Some informed me when and where French events would take place and others even organized activities for me to get to know other people. Naturally, there were also some people who did not like the idea of being the subject of study. When they heard that I was doing research on the French community in Shanghai, they did not really want to talk to me, or they might say “Yes, but not tonight!” They rejected interviews when I contacted them again. It is also possible that the outdated idea that “anthropologists only study primitive people” may have resulted in their rejection.

There were two problems to be faced being a female fieldworker studying predominantly male expatriates. Obviously, there was the misunderstanding regarding sex. Many of the Chinese women French men have contact with were at least on the look-out for a husband or lover to pay their bills, or “a rice ticket.” One of the French men I interviewed asked me suggestively why I wanted to know whether he was married or not and why I looked for French men.

Another case was about a man I met after a concert. After a couple of months I called him to ask whether he had time to have a drink together. He sounded happy. My intuition told me that he was happy because I was a Chinese lady who asked him to have a drink together. But when he understood my reasons – that I only wanted to ask him some questions for my studies - he told me he was too busy.

Not only some men misunderstood me; sometimes women would also think in the same way. I could not talk too long with a man if his wife was around. At one of

the barbeques I went to, I was talking to two men. After a few minutes, the other left and I continued asking questions of the man who stayed. We talked for about 10 or 15 minutes, when his wife came. While this did not disturb me, she might have been suspicious of her husband for having talked so long with me - a Chinese woman. This reminded me of what a friend said that female fieldworkers could have troubles in interviewing men as men's partners could take me as a threat to their relationship. I also heard stories about some French families breaking up because the husband had an affair with a Chinese woman.

Despite all the problems, most of the people I met were willing to spend at least one hour with me for an interview. For example, Stéphane was very happy and asked me whether I would like to study him when he knew I was doing an anthropological study on the French expatriates. He later became a very important informant. A woman I met at a party excitedly told me she would like to be interviewed when she heard of my research. Seb contacted me because he liked talking about research although at the beginning he did not really want to do language exchange with me. Some other people happily offered to introduce more French to me. Even some of the Consulate people were willing to spend a couple of hours talking with me which was beyond the call of their duties. I acknowledge to all the help they gave me during my fieldwork.

Interviews

Among the 78 formal interviews I did, 25 were with females, the rest were with males. I also had interviews with the two priests who were responsible for the French Catholic community. Of all the interviews, 20 were completed in the last fieldwork period in November 2008. The people interviewed include managers, housewives, and young university graduates. Each interview lasted for one to two hours. In addition, I

also conducted many informal interviews during parties and social gatherings.² Most of the remarks from the interviews are translated from French and quoted in English in the thesis.

Interview questions are attached as Appendix one. Unless specified, all names have been changed to protect the interviewees' privacy. Profiles of the interviewees are attached as Appendix two.

Field Language

Before the fieldwork I spoke little French although I had studied the language for two years. At the beginning of my fieldwork, my lack of language skills resulted in my losing some opportunities for interviews. In fact, the problem occurred during some social events. In a situation like that, I felt like a baby who was thrown into the sea. I struggled to swim in order to survive. But I have read that this is a problem with all beginning field-workers and even a few experienced ones. (Dr. Gabriel DeCicco [personal communication] once told me that the reason so few anthropologists have so few grave problems in the field is that most peoples of the world are kind and understanding with very small children and idiots. To the group being studied, field workers are just like children and idiots, at the beginning of their studies, least.)

I vividly recall one particularly incident early on when I felt really desperate about my French. I was at a meeting of young mothers in April 2006. Everyone seemed to speak French really fast. In addition, it was noisy. There was not much I could do except listen and speak a few words once in a while. I could not say much because I did not understand too much of what they said. I was listening to some people talking, and I really wanted to speak, but I couldn't. I remained silent most of the time as nobody wanted to listen to my broken French. There were persons who would have liked to talk more with me but they would not switch to English just

because of me. What made me scared was not speaking French. It was the French environment that did not allow English or too much repetition or incomprehension.

I started to speak French nearly every day in June, after I made some good friends. Three months before I finished my fieldwork I had more confidence speaking French and began to enjoy it. Fortunately, I completed most of the interviews in French.

Thesis Structure

In the first Chapter, the Introduction, I have stated my research question with brief introduction of the theoretical background, and explained the fieldwork process. In Chapter 2, I review the literature I used in preparing for my research, and set up the main theoretical framework. Previous study shows strong Anglo-American economic and cultural power in the process of globalization although scholars do not agree that globalization leads to homogenization. I propose that the French, who enjoyed historical cultural influence, do not completely accept Anglo-American cultural domination in the globe.

In Chapter 3, French business in China is described. The description of French business aims to explain the life of the French expatriates in Shanghai. French business also tells the strong influence of French culture on the Chinese in Shanghai. The localization of French enterprises and their global characteristics are analyzed in the chapter as well. English rather than French is the working language among most of the French enterprises in Shanghai. It is also a precondition for the French expatriates to be sent to be Shanghai. The usage of English among the French and French enterprises indicates the English dominance among the French. In addition, the ability to speak English is a tool French expatriates use to label themselves cosmopolitan.

Chapter 4, *The French in Shanghai Today*, describes basic elements and the pop culture of the French community and provides the background information for further analysis of French life. The French expatriates living in Shanghai are classified into four main groups according to their income, residence, lifestyle, and work: *expatriés*, young singles, housewives, long-term residents, and children. Most of the French came to Shanghai because of career opportunities which they cannot find in France, although the specific reason to come to China varies. The French community in Shanghai is stratified.

Chapter 5, “Network and Sense of Belonging among the French”, focuses on the French sojourning lifestyle and their personal networks. They maintain some French life habits seen from their lifestyle. Their personal networks pattern shows they mainly see other French fellows. In addition, most of the French keep close transnational connections back with France. At the same time they watch many Asian movies and incorporate Asian art articles into their home decoration. Thus the French community presents a complex picture of globalization: cosmopolitan openness in some entertainment activities and art appreciation and provincialism in personal network.

Chapter 6 “Social Organizations, Internal Differentiation and Social Life”, describes different social organizations and their functions among the French community in order to discover what role different social organizations play in the French community. In other words, this chapter examines the communal ties among the French in Shanghai. Although not many French join these institutions, they all link the individuals and different personal networks into the larger community. At the same time the French community is fragmented as there is no a single association that can bind all the French together. On the other hand, these social organizations

articulate certain interaction between the French and the Chinese, at least for exploring Chinese culture. This chapter also shows French expatriates are not cosmopolitan in their personal life although they can accept a cosmopolitan society as the Francophone Association.

In Chapter 7 “The Interactions between the French and Other Nationalities,” examines the interactions between the French and other nationalities including the Chinese to see to what degree cultural boundaries are crossed and maintained. Social interactions happen in language learning, romantic relations. There are social and cultural interactions between the French and other nationalities, but for many of them this remains at a superficial level. By turning to cultural differences and marking cultural and symbolic boundaries, the French expatriates are not being cosmopolitan.

Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, I argue that the French expatriates in Shanghai have demonstrated cosmopolitan openness in some aspects of their life such as art appreciation and some entertainment activities. They have also shown some mobility which is a cosmopolitan trait. However I argue the French in Shanghai are not cosmopolitan because they see mainly other French and often turn to those familiar enduring habits seen from their lifestyle. Nevertheless, they have created a cosmopolitan culture, which includes a French lifestyle, watching Asian movies, adopting exotic Asian cultural products into their art appreciating activities, reading literature on the exotic Other (the Chinese, Japanese, and other groups), learning English and Chinese. Having shown that different groups of French who share strong French identity, economic desires, language interest (more in English than in Chinese) and cultural sentiments can appear different as “cosmopolitan” and “provincial” in Shanghai, I return to the theoretical issue that I have raised in the Introduction and Chapter 2—the causal relationship between cultural imperialism

and globalization. The answer I propose, lies in power and cultural identity that enable us to understand the connections between the diverse expatriate behaviors and the identification of one's cultural identity that not only coexist in the process of globalization, but that are constituted in relation to each other.

Chapter 2 Globalization and Cosmopolitanism

To understand cultural issues in current globalization period, early study on cultural imperialism has to be examined as there is a continuity of power in the process of globalization. In the following, I will discuss the discourse of cultural imperialism and cosmopolitanism regarding the many facets of globalization. Cultural hegemony continues although power relations in this global era have changed. In addition, globalization brings in multiculturalism, but does not always lead to cosmopolitanism. A universal cosmopolitan culture is not likely in the present era of globalization.

The Discourse of Cultural Imperialism

In his book *Keywords*, Raymond William (1976) writes that imperialism refers primarily to political and economic systems that have roots mostly in colonialism and modern capitalism. All imperialistic efforts are rooted in power, exploitation, economic expansion and nationalism. Power, however, wanes in time and is passed from one nation to another. In history, at a certain time and within a certain space, there is usually a nation that exercises stronger influence than others because of its political-economic power. Anthony Smith (1990: 176) argues that current imperialism is “ostensibly non-national and that capitalism and ‘Europeanism’ are by definition and intention ‘supranational’, if not universal. This in effect equates to the discourse of Westernization.

Nonetheless, cultural imperialism misconstrues Americanization during the process of globalization in a few ways. It emphasizes imposition, assumes passivity, and anticipates global homogeneity as a consequence (see Kuisel 2000). In previous research on cultural imperialism, according to Inda and Rosaldo (2002: 15), (also see Robertson 1995: 38-39), anthropologists studying globalization have shown three

fundamental problems with the discourse of cultural imperialism. The first problem is how the consumers in the Third World consume and interpret alien cultural products. They actually do so on their own terms and not necessarily the way they are used in the place of origin. For example, Michaels' (2002: 311-324) research on Hollywood films shows that the Warliri Aborigines in the western Central Desert of Australia interpret Hollywood videos as unfinished because they have to fill in what for them is missing, such as kinship. Of course, the fact that cultural "receivers" change and reinterpret is not just characteristic of the present global era nor are Indra and Rosaldo the first to point this out. In the colonial period, when indigenous peoples learned new things from the colonizers, they gave them new meanings. For decades anthropologists have pointed out how Latin American Indians have developed syncretic religions that combine native beliefs with Spanish Christianity. Another example showing how native people give alien cultural products new cultural meaning can be seen from McDonalds fast food restaurants that have spread world wide. McDonalds has been localized in different places of the world, and it has attained new meanings in each region since the beginning of its spread (see Watson 1998). Culture often changes and tends to absorb new elements into its own system, which is what the term of cultural assimilation means. Globalization does not make "us" and "them" identical; instead, it highlights cultural differences.

The second problem Indra and Rosaldo (2002:18) note is "the tendency to analyze globalization simply as a flow from the West to the rest". The true picture of globalization is a mutual infiltration of culture flows between the West and the East or the periphery and the center. For example, the popularity of Arabic music in France goes beyond the large numbers of Arab immigrants (Gross *et. al* 2002) and the migration of Chinese all over the world illustrates the multi-directions of cultural

flows and flows of people rather than a one way street (Ong and Nonini 1997, Li 2002). The example of Japan makes the picture of globalization more complex. One of the top eight economic powers, Japanese arts and products can be found all over the world. If there is Westernization, then there is a Japanization (Befu and Guichard-Auguis 2001). Thus cultural imperialism cannot be reduced to a discourse between the West and the East.

The discourse of Western imperialism does point to the fact of Western expansion, but it easily oversimplifies the complexity of Europe and of world history by suggesting all countries in the West are economic and political powers. This also hides the complex picture of globalization. The West has witnessed the rise and fall of many powers. Greece, The Roman Empire, Spain, Britain, France and Russia, for example, even Sweden at a particular time within a given space, have all been European cultural hegemonic powers. The competition for power is ongoing. Using a broad discourse of Western imperialism prevents us from seeing the internal difference and conflicts within the West. For example, we have witnessed the common language of Europe change from French, the language of diplomacy, to English, the language of business. However, the French government has never relinquished its efforts to regain its pre- World War I cultural influence to fight the strong American influence in the economy and mass culture. This research will help show the emergent complexity of globalization and the internal difference and conflicts among Western societies by focusing on the French expatriates.

The third problem mentioned by Inda and Rosaldo is that while stressing the flows between the West and the rest, it neglects the global cultural flows within the periphery itself (ibid: 22-23). Research on Indian movies in Nigeria (Larkin 2002) or

the strong South Korean influence in Mongolia, have shown global cultural flows also take place between the countries of the Third World and within East Asia.

Nevertheless, while raising questions about cultural imperialism, we cannot ignore American power, supported by technology, American business practices, the media, and the English language. Anglo-American economic might is undeniable around the world. Put aside the economic practice of the multinational corporations, we have a larger number of Anglo-American multinational companies, led in large part by expatriates, although many other countries have also expanded their economic activities to other parts of the world. Seemingly these multinational companies and expatriates help to spread their culture and way of doing things. However, it remains unknown how expatriates of previous powers deal with this Anglo-American power. Mentioned in the Introduction, the French, who still enjoy the power from the historical glories, still denounce American economic imperialism.

Along with a similar vein of cultural imperialism, by examining business practices in multinational firms, international regulatory agencies and the sphere of international business education and management knowledge, Glenn Morgan (2001) argues that transnational communities are emerging out of three areas: multinational corporations, within a single industry worldwide, and among business professionals around the world. I will discuss the last area as it is the only one related to this thesis. These transnational communities are “likely to be bound loosely together by language (English), ideas, education, professional associations and shared interests in economic advancement through the propagation of these ideas. American ideas provide a powerful influence in this context shaping... the normative and cognitive import of these groups” (Morgan 2001: 126). Morgan actually points out the dominance of American way of doing things around global business people. Morgan argues that

the influence of American ideas on the transnational community exemplifies American economic and cultural imperialism. As mentioned earlier, globalization is a complex process, and the import and export of American mass culture consists of only a feature of a much broader process

Morgan goes further to ask whether these groups are becoming a transnational community, an “invisible nation” or “invisible college” despite national and other divisions. Reference to an “invisible nation” despite national and other division is similar to Thomas L. Friedman’s (2005) contention that “*The World is Flat.*” It is Friedman’s way of saying that historical and geographical divisions are becoming increasingly irrelevant because of consumer culture. The relocation of multinational factories and the expansion of the capitalist economy make us believe the borders are getting less relevant. But to say there is an “invisible nation” may focus too much on the superficial similarities and overlook the distinctions among them. The world is not getting flat. The boundaries are still significant. Consuming the same products does not necessarily make us homogenized or make the French “less French”, or make the Americans “more Americans”. The recent incidents between France and China, for example, anti-Carrefour demonstration in China in 2008, are the salient voice telling that historical and geographical divisions still matter.

Globalization and Cosmopolitanism

The breakup of the old world system put an end to imperialism and has brought pluralism or multiculturalism. The increasingly intensive globalization and transnationalism accompanying the expansion of capitalism expose us to multiple cultures by entailing different flows of people, media, ideology, and technology. For instance, transnational business professionals travel frequently across the border and work with other professionals from other parts of the world in the same

corporation. Whether this leads to cosmopolitanism due to the exposure to multiple cultures and the increasing interactions this causes has become a topic of debate.

The discussion on cosmopolitanism has been going on, yet there is no a fixed definition of cosmopolitanism although the concept dates back to the Cynics of the fourth century BC. There are different cosmopolitanisms, including, for example, cultural cosmopolitanism, moral cosmopolitanism, and political cosmopolitanism. The latter is often associated with Kant's idea of "Perpetual Peace" and human rights. This thesis focuses on cultural cosmopolitanism. In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word of "cosmopolitan" is defined as "belonging to all parts of the world, not restricted to any one country or its inhabitants" (Oxford English Dictionary 1989: 985). Following that, a cosmopolitan is a "citizen of the world". Actually I do not agree with the usage of the term "citizen of the world" for cosmopolitan, for reasons I will explain shortly. Tomlinson (1999:185) argues that a "citizen of the world" has a cultural disposition that goes beyond the immediate locality, and recognizes "global belonging, involvement and responsibility and can integrate these broader concerns into everyday life practices." Thus cosmopolitanism is a cultural disposition above all.

Hannerz (1990:238, 1996:103) describes cosmopolitanism as: "a perspective, a state of mind, or ... a mode of managing meaning" and "...an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It entails an intellectual and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity." That is to say, for Hannerz, a cosmopolitan can accept other cultures without identifying with them. "...[A] search for contrasts rather than uniformity" suggests a cosmopolitan person does not have to merge into other cultures. Rather he or she only needs to experience it and remains detached. In addition, "...intellectual and aesthetic

openness toward divergent cultural experiences” can be achieved in metropolitan centers where movement and travel are undertaken with ease, but difficult to sustain in other parts of the world where such conditions are not available. Imagine the possibility of a Chinese rural dweller getting a chance to engage with divergent cultural experiences either intellectually or experientially. Therefore, cosmopolitanism more often refers to elites or people who have economic resources in order to be able to be open toward divergent cultural experiences.

In his latest writing, Hannerz (2004) focuses on the intellectual and aesthetic facets. He takes cosmopolitanism as “a kind of meaning engagement—metaculture” (Hannerz 2004: 70). He says that cosmopolitanism is the engagement with the Others, not merely the appreciation.

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy describes the nebulous core of all cosmopolitan views as “the idea that all human beings, regardless of their political affiliation, do (or at least can) belong to a single community, and that this community should be cultivated.” Here, the word “cultivated” actually implies cosmopolitanism needs to be created, promoted, and developed, and is no more natural a viewpoint than nationalism. As for cosmopolitanism, its philosophical interests “lies in its challenge to commonly recognized attachments to fellow-citizens, the local state, parochially shared cultures, and the like.” Furthermore, “on the one hand, the cosmopolitan encourages cultural diversity and appreciates a multicultural *mélange*, and on the other hand, the cosmopolitan rejects a strong nationalism.” That is to say, a cosmopolitan has a broader sentiment for a broader community beyond his or her own political affiliation. This is like what some scholars (Appiah 1998, Cohen 1992, Werbner 2008) call rooted cosmopolitanism, meaning that a cosmopolitan can also

love his or her culture or nation of origin while embracing the world at the same time.

To clarify the definition of cosmopolitanism, we can examine what is not cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitanism is often contrasted with “provincialism” or “parochialism” or “localism”. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines provincialism as “attachment to one’s own province, its institutions, interests, etc. before those of the nation or state of which it is a part” (1989: 717). The three terms refer to the idea of limiting interests and attachment to a small place rather than the nation or the world. In contrast to a local, a provincial, or a parochial person, a cosmopolite is open to the outside world instead of just a small locale, and his or her attachments transcend the locale and go towards the world outside and the diversity of culture. However, a cosmopolitan person does not have to be footless because of de-territorialization of culture. In other words, cosmopolitans and locals are not such in a binary position as Hannerz (1990: 237) claims (he says that “there are cosmopolitans and there are locals”) because cosmopolitans still can have attachments to the locale.

Furthermore, one can be cosmopolitan and national at the same time, as discussed above. Leaving behind the native land does not mean to abandon it. Mobile business professionals often follow the home news and the native land remains important in their lives (see Scott 2006).

Cosmopolitanism is most common among those who have the means to travel, to visit other cultures, and to adopt other cultural products as signs of distinction. For instance, the earliest cosmopolitans started among Western bourgeois intellectuals because they had more chance to travel and access other cultures. Due to the political and economic power of Europe and the US, cosmopolitanism is often associated with

the West and Western elites. Many Western-educated Chinese of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were viewed as cosmopolitan for their ability to cross cultural borders. Many of these cosmopolitan intellectuals see the Western traditions not as a national or parochial tradition, but as a human legacy. For example, the Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges (1964: 184) writes, "I believe our tradition is all of Western culture...our patrimony is the universe; we should essay all themes, and we cannot limit ourselves to purely Argentine subjects in order to be Argentine." However, I will argue that cosmopolitanism does not equate to "Western" culture as cosmopolitanism usually refers to the sentiments that go beyond any single tradition, beyond narrow parochialisms and ethnocentrism. Viewing cosmopolitanism as the predominance of Western culture, in particular Anglo-American culture as mentioned above, is itself actually not true cosmopolitanism, because to tie cosmopolitanism to a single Western culture is not accepting a cultural Other beyond the West but a reflection of Anglo-American cultural dominance and even cultural imperialism. That is to say, a cosmopolite is open to multicultural experiences instead of being confined within the West. Still, for many in the world, learning English is a way of learning about the world beyond one's nation's borders. Thus, this thesis seeks to examine this paradoxical position of English as the common language and Anglo-American culture as a growing common culture of cosmopolitan people worldwide that seems to result in less multicultural contact, fewer languages, and thus less cosmopolitanism in the sense of mixing of multiple cultures.

Cosmopolitanism is plural, mentioned above, that is, as present in different parts of culture to different degrees. Scott Malcomson (1998:238-240) distinguishes between a variety of different cosmopolitanisms: religious cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitanism as anti-imperialism or extranationality, merchant cosmopolitanism

which involves their own cosmopolitan languages and the common culture of trade among them, and entertainment cosmopolitanism (characterized by American dominance). He explains “cosmopolitanism as anti-imperial or extranational” as cosmopolitans of post-colonies look for solutions outside their society for their social or political models. In terms of popular cosmopolitanism, for instance, since World War II American economic power has made it impossible for most parts of the world to avoid Coca-Cola and the icons of American popular culture, such as Bruce Lee, Michael Jackson, Madonna. However, Malcomson does not think that popular cosmopolitanism can be simply explained by American dominance because there are also some non-American pop stars such as the Jamaican musician Bob Marley. Additionally, that some pop stars became popular in other cultures rather than their own is not because of American entertainment production but for reasons that have nothing to do with global capitalism. Furthermore, he mentioned that indigenous population can assimilate Euro-American products into their culture and lose the original meaning. Nonetheless, the death of Michael Jackson and the spike in sales of his albums demonstrates the strong impact of American pop culture on global pop culture.

Also against the predominant idea of association between cosmopolitanism and Western power or capitalism, Clifford (1997:36) coins the term “discrepant cosmopolitanism”—“Such cultures of displacement and transplantation are inseparable from specific, often violent, histories of economic, political, and cultural interaction—histories that generate what might be called discrepant cosmopolitanism” to avoid the discourse of cosmopolitanism as Western vision. For him, cosmopolitanism equates to hybridity. And any group, including third world migrants can be cosmopolitan.

The last three types of cosmopolitanism mentioned by Malcomson are most interesting for this thesis. Popular cosmopolitanism points to the present global economic and cultural powers. Cosmopolitanism as anti-imperialism points to the nature of cosmopolitanism—cultural hybridity or *mélange*. Merchant cosmopolitanism is very much related to the transnational professionals today as they are also business people and often move around because of business. The way Malconson divides cosmopolitanism actually points to the different aspects of cosmopolitanism. When we examine how globalization influences a cultural group in terms of cosmopolitanism, we have to examine their popular culture and their sense of nationalism or cultural identification in order to see whether they are becoming cosmopolitan.

Based on the idea of rooted cosmopolitanism (Appiah 1998, Werbner 2008), Hannerz's definition of cosmopolitanism, and the description in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, I define a "cosmopolitan" as someone who appreciates the Other, is open to multicultural experience, or is ready to experience other cultures, and can have affiliations for different parts of the world. Although it is difficult to give it a precise definition, we can say that cosmopolitanism is appreciating other cultures aesthetically and intellectually, and being open to multicultural experiences. To be open to multiple cultures does not necessarily mean to become a member of them, but accept the existence of the Other, which implies a tolerance of the Other. Additionally, this cosmopolitan openness also means crossing the invisible borders and boundaries and unconditionally embracing otherness. However, embracing otherness does not mean losing one's home culture and becoming Americanized or Japanese, etc. In other words, cosmopolitanism is not a euphemism for cultural homogenization. At the same time, being open to multicultural experience does not

mean to detach oneself from one's own cultural sentiments. I do not want to use the word "citizen" because citizenship involves political responsibilities. Citizen of the world assumes a world that can put duties and responsibilities on citizens. There is no world governance that has this power. At the same time, it is unrealistic to say that cosmopolitan culture is based on universal world governance.

James Field argues that in the 19th century, cosmopolitan culture was a high culture, one that included "the influence of English writers in America, the translation of Russian authors into English, and the Germanization of Shakespeare, the dominance of German and Italian composers and of French painters and the vogue for Indian and Far Eastern literature, philosophy, and art" (Field 1971: 368). Cosmopolitan culture then pointed to Western high class and intellectuals who were competent to enjoy this high culture and cultural merging. The high cosmopolitan culture in the 19th century that Field refers to is a cultural *mélange* of Renaissance sentiment—arts, classics, philosophy, literature, and exoticism for the colony. Field (ibid.) also argues that in the 20th century, following the old cosmopolitan culture, comes a new low one that also primarily come from the West, for example, homogenized youth culture, a series of sport games such as soccer from the UK, and consumption of American commodities.

Strictly speaking, cosmopolitanism involves multi-cultural experiences, tolerating the Other, incorporating the difference into practice instead of translating the difference into identity. Traversing cultures and travelling are important elements of cosmopolitanism. However, a cosmopolite does not have to travel abroad, and someone who often travels abroad is not necessarily cosmopolitan. Thus loosely speaking, someone who can leave his or her local place already shows the characteristic of cosmopolitan. Historically, we can see that certain periods and

certain cultures were more cosmopolitan than others. Tang Dynasty China is often pointed to as a cosmopolitan society (Lewis 2009). Today, however, in many global cities, being cosmopolitan or not is individual choice. Every one has a choice to make. In cities like New York, London, Hong Kong and Shanghai, one can remain surrounded by one's ethnic group and relatives in a neighborhood, or one can live in a diverse multicultural community.

This draws attention to multiculturalism or cultural pluralism or what Beck (2000) calls "cosmopolitanization". Multiculturalism refers to the co-existence of different cultures that do not melt with each other. Multiculturalism is a result of urban development and globalization. More complex than multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism is the combining of multi-cultures. Above all, it is a philosophical attitude.

At an operational level, cosmopolitanism does not seem to be always possible. The boundaries between social actors do not seem to be eliminated. A question to ask is whether today's world is what Beck-Gernsheim (1999) calls a "salad bowl", symbolizing different elements of a de-territorialized society, mixed together in a new combination but each element retaining its original nature. Not everyone is becoming more cosmopolitan during the interaction of different cultures, as can be seen from the increase in ethnic riots. Still, as Beck (2002) notes, the globe is undergoing a process of cosmopolitanization. The term actually refers to multiculturalism in societies by nature. Beck (2002: 29) also points out, "The fundamental fact that the experiential space of the individual no longer coincides with national space, but is being subtly altered by the opening to cosmopolitanization should not deceive anyone into believing we are all going to become cosmopolitan." However, Steffen Mau and his colleagues (Mau *et al.* 2008) argue from their study of

German citizens in 2006 that there exists a causal path between transnational experience and cosmopolitan attitudes.

Despite the increasing transnational flows that provide social resources for cosmopolitanism, it is much too soon to say the nation has lost its importance. One could argue that the mutual permeation of global and national does not leave nation-states completely without influence. The significance of the nation-state can be seen in the importance of national identity during the social interactions between business professionals. Global professionals of different nationalities tend to distinguish themselves as French, Italian, British, etc. Clearly, cultural differences are most relevant at the national level. In his study on a large-scale project of Yacyreta, Ribeiro (1995: 340) found Italian and French managers often “perceived each other in terms of their nationalities and what that meant for the daily administration of the project”. “They seldom socialized together and in fact, Italians, French, and Germans tended to form separate closed groups”.

Furthermore, the importance of the nation can also be seen from the interactions between the local and the global. Studies show that foreign business populations do not have many interactions with the local population. For instance, American business professionals had very few interactions with the local Indians (Useem 1967). Many of the British in Spain did not have much contact with the local Spanish, and they did not bother learning Spanish (Betty and Cahill 1999). All these show that national differences still exist although the few interactions with the locals may blur the cultural borders. In other words, cultural identities are not losing ground amid these global flows.

Furthermore, being transnational or having transnational connections does not necessarily mean being cosmopolitan, although for Beck (2002: 29) transnationalism

and cosmopolitanization both mean that “social structure is becoming transnational or cosmopolitan.” For instance, the global religious fundamentalist movement is against cosmopolitanism (see Stivens 2008). The term *transnational*, generally refers to those persons who sustain ties of across nation-state borders. The phenomenon arises out of international migration patterns and refugee flows (Faist 2000). The recent global transformations in economic relations, ethnic conflicts and communication technology have led to the creation of new transnational kinship groups, transnational social circuits, and transnational communities. By expanding borders across nations and creating new social ties, the concepts pertaining to cultural spheres, acculturation, cultural retention and citizenship are starting to change drastically. People and their ideas are moving more freely back and forth across global borders than ever before.

Cosmopolitanism and Expatriates

As mentioned above, expatriates are people who leave their native country. By leaving their original homeland, they seem not to be provincial or just “local”. However, many expatriates stay in their own niche, and find themselves living very much like at home “plus” sunshine, arts, etc. (Hannerz 1996). In their study on expatriates in Singapore, Thompson and Tambyah (1999) argue that expatriates often want to establish themselves as cosmopolitan, but, though their expatriate identity conforms to the cosmopolitan ideal of nomadic residence and cultural adaptability, they end up with their enduring preferences of familiar goods and places. We often find business transnationals fly around the world, but many of these people are only familiar with the airport or hotels nearby. In addition, expatriates are known for forming their own community like “little America” (Nahs 1970). Expats form their

own group because of their transient mentality (Cohen 1977) and the sojourner lifestyle (Wakeman and Yeh 1992), as will be discussed below.

The recent cosmopolitanism literature is concerned about class as it mainly discusses the people of higher education level, incomes, and capability of mobility. Historically, cosmopolitanism was closely linked to high class. The cosmopolitan English noble class in the 18th century was also based on elites and mobility (Eagles 2000). In this new global era, cosmopolitan studies also present a dominant image of the cosmopolitan as privileged, globally mobile, and capital laden. Examples include Calhoun's (2002) "frequent travellers", Hannerz's (2004) "foreign correspondents", and Sklair's (2001) "transnational capital class". These present cosmopolitans as privileged social actors although there are also some studies on ordinary people, like Lamont and Aksartova's (2002) account of cosmopolitan discourses among workers, which argue cosmopolitanism can also be realized among ordinary people, and Skrbis and Woodward's (2007) study of ordinary people in the city of Brisbane of Australia. As Tomlinson (1999) argues, the ideology of cosmopolitanism is a generalizable cultural stance. However, I do not agree that any ordinary people are cosmopolitan. For example, the Philippines home maids in Hong Kong, by coming to Hong Kong to work as domestic worker, they are not narrow-minded compared to those who stay in the villages. However, these maids are not really becoming cosmopolitan because they work for foreign families and learn to cook maybe American or French food. All this is part of their job. When they have time they gather with their country fellows. Therefore I will say cosmopolitanism is not a natural cultural aspect, it has to be fostered under certain economic and social background.

At the practical stage, by being open to multicultural experience, a cosmopolite will participate in local culture and other cultures when away from one's own home

culture rather than draw boundaries. In practice it can involve learning the language, having more than superficial social interaction with people of other cultural groups, enjoying otherness by experiencing the pleasure of the cuisine of and reading the literature. For instance, a non-English native can be open to other cultures by being willing to speak English or another language which is recognized more useful in an international conversation. Apart from being the official language of nearly 50 different, independent nations, English has become a language of international business, which is the most obvious aspect of Anglo-American dominance. In addition, English is often the language used for global communication. Asunción-Lande (1998:75) writes, "English contributes to the building of a global third culture. The context for this global third culture is the international economic and technological setting in which English is employed." In other words, English has become part of the common culture for cosmopolitan people worldwide. Friedman (2003: 750-751) argues that the ability to speak English is a symbol of cosmopolitan status for many people in non-English-speaking centers and in peripheries. However, this is not to say an English speaker such as an American speaking perfect English is cosmopolitan.

Although English is dominant in many areas, French is still an important international language. The establishment of *la Francophonie* is the symbolic touchstone in which French alliances against English are formed. In francophone countries, French is still the business language. And every year francophone countries and their consulates abroad organize activities to promote the French language. Language is a cultural carrier (see Sapir 1949, Whorf 1962, Erickson 2006: 2051-2052). Against this backdrop it remains highly interesting to see whether the French, often accused of French chauvinism, adopt English in their life in Shanghai.

Summary

Studies of cultural imperialism and cosmopolitanism are of long history in anthropology. They are both closely related to globalization. However, current increasingly intensive globalization shows previous study cannot really explain the present complex picture of culture. Old discourse cultural imperialism positions non-West at a weak place during the dynamic evolving process of culture. In addition, previous research on globalization and the discourse of cultural imperialism has the same problem while using a broad discourse of Western imperialism by simplifying the complex picture. By doing so it overlooks the internal difference and conflicts among Western societies. While criticizing cultural imperialism, we cannot deny Anglo-American strong economic and cultural influence in the global world.

With the breakdown of old colonial system and the increase of pluralism under globalization, people are exposed to multiple cultural flows, including Anglo-Americans. Some view this as leading to a process of cosmopolitanization, but not everyone is becoming cosmopolitan. Earlier studies argue that cosmopolitanism is a Western vision, tied to elites and privileged people who have money to travel. Cosmopolitanism involves multi-cultural experiences, tolerating the Other, and incorporating cultural differences into practice. But attaching cosmopolitanism to a single Western culture is itself not true cosmopolitanism, because doing so does not accept the cultural *mélange* which is the main feature of cosmopolitan culture. How much are mobile business transnationals becoming cosmopolitan in the sense of opening to multiple cultures? Focusing on the French expatriates whose culture had and still has strong influence worldwide and can be seen as one of only a few global cultures, this thesis seeks to shed some lights on the cultural influence of globalization by examining the paradoxical position of English as the common language and

Anglo-American culture as a growing common culture of cosmopolitans around the world that seems to result in less cosmopolitanism in the interaction of multiple cultures.

Chapter 3 Globalization and French Business in China

Just as the rise of a capitalist economy was dependent on political, religious, and scientific development, the French business community in Shanghai has developed under the influence of several factors: a growing global economy, enhancing relations between France and China, a burgeoning Chinese market and Chinese culture. For example, with the blossoming of Sino-French relations many French companies took advantage of cheap Chinese labor, resources, and market and opened up an office or a branch. Particularly since the late 1990s, French investment in China has witnessed a rapid growth. Some young French just came to look for work, especially driven by the weakness of the French domestic labor market. However, the historical course is seldom smooth at all times and French investment in China is only about tenth among foreign investments, America and Britain leading the way.

In 2007, *La Mission Economique de Chine* (French Economic Committee in China), *Les Conseillers du Commerce Exterieur* (External Commercial Councilor), and the French Chamber of Commerce and Industry in China published a White Book on the French investments in China called *Le défi des investissements français en Chine* (The Challenge of French Investments in China). According to the White Book², by January 2007 there were about 1800 French enterprises in China, about 1100 companies being registered with the French Chamber of Commerce and Industry. More than twenty percents of the companies established in China are from the Parisian region and the majority of French companies in China are wholly French in capital.

Many of these French companies have not been in China too long. Approximately sixty percent have been in China for less than five years although

² All the figures on the French investments presented in this chapter are from this White Book, unless otherwise specified.

others have been present for between 10 to 15 years or even longer than that. All the French companies, big or small, employ about 250,000 employees although sixty-five percent of them have less than 100 employees in China. The greater majority are small enterprises, having less than 250 employees in the whole world and forty two percent have less than 20 employees in China. About thirty-one percent of French enterprises are in the consulting business, twelve percent are in distribution, eight percent in training, and six percent in the business of information, all companies that require only a few employees.

Despite the rapid growth of French investment in China, it only ranks the third European investor in China. About forty-three percent of French companies are established in Shanghai and its neighboring areas (Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui), which remains the first destination for the establishment of French enterprises. Consequently, the French population in Shanghai doubled from 2002 to 2007. This results from foreign direct investment since China's opening policy in the 1980s and the creation of economic special development zones. The forthcoming Shanghai 2010 World Exposition also offers very interesting opportunities for French enterprises. Following Shanghai, Beijing is usually ranked the second destination for French enterprises in China, particularly for most of the big groups which have more than one production units. By June 2007, about 330 French enterprises have established offices in Beijing. They mainly are the head-offices of those enterprises. After Shanghai and Beijing, Guangdong, is the third place that receives many French investments. About fifteen percent of French investments are located in Guangdong province.

French enterprises in China have a few major characteristics, according to the 2006 consulting guide of the French consulate in Shanghai. First the number of

French grand groups is not small. Second, according to China's opening procedure the priority in the 1980s was about introducing technology and industry transfer, based on that banks and industrial multinationals came in China. The industrial big names include Saint-Gobain, Aventis, Atofina, Air Liquide, Schneider, Valéo, Chargeurs Textiles, Alstom, Alcatel, etc. Some of these industrial companies have obtained big contracts. For instance, DMS has signed a contract of about USD 170,000,000 for establishing a metallurgical factory for cold producing stainless steel. In addition, some are responsible for projects in Shanghai. For instance, Alstom was responsible for the construction of Shanghai metro line three. ADP took care of the plan of passenger terminal of Pudong International Airport. Third, French middle and small enterprises also started to arrive in Chinese market of the second industry. Among which some are attached to some large groups. Some orient to Shanghai market based on the evolution of Shanghai consumers' habits.

In the book of *La France dans le Monde* (1992), the editors distinguish the difference between the export of American culture and French culture. The former as mass culture has been seductive while the French export *l'art de vivre*, fashion, cuisines or tradition of the table, wine and convivial ambiance, architects savoir-faire, etc. In the following I will introduce some of the French business that can well represent the image of French culture, closely related to Shanghai market and well known among ordinary Chinese, and French global characteristic. These are French brands and French restaurants and the retailer giant Carrefour. The White Book of the French Economic Committee, External Commercial Councilor and the French Chamber of Commerce did not include French restaurants. The reason I put French restaurants here because their owners are French and they are selling the image of France and French cuisine.

3.1 French Brands and Shanghai

Since late 1980s, luxury brands business has developed at a speedy pace in China. According to the China Association of Branding Strategy, the expected number of Chinese who can afford luxury brands will grow to 250 million by 2010 (China Daily 2010). French luxury producers have realized the importance of Chinese market: according to *China Daily*, in 2005 the prestigious *Comité Colbert*, the French luxury brands association, held its annual general meeting in Beijing, the first time it was held in a non-European city in its 50-year history. Among Chinese cities, with a rising international profile, liberalizing markets and growing coterie of *nouveaux riches*, and as a Chinese fashion capital, Shanghai is attracting ever-more luxury brands. It is a new venue for the worlds' luxury brands. However, in 1920s and 1930s, Shanghai was already familiar with foreign presence and foreign products as a thriving commercial center.

French luxury products, which remain strong in luxury industry, are widely displayed in high-end stores in Shanghai since 1994, including perfumes, cosmetics and ready-to-wear. Brands like Dior, Chanel, Saint Laurent, Lancôme, Nina Ricci have actually well established in Shanghai market. Some stores featuring exclusively French products such as Lalique, Louis Vuitton, Lacoste, *René Derhy*, Montagut, Etam, *L'Oréal* have taken root in the downtown shopping streets. Unsatisfied with just setting up their shops, many famous brands try to make them look better by situating themselves in a better place. The bund has thus become a cluster for world luxury brands. The Bund 18, which was launched in November 2005, is the latest retail destination both in Shanghai and along the city's historic waterfront, the Bund. The French brand Hermes, Cartier, S. T. Dupont, Boucheron, and the Italian brand Ermenegildo Zegna can also be found in Bund 18. Scores of retail outlets, including

many a massive flagship stores of world brands, such as Christian Dior and Chanel, have opened in 2008, with many more planned, and high-end malls and boutiques are cropping up to meet the demand. Another place that homes brands is the Plaza 66 on Nanjing Road, which held the Colbert exhibition in 2005.

Mostly constructed in the 1920s and 1930s by Western banks and trading companies, the Bund — the curve of neoclassical structures along the banks of the Huangpu River— remains Shanghai's signature cityscape. After decades of neglect under communism, the area remains mostly a tourist destination, and has been slow to develop the sort of consumer activity that has emerged in the downtown areas and across the river in the Pudong New Area. The seven-story Bund 18 complex is already home to the most famous French Bar Rouge and a French restaurant Sens & Bund.

French brands are greatly enjoying popularity among the Chinese, particularly in Shanghai. For Chinese nouveau riche and nouveau cool, Western brands are good for them to demonstrate their wealth, modern or different (Chadha and Husband 2006, chap 5). These brands cover wines, gourmet foods, fashions, perfume, including the luxurious, LVMH, Hermes, Chanel, Christian Dior, *L'Oréal*, *Lancôme*. Another indicator of the popularity of French brands in Shanghai is the numerous small shops which sell fake products along the streets in Hongkou District, Luwan District, and Xuhui District, particularly around Xiangyang Road. There existed a Xiangyang market on Xiangyang Road, where homed many fake world brands before the end of 2006. It was torn down because the government wanted to build a metro station there. Many Chinese and foreigners went there to buy fake brands. Actually it was a recommended must place for foreign visitors. Once Stéphane showed me the LV jeans he bought in Xiangyang market: "I bought these LV jeans for 100 *kuai*. Now the color already faded. But then what can I expect? I bought it at such a cheap price." A

Chinese friend went to Shanghai to attend an international conference when I was doing fieldwork. After the conference she said to me, "Let's go to shop for some fake brands. I am vane just like all the other people. Although it is a copy, I still want to buy it. Actually Chinese are not the only people who are crazy about fake brand products. Yesterday afternoon after the conference I saw an American professor bought two fake suitcases." As a matter of fact, South Korea is also noted for making fake products that are difficult to tell from the original. In spite of being fake, these copies also help to display the consumers' trendy identity.

Branding lifestyle is gradually influencing Shanghainese who have started to foster a chic lifestyle no matter they are rich or poor. In Shanghai there is a weekly Chinese magazine called *The Bund Lifestyle* in Chinese. The magazine introduces to the Chinese readers world couture designers, world famous models, brand cosmetics, watches, latest trend, European brand electronic products like BEKO, local designers, automobiles, champagnes such as piper-Heidsieck, and even foreign restaurants. Shanghai women are famous for loving luxury products. Many women will save about one month's salary just to get a Dior handbag although they only earn about RMB5000 a month. Chadha and Husband (2006:146) also talk about how important a wealthy look decorated by brands in Shanghai.

Beijing is another Chinese city that embraces many French brands. Close to Tiananmen Square, they are planning to build a commercial and cultural center designed by French architect Anthony Béchu. The building will cover more than 10 hectares and hold more than 400 boutiques for French brands in leather goods, jewelry, and perfume and embrace arts crafts from the Pompidou, and the Fondation Maeght (Baratier 2006).

French words are also frequently used in brand names that are not French because of the symbolic meaning of French language and the image of France. A Frenchman teaching in Hong Kong said that in Shanghai he could see French words and French shops everywhere, while in Hong Kong he did not find the same thing. For example, Paris Baguette, the largest South Korean bakery chain, has more than 1,400 stores in Korea and the US. In late 2006 I first heard of the store located in Hubei Road in Shanghai, not too far from the French Consulate. Now Paris Baguette has opened at least seven stores in Shanghai. Owned by the SPC group, which also owns Baskin Robbins and Dunkin' Donuts, Paris Baguette offers a fantastic selection of breads, cakes, sandwiches and beverages. The food is more Western rather than just French. It is designed to appeal to the European palette and to the growing market for cakes and pastries in China. It does, incidentally, attract French customers many of whom buy bread there. The French woman with whom I lived during my last fieldtrip, bought bread in Paris Baguette daily.

In 2006, I interviewed one of the managers of Bar Rouge, who I got to know by chance. I heard of Bar Rouge at the beginning of my fieldwork in Shanghai. In a short interview, he told me he had come to Shanghai after he finished his MBA. At the time of the interview he had been in Shanghai for two years. He explained to me the culture, the brand names and the operation of Bar Rouge: "We certainly see the influence of Anglo-American culture. Actually French culture has lost its influence already. You said now French brands are popular in the world but don't forget there are also many Italian brands. The world is flat. Anything American or French can be found in China, particularly Shanghai. Shanghai is not really Chinese, it is more Western. The people here have started to like brand names. For example, they want brands for their shoes, clothes, cars, etc." He also explained the operation of Bar

Rouge: “No, I do not want to make our bar too French. There are so many foreigners in Shanghai. I want every one to come here, British, Americans, Chinese, French, etc.” What he said actually tells that he wants to make the bar French, but does not want it to be too French to scare off customers, in other words, to make it less foreign to other customers in order to get more business. The truth is that they are selling a French ambiance with French music and French DJs and the exoticism towards the Chinese. What is interesting is the image they put at the entrance of the Bar Rouge (see Figure 3.1). It is a face of a Chinese woman with bright red lip rouge. Another woman, also with red lipstick, seems to whisper to her. The picture is decorated with red lights, red curtain, and red cushions. The name of the bar and the image they use are intriguing as the word “rouge” is another name for red cosmetics, not merely lipsticks. The picture presents beauty, aesthetic, and gives clubbers imagination, creating the right atmosphere for the bar. In this way their marketing strategy is a mixture of beauty, aesthetic, and exoticism.



Figure 3.1 The image at the entrance of Bar Rouge.

3.2 French Restaurants

The restaurant industry has always been important in Shanghai (Swislocki 2009: 222, 224). In late 19th and early 20th century, Shanghai formed strong association with Western food culture. This solidified Shanghai's status as "the vanguard of China's engagement with foreign culture" (Swislocki 2009: 125). Today what we see is similar. Restaurants of more than 15 countries and regions can be found. According to the SmartShanghai website, among all the foreign restaurants in Shanghai the number of Japanese restaurants (about 50) ranks first, then Americans (about 45). The French only come the third. All this tells the social change in Shanghai: economic booming, Chinese are more open to tastes, increasing foreign presence, the importance of lifestyle. In addition, these restaurants indicate that Shanghai is acquiring French flavor, Japanese taste and a diversity of world cuisines. In other words, globalization does not generate the homogenization of culture. Instead it brings in pluralism.

Since the 1990s French restaurants have developed quickly in Shanghai. In 1988 there was only one French restaurant called *Maison Rouge* (Red House). Today the French restaurant *HFZ Gourmet & Lounge* still exists in the Red House building in South Shanxi Road. According to the list on the website of SmartShanghai, there are now more than 35 French restaurants. For example, *Cantine* situated on Yanping Road, *Des Lys* located in Xinle Road of historical French concession, *Jean Georges* situated in the "Three on the Bund" building, *Latitude* on Yuyang Road, *Sens and the Bund* on the 5th floor of Bund 18, *M on the Bund* on 7th floor of Bund 5, *La Seine*, *Le Bouchon*, *La Crêperie*, *Allure*, *Club Shanghai* in the building of Shanghai Concert Hall, *Jade on 36* in Shangri-la Hotel of Pudong, *Chartres* in Huashan Road, *Laris* in East Zhongshan Road, *Pari's Shanghai* in Shanghai Oriental Art Center on Dingxiang Road, *Enotica*, *Nova*, *Café Montmartre*, *Paul*, etc. Among these restaurants, some

opened already two or more restaurants. For instance, Café Montmartre has already more than three restaurants in Shanghai. Paul has established at least five although it did not start until May 2007. Some of these restaurants are like bar restaurants such as Enoteca, Paul where people can meet just for coffees or drinks. The emergence of the large number of French restaurants in Shanghai is partly because the French are pouring into the city in recent years. They bring in French culinary culture with them.

Coming along with French restaurants, French food as an image of French art of living started to find good customers among Shanghainese. China's CCTV even had a report on how French cuisine has won fans in Shanghai (Liu 2008). An informant said usually the time he went to French restaurant was usually with Chinese friends as they wanted to try French food. With his French friends they can just cook French food at home. To keep the French flavor, these French restaurants import some of the ingredients from France while trying to use some local products. The secret for keeping the French taste is to preserve the French culinary culture.

The French restaurants in Shanghai present variation of French cuisine and share a common selling point—the image of French cuisine culture and the image of France. Paul, first established in 1889, is now a French chain restaurant in France. In France, Paul is only ranked in the middle in terms of class. However, in Shanghai it has achieved great success with the image of French flavor and French culture. Inside the restaurant, it is decorated with black and white pictures of the development of Paul. The decoration in black for the exterior of the restaurant is not different from that in France (see Figure 3.2). Each Paul has a bakery section which sells real French bread and cakes with ingredients imported from France. A day in November 2008 before I went to meet a French woman in Paul located in Dongping road, one of my French flat mates said to me, “you have to bring me a baguette from Paul. It is the only place here

to get real French bread.” Paul aimed to have 60 stores in Shanghai district within two years to become the first traditional bakery in China. Its target is to achieve a turnover about Euro 25, 000, 000 within five years. Paul actually has become a brand of the French Holder Group which aims to develop traditional products with new concepts, the state of art of technology and promotes French *art de vivre*.



Figure 3.2 Paul located in Dongping Road taken in November 2008.

The diversity of French restaurants is shown by their specialty. For instance, Epicvire in 2006, located in Xinle Road, was more like a small bar in a corner in France where people can have a coffee or tea or a glass of wine. The name “Epicvire” actually refers to the famous Greek philosopher Epicure, whose philosophy aims to reach pleasure and ultimately wisdom through the refined enjoyment of fine foods and wines. That is to show they offer fine foods and good wine. It is true they sell French bread, wine, coffee, tea, other soft drinks, and some French magazines as well. Every month they organize wine tasting. In 2006 I had a short chat with the manager-owner. In his late twenties, he worked as a chef in a French hotel in Shanghai for two years, then he wanted to start his own business. That was how Epicvire came into being. This does

not mean all the French restaurants' owner were chef before. For example, the job of the owner of *La Crêperie* had nothing to do with cooking. He told me he was actually *expatrié* in a company in optical business before starting the restaurant.

La Crêperie mainly sells crepes which are a specialty of Brittany. They also make traditional Britton crepes such as *buckwheat galette*. The restaurant is decorated according to what are well known in Brittany (see Figure 3.3). In the picture below there are two small lighthouses and sailboat. Brittany is bordering the sea. Many people travel on boat. They also said many Bretons are voyageurs. That is how the lighthouse has become an important symbol there. On the right of the picture there are many bottles of cider which they drink as appetizer in Brittany. KerShanghai sometimes also have lunch or the crepe. As a matter of fact, the founder of the restaurant, another Breton is the vice president of the Association.



Figure 3.3 *La Crêperie*, a Brettant restaurant, located in Taojiang Road.

Enoteca (see Figure 3.4), located in Taichang Road, Xintiandi area, is a restaurant which points to the middle end market. Started in late 2006 by three young Frenchmen, they already opened another one in Beijing. In the interview I had with one of the managers in November 2008, he said they planned to make it a chain

restaurant with intention to expand to Hong Kong, too. Decorated in a very modern way, the restaurant is like a bar restaurant. The customers can also drink at the counter. They have one French chef and a Chinese chef who studied in France before. The wines they sell include French, Argentine, Spanish, and Chilean, imported directly from the chateaux. They aim to promote and share wine culture while at the same time having restaurant business. That is why they use the name *Enoteca*, an Italian word, meaning wine bar, as one of the managers said to me. Every few days they organize wine tasting events for the Chinese and other foreigners. In addition, they also organize the French cultural activity-first wine tasting every year.

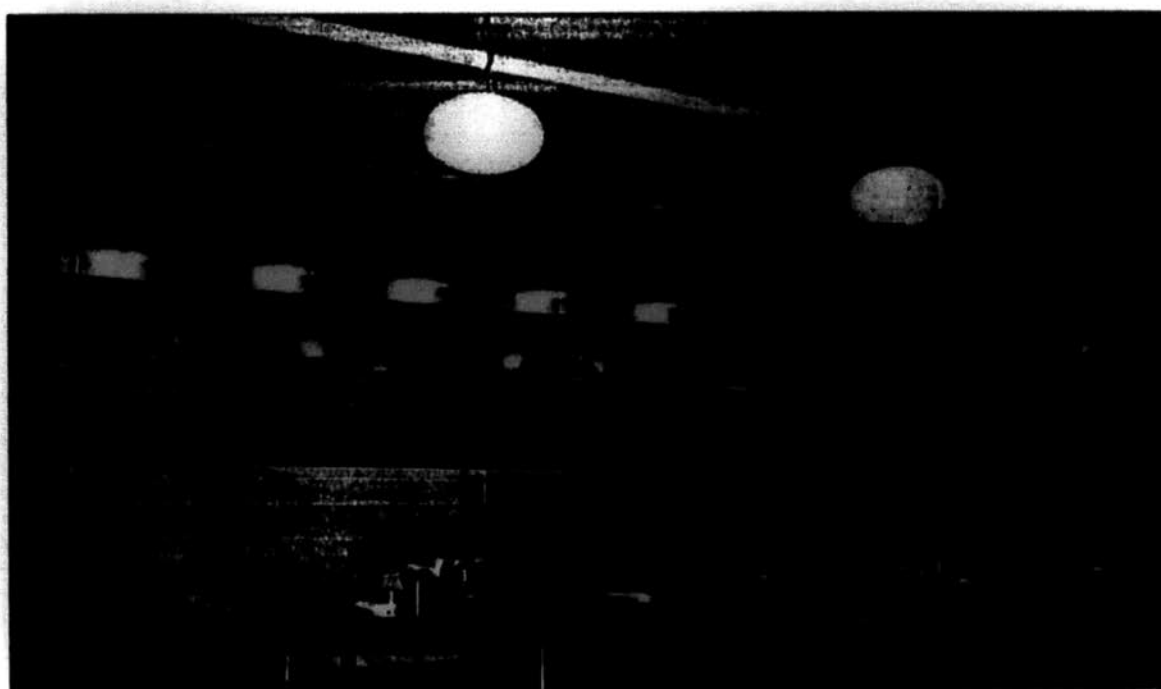


Figure 3.4 Enoteca, situated in Taichang Road, Xintiandi.

The existence of numerous French restaurants points to the fact of the attraction of French cuisine, of which the French are very proud. In the history French *haute cuisine* was supposed for the nobles and the bourgeoisie. Until the 18th century urbanism in France, particularly around Paris, increased the demand for prepared foods. The chefs of cuisine gradually moved out of noble households to serve more people. The emergence of new bourgeoisie and restaurants made it possible for more

people to enjoy this French *haute cuisine* (Ferguson 1998, Trubek 2000). Ever since then, French chefs are popular abroad as they can really produce true haute cuisine. It was in the 19th century that French cuisine became “French” as part of French culture. In other words, French cuisine was another “invented tradition” (Hobsbawm 1983) that braced a national identity (Ferguson 1998: 624). In the 19th century, the founder of modern French cuisine, Antonin Carême even pronounced France “the motherland of anyone who entertains guests; its cuisine and wines are the triumph of gastronomy and it is the only county for good food” (Carême 1986: I, 1833, 2:1). The importance of French food as part of French cultural identity was long expressed when the French felt threatened by the development of cook books in Germany and Britain in 1820s and 1920s. They were scared that “‘France would no longer be France’ when a French meal was no different from repasts elsewhere” (Ruoff 1994: 13, cited in Ferguson 1998:31). Today’s “McDonaldization” food production has also raised fears of a possible loss in France for their food ways (Ferguson 1998: 30). Again, as discussed above, the undeniable presence of French gastronomy in Shanghai indicates French culture also benefits from globalization. In New York City, the majority of the highest-rated restaurants have French chefs and offer French-inspired cooking (Gordon and Meunier 2001: 37).

French chefs have long had associations “to preserve and promote the power and integrity of French *haute cuisine* and to elevate the status of the profession” (Trubek 2000: 82). For example between 1860 and 1900, there were more than 10 new associations involved with food founded in Paris alone (ibid: 81). Today in China and in Shanghai such an association also exists—*La Confrérie de la Chaîne des Rôtisseurs*. In French history there was an organization responsible for the preparation of meat and Royal table fittings—the Royal Guild de Oyers Rotisseurs, founded in

1248 under Saint Louis, king of France. It was granted a Royal Charter and a coat of arms in 1610. The object of the guild was to perpetuate the standards of quality befitting the royal table. Soon the craft of rotisseurs encompassed the preparation of the various meats and fowls and destined for the spit and rack. The French gastronomy association, *La Confrérie de la Chaîne des Rôtisseurs* is the continuation of the Royal Guild of Rotisseurs. It is a French Association with a constitution registered in Paris on 3 August 1950. The Shanghai branch of *La Confrérie de la Chaîne des Rôtisseurs* was set up partially due to Shanghai's historical connections with France.

La Confrérie de la Chaîne des Rôtisseurs, Bailliage de Shanghai (Shanghai Branch) has rules for its dinners--for example, how and when to serve water and wine, what is allowed on the table: never mix wine with water, water should be served separately, water slakes thirst, wine is savored, salt and pepper are not recommended to be on the table. No smoking allowed at the table, except after coffee is served. Mobile phones are switched off during meals. Part of their oath is also related to the art of cuisine: I pledge that, as a member of the *Chaîne des Rôtisseurs*, I will at all times, honor the art of cuisine, and the culture of the table. That shows they pay attention to etiquette and also try to present an image of class. Their membership is by invitation. Two of the French expatriates I met in Shanghai are members of the association.

The restaurants mentioned above all paid attention to their wine collection. Wine culture is an important part of these French restaurants. Wine consumption has been an important part of French life, and part and parcel of French culture. As mentioned above, the French gastronomy association has rules against mixing wine with water.

In addition to catering the mass consumers of Chinese and expatriate population in Shanghai, French restaurants also attract French expatriates once in a while. Different associations often organize brunch or lunch in a French restaurant. For

instance, mentioned above, Kershanghai organize their monthly lunch at *La Crêperie*. Some of these restaurants also sell French breads, wines and organize wine tasting activities, which attract many French who are wine lovers. Thus in a sense some of these restaurants are also meeting points for the French expatriates in Shanghai.

In late Qing and early Republican Shanghai, restaurants were one of the places such as retail shops, gardens, home, wine shops Westerners tried to draw boundaries from the Chinese (Swislocki 2009: 101). However, Chinese Western restaurants (*fancaiguan*) broke the boundaries by offering Western food (Swislocki 2009). At that time, the first thing to do, for the people from interior China was to eat Western food. Even visitors from other Asian countries also went to eat in *fancaiguan* when they visited Shanghai. People were passionate about Western customs of food and drink. It was so popular that Western food even was domesticated into Chinese families in Shanghai (ibid: 125-126). Now eating in foreign restaurants is more like a lifestyle and symbol of status. Yan (1997) has described eating McDonald's for some Chinese in Beijing means they are modern. I recall one day in 2006 when I had lunch with a French friend in an Irish restaurant, I noticed two Chinese women were sitting at the next table. They were consuming a bottle of champagne, which surprised me as I could not see it was a special event for them. Champagne for lunch is not part of the Chinese lifestyle; now they were free to order it just because they wanted to drink it.

To conclude, French restaurants as a symbol of French cuisine, part of French culture demonstrate the spread of French culture entailed by globalization and the popularity of French taste in Shanghai among the Chinese and non-Chinese.

3.3 Globalization with Anglo-American Domination and French Business

If one's language is vulnerable, it is because its people are vulnerable too...since the 19th century, the great movements, in particular the great scientific and technological discoveries, were not made by us. In people's

imagination, the land of dreams is America, no longer France. And English has started to rise. (Catherine Lalumière 1982: 122)

It is true that English has been popular in many parts of the world. Globalization threatens French culture because it weakens the role of French, itself a prominent component of French identity, and enhances that of the English.

3.3.1 English Speaking and French Enterprises

A salient characteristic of English domination is that it has nearly become the language of business everywhere. As a rising global city, Shanghai is not an exception. Even the French admit that in Shanghai it is important to speak Chinese for work, but the ability to speak English seems more important. The transnational corporations in France are no different. Airbus industries in France and Germany use English rather than operate in a bilingual mode (Truchot 1997: 68). When interviewed, Francis, who works for one of the French supermarkets, said that they have different branches in different parts of the world, such as Spain, Italy, China, India, etc. For their headquarters in France, the language they use for circulation of documents is English. These also indicate that what is important to transnational companies is the ability to communicate. A French woman working in the arts in Shanghai said English is also used in the arts. We can see that English is the preferred language in practically all business fields and Shanghai is the “business capital” of China so it should be no different. However, we cannot overlook Anglo-American economic power as that is one of the reasons for the spread of English.

In fact, English is a necessary skill that French expatriates need in order to be deployed to Shanghai. “No, I would not have been sent to Shanghai if I did not speak English. There is no doubt about it,” said many expatriates when interviewed. The importance of speaking English for the French to do business in Shanghai has long been recognized. As far back as 1912, the French who had done surveys on

China's trade suggested that French companies hire French agents able to speak Chinese and English. Even then, English was the commercial language of the East. English was and continues to be the tool to make profit for business. Generally, for the French to speak English is an important skill merely for finding a good job in Shanghai. Otherwise speaking Chinese is necessary and not many Europeans have that skill. Except in some small private French companies or really big ones like Total, where French is spoken in the office, the working language is English. Nico, the manager of a French textile company said, "I have been here for nine years, but I cannot really speak Chinese except some basic words. I don't really need Chinese as I have my assistant who speaks English and French. Of course I should learn Chinese. Actually I am taking some courses in the office."

It is interesting to see how often English words slip out when some French people, especially businessmen, speak French, giving rise to what some critics call "franglais". For example, *le job, timing, le business, le feeling*. In March 2007, I overheard a French friend talking to her husband who was on a business trip in France on the phone. She said "okay" a few times. Once she wrote to me and explained what happened to the family during that week. She wrote "that is life" at the end of her explanation, which is ironic since "*C'est la vie*" is often used in English. Using English words when speaking French does not only happen in Shanghai. It is also popular among the French in France as well. Using English like this indicates the continuing popularity of "franglais", which the French government has tried hard to eradicate but failed.

Often, the French are caricatured as not wanting to speak English or if they do, they do not speak it well. According to some informants the reason they speak English poorly is that in France, foreign language education usually starts late. They



begin to learn English when they are about twelve years old. Some French explained that Germans speak good English because in Germany English is like a second language while in France, English is a foreign language. Some French mentioned the “cultural wars” between France and Britain. France has lost the war, but the French will not accept that and so refuse to speak English. Another reason they mentioned was they are proud of their language and don’t wish to learn another foreign language. I suppose that has some truth in it. In addition, French as the language of romance still holds the charm for many people worldwide.

Nevertheless, in Shanghai most of the French can speak English and many speak good English. This provides unequivocal evidence that English has been very influential on well educated French people although English is not the language of education in France different from some other European countries such as Germany. In France using English terms and expressions in everyday life is considered modern and useful rather than snobbish, annoying or stupid according to a SOFRES poll in March 1994 (cited in Ager 1999: 110). In Shanghai some French tend to think using some English words is snobbish rather than modern. While some were more willing to say it is modern to use some English words even though sometimes they don’t understand why the English expression is used rather than the French. No matter whether it is snobbish or modern, using English words has made these French different from those who do not speak English, and gives them status as global or cosmopolitan. Plus, the large number of French speaking English shows that globalization has forced the French to adopt English to a large extent.

Admittedly, English plays an important role among the French in Shanghai. French is still an important language but it tends to be less influential to the French people when they are far from their country and social system. The French residents

are so distant from their social system. On the other hand, French persons working in Shanghai greatly improved their English rather than their Chinese – perhaps because it is easier for them to do so, perhaps because they feel there is more probability of being sent to a non-Chinese working environment in the future. One young French man said that French people do not improve their Chinese because they spend time speaking English. “I spoke bad English when I arrived in Shanghai but now after a year I speak much better. It is not a problem any more.” About 10 French men mentioned something similar. This is understandable because they have to speak English with the people they interact with as more people could speak English compared to French. In addition, some young French like to send SMS in English even if their English is not good. All these examples suggest that English is more important than Chinese for the French living in Shanghai and more useful than French when the French travel around.

3.3.2 Language and Hegemony

Language use is often related to power and hegemony and for centuries, French was and remains an important world language. Its importance is far beyond the total number of French-speakers in the world. The reasons why it gained ascendancy are simple to understand. Great Britain once held sway over one-third of the entire world’s landmass. As a result of this and the resulting hegemony, it is the official language of 53 countries. Nevertheless, approximately 250 million of America’s 300 million inhabitants speak English³ (World Almanac 2009: 1641).

The importance of the French language in the world is not found in its numbers of speakers. Instead it is closely related to France’s stature and influence in the world (see Gordon and Meunier 2001: 34). There are far more Spanish speakers in the

³ There are greater percentages of English-speaking people in the Netherlands (87%), Sweden (85%) and Denmark (82%) than in the United States.

world with 231 million living in Spain and on the American continents, and Portuguese, with 137 million residing in Brazil, Portugal and former Portuguese colonies in Africa. But despite the fact that there are only about 124 million people in the world who speak French – 72 million as a first language, the rest as a second language – it is still a language to be reckoned with. It is one of the official languages of the United Nations as well as the European Union. Because of its once vast colonial empire on all the continents of the world except Australia, it is one of the official languages in 43 countries, including three Western nations: Belgium, Switzerland and Canada. Although not officially recognized, it is considered the unofficial second language of three North African nations - Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. It was once heralded as “the language of diplomacy,” and too many - even those who do not speak French - “the language of romance.” In the European Union, French is the second most popular foreign language after English (89% choose English, 32% choose French, 18% choose German and 18% choose Spanish.). Perhaps a reason for that choice is that France has the fifth largest economy in the world but that doesn’t account for the position of German, which is the third largest economy after Japan. Another reason has to do with the attraction of High Culture of France. That is to say, some people choose to learn French because they are attracted to French arts and fashion, etc.

Friedman (2003: 750-751), among others, states that English *replaced* French as the global language in the 1960s. In his study of language usage in Hawaii, Friedman suggests that the relation between dominant and minority languages shows the struggle of power between the social actors who are the language carriers. As a result, minority language revitalization occurs in areas of declining hegemonic power. The typical example can be seen from the French governmental efforts of

promoting and protecting French culture and French language to hold its historical glories. There are laws and specific institutions in France to protect the status of the French language and culture. Sonntag (2003) points out that the French government has always wanted to maintain the importance of its language, for “language is an affair of State.” Both as a symbol and an affair of the state, it is promoted as central to French identity. Official language policy aims at “ensuring the presence, prestige and influence of French as the language of the Republic; retaining for French its role as a language for international communication; preserving cultural and linguistic diversity throughout the world by promoting multilingualism” (Brèves 1996: 5, cited in Ager 1999: 165).

Jack Lang, the Minister of Culture under Mitterrand, accused American English of projecting a global “linguistic McDonaldization” (Ager 1999: 165) and English thus became the symbol of American hegemony and Americanization for the French government. This makes it easier to understand the French resentment of American globalization and the explosion that happened to a McDonald’s restaurant in France as apparently anti-‘American-globalization’ (However, McDonald did achieve success in France after making adaptation to local French culture as in the rest of the world.)

The *Francophonie*, as an opposite of Anglophone alliance, needs to be mentioned here. “*La Francophonie*” was created in 1970. It is an organization that includes over fifty independent French-speaking countries, provinces or regions “who share a common perception of the world and who wish to exchange views” (Ager 1996, 1999:185). Aiming at valuing multilingualism and fighting against English domination, it claims to promote cultural diversity rather than homogenization. As Jacques Chirac said in the seventh summit meeting in Hanoi in 1997, “*Francophonie* is above all a political enterprise; defense of French in international organizations.

Francophonie is also, and perhaps in the first place, a certain vision of the world: a political grouping based on the language we share; multilingualism in information highways.” Obviously the *Francophonie* seeks to prevent English domination. On the other hand, the *Francophonie* is a French universalism or French cosmopolitanism by opening to people of different cultures and with the ability to speak a same language—French.

On March 23, 2006, Jacques Chirac, with three senior ministers, left the opening session of the EU's annual spring summit when Ernest-Antoine Seillière, the French head of the European employers' group Unice, abandoned his mother tongue and spoke English instead. They did not come back until Jean-Claude Trichet, the French head of the European Central Bank, addressed the meeting in French (Watt and David 2006). This incident can be interpreted as indicating that not only has the French language lost out to English on the world scene, it has even lost out on the more reduced European stage. Obviously, no matter how hard French government leaders try, or how much Gaullist arrogance they display, the French language must take a back seat to English. During my fieldwork in 2006 I talked to several French about the anecdote of Chirac leaving the annual summit, they did not seem to care about that. For them the ability to speak English is important.

Language is an instrument of knowledge and communication. The party that has the language has the power, a “symbolic power”, in Bourdieu’s (1991:166) term, which is “a power of constructing reality, and one which tends to establish a gnoseological order.” Therefore language policy is a matter of politics and society, of political history. French language policy tells the French fear of the other and their pride in the unique identity of the French universality. French nation-state tries to use the language policy to reconstruct their power and geopolitical power. In his study of

French perceptions of English in France, Flaitz (1988: 200) argues that for the French, language is not a mere tool for communication but also reflects ideology. That is to say, for them the English language is linked to American and British ideology, and to its people. However, up to now from the language policy of France and the actual situation in Shanghai we see two different pictures. One is the French government's political discourse of English as a 'linguistic McDonaldization' (Ager1999: 165) and of fight for multiculturalism or multilingualism with the foundation of the *Francophonie*. The other is the widely usage of English among the French in Shanghai. Obviously the voice of Francophonie is too far from loud enough to make it heard. The dilemma and paradox continues that more and more French can speak better English and use it more often in cross-cultural conversations and France government does not stop the fight against English by using its political discourse of imperialism or linguistic McDonaldization. Furthermore, the frequency of using English among the French in Shanghai is an indicator of Anglo-American language or cultural influence among the French and their cosmopolitanism with accepting English influence and less cosmopolitan in the sense of mixing with more cultures at the same time.

While no one can doubt that French was – and still is – a global language, it was never *the unchallenged* global language as is English today. In any event, the decline of French language is related to France's loss of its empire and, as a result, to its vaunted position within the world economic hierarchy. Language is a symbol of power, what France lost was its power. It became mired in a series of wars both in Asia and Africa, in an attempt to move against a changing tide of decolonization. England underwent a similar upheaval but the "other" English-speaking power, the United States, was able to step in and replace its former colonial master although

they used a different way for their style of “economic colonialism.” As we pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, French, as a language that drives discourse and economic exchange—that which has been given the name *Francophonie*—is another phenomenon of globalization.

In the 17th century French replaced Latin as the international language, in particular as the language of diplomacy. According to Shelly this period is “viewed both as the embodiment of French history and civilization, and as the primary vehicle for promoting French cultural values throughout the world” (Shelly 1999: 305). In the 18th century England, the knowledge of French language and culture on the part of the English nobility gave them a higher status, permitted ordinary people greater social mobility, and made them cosmopolitan (Eagles 2000).

Having examined the language spoken in French enterprises and the usage of English among the French in Shanghai and French language policies, we see English has become the main medium of conversation among French business in Shanghai. The fact that to be able to speak English is a requirement for French *expatriés* to be sent to Shanghai further indicates English domination among the French. On the other hand, the ability to speak English has been something that some French use to label themselves not narrow-minded and thus cosmopolitan. Whether they are really cosmopolitan remains to be seen from their cultural life in Shanghai.

3.3.3 Different Business Culture

We have seen English domination in French business, but that does not mean French business people completely adopt American way of doing things in their business. In 2008 *International Herald Tribune* had a report on the business of a French-American telecom company Alcatel-Lucent (Dolly 2008). A few years ago the French company Alcatel bought the American company Lucent, which many people

thought would grow to be even greater than the sum of the two. However, after a few years, their business went down. The two top executives, one from France, the other from the US, decided to quit. Some analysts remarked the company did not go well because the French have a completely different way of doing business from the American way (ibid.; see also Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars 1993: Chapter 13).

The French also do business in a different way from the Chinese. The conflict between French and Chinese is often manifested in the concrete operations of French companies in Shanghai. Some French often complain it is difficult to do business with the Chinese as the French claim that they are very creative while the Chinese simply follow orders. In their education they are taught to be creative and reflexive while the Chinese do excellent technical work, but they are not creative. Seb once complained of another French man who just arrived at Shanghai, who spoke a great deal, with the Chinese listening and believing everything he said. Opinions of other French were that the Chinese merely do as they are told but they do not have new ideas. They do not know what to do once something does not work. That makes the situation difficult. Some believe that the Chinese are different and that it is difficult to do business with them (*Les Chinois sont difficiles. C'est pas facile de faire les affaires avec eux*). Nic said,

I was sent to Shanghai to solve the problems in our Shanghai office. The Chinese employees are not good enough. They don't know how to create things, but they will do well if you give them orders. But for video games programmers, you really need to be creative. They can do some parts but are not good at combining them together. Sometimes when you ask them whether they understand they say yes but actually they do not know how to do it. It takes too long to finish a project. The company actually is not making money. Because of that I told the company to close the business here but I am not sure whether the company will do it or not as the labor is cheap here.

The French man I worked for a short time always complained about the Chinese suppliers. One day, on a business trip with him, he happened to sit next to another

Frenchman. They talked all the way during the flight, with the other French man also saying it was difficult to do business with Chinese. Originally he had three suppliers in Zhejiang province. According to him, two of them were not professional, did not know how to make the products reach the standard he asked for. Only one was good, but he added that although this supplier knew how to do business, he often did not follow the requirements for manufacturing the products. Some broke easily, others contained toxic ingredients. Another supplier in Shanghai could never finish the project on time although they always said they would. However, these low quality problems are not uncommon in developing countries—that is why the costs are lower.

Another example of displeasure with Chinese performance came from a Basque French who had worked in her field for 20 years in France. She has run a gallery in Shanghai for four years and every month she has to work with a group of Chinese workers who do decoration and construction for exhibitions inside the gallery. She describes how it is to work with Chinese workers and Chinese employees:

We never have much time for construction. Destroying the previous structure and building a new one for the next (exhibition) involves a lot of work. The workers often say they can do it, but they were often late in finishing. Sometimes they raise the material expenses too high, sometimes they just did the work so poorly. Since I started running this gallery, I have a heart problem. Two months ago, I had a heart attack before one of the exhibitions. When I was in France, they gave me a team of five persons. I never had any problem in France. Once something is said, you don't need to worry about it as they will finish it perfectly. Here, they change it again and again. Sometimes the Chinese employees just do not know how to (do the job).

Mainly the issue related to most of the French complaints is that Chinese do not follow rules. What's more, they say always "yes" even when they actually do not understand. This is interpreted by the French as insincerity on the part of the Chinese. "The Chinese way of doing business is not based on sincerity. They always say "yes" even if they cannot (comply)." This is similar to what the French Basque

said. These complaints actually often come from different perceptions of time and ways in which the two cultures express themselves. For example, the Chinese do not say “no” when asked whether or not they understand, but later it turns out they do not understand. These are cultural responses that many French do not understand. After a period of time some French learn that Chinese are not “direct” in expressing themselves.

Cultural differences often make doing business difficult and the relationship very complicated. The truth is that they complain that the other party is being dishonest or insincere when such problems occurred. When I worked part-time for a French gallery, I spent an hour on the phone helping the French Basque negotiate with the Chinese workers who often complained of the French. In regarding to the French I worked for, the relationship between him and the suppliers cannot be easily described. Money was also involved for he had not paid for some of the products. Obviously the Chinese have also their complaints of the French. The Chinese suppliers were not happy but they had no choice as they did not want to spend much money to sue this French man because it was too complicated.

On the other hand, without any doubt a number of French—although we cannot know how many—have left China because they were used to French way of thinking and could not really adapt to the Chinese way. One of the Chinese ways of doing things is indirect. They do not want to directly criticize the others because they want to allow them to maintain “face”. The famous Chinese French writer André Chieng, explains it very well in his book, *La Pratique de La Chine* (2006): Chinese bridges are an excellent example of the Chinese way of doing things. Many Chinese bridges are zig-zag instead of straight. The French who do not understand this find it difficult to do business with Chinese persons. Regarding this issue, I had an interview with the

manager of a French fashion brand in November 2008. It had been nine years since he started the office in Shanghai. Now it has 23 employees, among whom there are two Frenchmen, including him. They do sourcing and production in China, then export the products to France and other European countries. They now have 700 shops in France and Europe with \$120 million in turnover all sold in Europe. He explained how to do business with Chinese:

I am planning to stay for at least another five years. During that time you can see I am working well here with the Chinese. The saying that it is difficult to work with the Chinese is not correct but unfortunately we hear that from some French persons. They say that because they cannot understand the Chinese. Actually it is just a matter of understanding. You need to understand the Chinese and their way of thinking. Every culture is different. The French are different from Africans, Indians, and Spanish, too. The Chinese are not so different from the others. To do the business with one nationality, you have to know its history, culture, and people. To do business with the Chinese, you have to be flexible. French people change all the time. This is part of the Latin culture.

He mentioned another key factor to work well with the Chinese, that of *pouvoir* (power): “Chinese people are not rational, and cannot work with people who don’t have power.” According to him, many French companies are not working well with the Chinese because the people working in Chinese offices do not have the power to decide things. He, however, has the power from the head office in France. Some other French failed, he said, “Because these French do not know where they stand. These people are the second or third generation of Chinese immigrants in France. They think they are French and also Chinese but they are not successful in Chinese culture. The mistakes they make are actually typical French.” He also stressed the French way was different from American way, that “the Americans are different. For them, every thing is written and fixed. It is just a matter of procedure.” This suggests that Morgan (2001) is not entirely correct in arguing that a transnational community of business professionals dominated by American idea and ideology is emerging.

3.4 Localization of French Enterprises

Having discussed the global characteristic of French business in Shanghai, this section will describe the local aspect of French companies in China as globalization also brings in localization. The reason I choose Carrefour is because it is well known among ordinary Chinese in big cities, particularly Shanghai where its stores outnumber those in other cities.

In commerce, globalization often goes hand in hand with localization. The expansion of multinational companies is to seek higher profit by obtaining larger markets and reducing costs. However, the process of relocation and expansion often requires expatriate placements as part of the investment, which is expensive. As defined by a business consultant, Simon Keeley of Hewitt Associates, *localization* places local people into jobs formerly done by expats (Keeley 1999: 1). Localization, therefore, helps to increase profits by using cheap labor, as an expatriate can cost as much as US\$ 300,000-600,000 per year. Toby Littlewood, vice president of human resources and communication at French building materials manufacturer Lafarge in Beijing, defines localization in its broadest sense as “putting together the people that can achieve the optimum results for an organization in the local context” (Rogers 1999:43). One has to take into account that it “encompasses the idea that when you bring in people from other places, you train them in the local language, introduce them to the local business culture, so that they are able to operate efficiently in that culture” (ibid). For Rogers, localization also means hiring people who are not from headquarters but who know something about the local language and the culture. However, reducing labor costs does not necessarily equate with maximizing benefits since localization can decrease the turnover if the labor force is inexperienced. That is why many companies, including French ones, try not to use Chinese in management

positions, as they doubt that Chinese are experienced in the way in which French do business.

French corporations are not fully localized in Shanghai. From the conversations I had with several French managers, the management positions in French companies are more likely to be held by French nationals. The manager of a French fashion company explains, “Old Chinese are not experienced because there was a rupture in the development of the Chinese economy and China was closed to the outside world. Young Chinese have the chance to study abroad but they are not experienced.” Another French woman, who did not want her company to be mentioned, said:

In the two French companies I have worked for, the people in management positions are mainly French. It is true that in this way the communication is easier as we speak the same language and have the same cultural background and mentality. But the current company I am working for has decided recently they want to hire other nationalities in order to achieve diversity in the personnel.

Among all the French companies in Shanghai and in China there are two localized corporations. One is the industrial and chemical company Saint-Gobain, a global Fortune 500 company that designs, produces, and distributes building material, such as flat glass for building and automobile applications, ceramics, plasterboard, etc. all around the world whose shares can be purchased in several exchanges. Since 1985 when it started in China today it has 46 subsidiary companies in China. It employs over 11,700 people throughout China, only about 200 of them French. Their section managers include French, Chinese, Korean, and Americans. As with the retail company Carrefour, which also has a large number of employees throughout China, one could say that Saint-Gobain in China is localized and internationalized.

Carrefour is another one which has localized on such a large scale. With the target of developing hypermarkets, Carrefour—with its Chinese name *jialefu*—is the most famous in Chinese metropolitan areas, partially because of its success and partly,

however, because of the massive demonstrations against Carrefour across China during April and May of 2008. Carrefour is also the biggest French company in China. I got a chance to interview the customer relation manager, Francois D who provided me with the following information and data. Since its establishment in China in 1995, it has 40,000 employees, including 80 foreign expatriates. Some expatriates have local contracts as this is cheaper for the company but the majority are sent by Carrefour France. The head office of Carrefour China is located at Lujiazui, Pudong of Shanghai.

The success of Carrefour China lies in its strategies, its Chinese partner *Lianhua*, and Chinese government policy. The management strategy of Carrefour China is decentralization. That is to say, all the stores are autonomous and can, for example, change the price according to the region. They are managed and organized based on the consideration of the regional language and culture.

The localization of Carrefour China is manifested in a few aspects. First the structure of the store is Chinese. In the stores of Carrefour in France, all the goods are included in one floor while in China all the Carrefours have two floors. This strategy is adopted because they believe Chinese expect department stores to have two floors, and it is true in China many large stores have two floors. Second, most of the products, particularly the fresh goods, are from China. Then many of the store managers are Chinese. For example, among the 20 stores in Shanghai, only four or five directors and customer managers are French, the rest of the employees are Chinese. Taking the Gubei store (see Figure 3.5) as an example, there are only two French working in the store: the director, and the customer relation manager. A third French man who works in the store is not a Carrefour employee but a man from a

French wine company called French Wine Paradoxe, who is a supplier of Carrefour and works in the wine section.

The Hongqiao Development Zone, located in the western part of Shanghai, is characterized as a foreign trade center, and is the sole commercial and trade development zone in Shanghai that integrates the businesses of exhibitions, office service, residence, catering and shopping. Hongqiao is home to a large part of Shanghai's expatriate community. In addition to the commercial advantages, it has a large number of markets and entertainment districts and it offers proximity to schools, sports facilities and leisure centers. This is a favorite precinct for foreign families also because the fast developing Gubei area in Hongqiao is also a vibrant and fun place to "hang out." All this explains the importance of Gubei store for Carrefour. The turnover of the store is also the largest among all the Carrefour stores.



Figure 3.5 Gubei Carrefour, situated in Shuicheng Road.

Carrefour has two main categories—hypermarket and supermarket. Hypermarkets usually cover an area of 8000 m², and supermarkets cover 3000 to 4000 m². Gubei store is a hypermarket. Food is usually separated from other commodities and in Gubei store, the first floor is for non-food being located on the second floor. On

the second floor there is a section of imported products, mainly imported from Europe—not only from France, but from Spain, Italy, Germany, etc. There are also imported foods from Asia, including Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. The quantity of French products is quite ample, not only because it is a French company but also because in Shanghai, people appreciate the French way of life and for the Chinese in Shanghai, French products carry a luxury image. All the foods on the counters are marked with the place of origin. Among this section of imported products, there is a subsection for wines. To have a Frenchman working particularly in the wine section (see Figure 3.6) indicates the popularity of wine in the community and the importance of the sale of wine. Since 2007, Gubei store also offers online shopping for about 2800 products. Most of the online shoppers are foreigners.

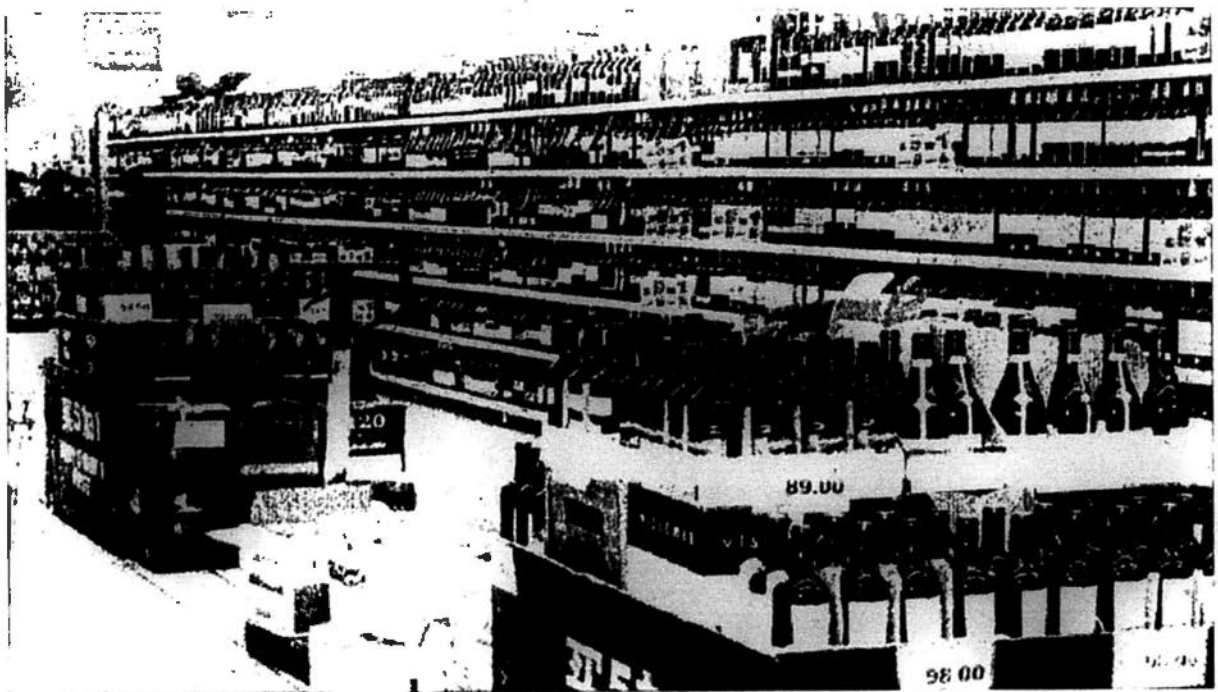


Figure 3.6 Wine section in Gubei Carrefour.

Gubei Carrefour seeks to offer products of different levels to attract the clients of all levels. Alice, who has been in Shanghai for nine years, recalled how the products in Gubei Carrefour changed. “At the beginning, the products were of good quality” but, according to her, “the quality decreased after a couple of years. Then after another a

couple of years the quality was increased. I suppose their strategy was to target the expatriate community in the area at the beginning, and then they probably thought to broaden their market to entertain the majority of the clients—the Chinese.” It is true because eventually it was possible to again increase the quality was because now Shanghai has become more and more Western with the coming of more expatriates and the services related Western standards provided in the city.

Another reason for Carrefour’s success, as Francois said, is that it has adapted to a Chinese way of working. Since the beginning, Carrefour always keeps the relationship with its Chinese partner as they believe Chinese know better about Chinese culture. However, the Chinese partner tends to have smaller stores. Francois also mentioned that there is certainly a Carrefour “corporate culture” but it is not entirely of French origin because the French company includes individuals from such a variety of cultures and is found in so many different countries, that the root culture is no longer exclusively French nor is Carrefour in China merely a hybrid of Sino-French cultures.

In addition to Carrefour China, there is Carrefour sourcing in Shanghai. Carrefour sourcing is the platform for Europe and China. Chinese government policy has sped up the development of Carrefour in China. The Chinese government encourages Carrefour to open more stores in different parts of China to create more job opportunities and help boost the local economy.

Carrefour is very popular among the French, particularly those with family in Shanghai, as it gives them access to French products. Actually, Carrefour shopping becomes a common topic among housewives. A French woman who moved to Hong Kong from Shanghai with her husband said, “What is good about Shanghai is you can

find Carrefour in many places. You know Carrefour is famous in France. It is a pity there is no Carrefour in Hong Kong.”

To conclude, localization makes the relation between Carrefour and the Chinese closer. Carrefour has not only become part of Shanghai French life, but also that of metropolitan Chinese with its large number of stores. This exemplifies that for global business or multinational corporations merely following Anglo-American corporation culture is not important, localization to Chinese situation is.

3.5 Incidents and Boycotts of French Products

Institutionally, business is not only commercial but often political so the operation of French business fluctuates with the bilateral political relation between France and China. In the spring, every thing is blooming while in the winter, things tend to grow at a slower speed or even stop growing for a short while. French business was affected to a certain extent by what happened during Beijing Olympic torch relay in Paris.

3.5.1 Incidents and Boycotts of French Products

On April 8, 2008, on the Paris leg, protesters succeeded in disrupting the event despite heavy security provided by about 3000 French police. Many foreign and Tibetan human rights activists demonstrated under the slogan of “Free Tibet”. During the event, a pro-Tibet independence activist attempted to disrupt and sabotage the torch relay. He reached for the third torch bearer Jin Jing sitting in a wheelchair and lunged toward her. Jin Jing tried to protect the flame. Eventually the police wrestled the activist to the ground. Soon Jin Jing became a national hero as China’s national dailies praised her for her courage in protecting the flame⁴.

⁴ The Paris incident was not the only one that happened during the 2008 Olympics torch relay around the world. Since the start of the Olympics torch relay on March 24, it had been met by protesters representing a range of political issues, particularly those related to China’s human rights record, the

After the incident, French president Sarkozy's remarks earned more criticism from Chinese citizens and fuelled the fire of Chinese patriotism. President Sarkozy said that he would attend the Olympic opening ceremony in Beijing only if Beijing agreed to talk with Dalai Lama.

These two things caused explosive reactions in China⁵. Numerous Chinese netizens attacked France with their messages on the Internet⁶. A message spread among these Chinese netizens saying that the French supermarket Carrefour and the luxury brand group LVMH supported pro-Tibetan movement outside of China. Chinese netizens called for a boycott of French products and Carrefour, particularly on May Day. Thus Carrefour became a main target of Chinese nationalists. A netizen left a message on Chinese sina website saying, if someone goes shopping in Carrefour, then he or she is *hanjian* (traitor), a very insulting pejorative term in China. Discussion forums, direct chats, Internet sites, blogs, e-mail boxes or SMS through mobile phone all called for a boycott against Carrefour stores. There was also a website called anti-jialefu.cn. In late April and May 2008, thousands of Chinese carrying Chinese flag and singing the national anthem demonstrated in front of Carrefour outlets across different cities in China, such as Xi'an, Harbin, Jinan, Beijing, Shanghai, and Chengdu. Some demonstrators carried the slogan "Carrefour, out of China". Most of the demonstrators were reported to be students. In Chengdu some fighting happened in front of a Carrefour. In some cities demonstrators burned the French flag. Demonstrations and the call for boycott of French products were indicators of Chinese patriotism and nationalism. In other words, the numerous fluxes of foreign

recent unrest in Tibet, the war in Darfur, China's support to regimes in Myanmar and Zimbabwe, North Korean defectors, Falun Gong persecution and the political status of Taiwan.

⁵ Most of the information about the demonstration and the incidents in the following came from my observation and a variety of news media. I closely followed the Chinese, English, and French news during April, May, June, until the Olympic Games period. If the description does not have a source, it is from my observation.

⁶ China is probably the country that has the largest number of people using the Internet.

commodities and foreign cultures brought by globalization have not brought in cosmopolitanism among these Chinese.

A coin has two sides. When the Chinese netizens were in frenzy about the boycotts of French products and not shopping in Carrefours in China, they probably did not realize that they themselves were the victims of their own actions. Carrefour is a French retailer, but most of the products Carrefours sell across China come from China and are targeted for Chinese clients. Additionally, ninety-eight percent of 40,000 employees in Carrefour China are Chinese.

3.5.2 Consequence of the Incidents

The boycott of French products and the demonstrations against France across China have caused anxiety for the French companies and the French population in China. As already mentioned, the website of Carrefour in China was reportedly hacked and the manager of Carrefour China, José Luis Duran, said, “The situation was serious although it has not significantly affected the business” (*Le Monde* 2008). However, in late 2008 a Frenchman who works as a consultant in China told me some of the French projects were frozen after the demonstration. Some French entrepreneurs were reported to be nervous about the boycott (Berber 2008). In November 2008, at my visit to the customer relation department of Gubei Carrefour store in Shanghai, I saw a copy of the interview on the subject between the manager of Carrefour China José Luis Duran and a Chinese journalist was posted on the bulletin board at the entrance. On Carrefour China website they also post a Chinese version of interview between the manager and a Chinese journalist (see Appendix).

Words from the French giant Total also appeared on the Internet. Its general president, Gérard Mestrallet, was quoted, “We have to be careful to distinguish political messages and not to hurt millions of Chinese.” China “offers us very good

opportunities. We are China's friends, and we want to maintain the relationship." The general president of LVMH, Bernard Arnault, said in an interview with *le Figaro*, "The consequence for our group is limited. It could become more important if we, I imagine, betray the public contract." The general manager of Hermes Asia-Pacific said, "To boycott Olympics Games is not a solution, by the yardstick of Asian mass, in particular Chinese, this kind of initiative risks being diluted" (Bezot, de Changy, Pedroletti 2008). The remarks of these managers of important French groups again show business interest comes first for them under such a political crisis.

Jolie told me in Shanghai that some French were injured at the time of the furor. She said she and many of her friends were afraid of telling Chinese that they are French. She recalled her unpleasant experience: "During my study in Nanjing a year ago I was on a good terms with some *tongxue* (classmates)⁷. With one of them I often chatted on msn. After the incident in Paris, she sent me messages saying she did not want to talk to me any more because I am French and asked me to go back to France. I was shocked!" She also mentioned that she did not go to Carrefour during those periods because she was afraid of being hurt by the Chinese. In 2006, Stéphane, one of my key informants told me his happy encounter in China as a Frenchman: "In 1998 I had already arrived in China and worked in Wuhan. The night France won the FIFA world cup I went back home by taxi very late. The taxi driver gave me a free drive when he knew I am French. He also said French are good." Maybe during the Chinese fervent patriotism period in 2008, Stéphane would not dare to tell the taxi driver that he is French.

An incident also happened between a French friend and me during that period. This French friend had worked in Carrefour before. After the call among Chinese

⁷ Classmates are a very important relationship for the Chinese. This French woman used the Chinese word of *tongxue* instead of friends or classmates shows that she had close contacts with Chinese and her understanding of Chinese culture is not superficial.

netizens for a boycott and probably after seeing the red heart and the word of China in my msn id, he sent me messages through msn saying, “The Chinese are stupid by calling for boycott of French products and not shopping in Carrefour. Actually they do not know the Chinese are the victims of this boycott. China is so bad. No one wants to stay in China.” The next day he showed me many pictures of Dalai Lama and Free Tibet. I knew he did that to provoke me, but obviously he was also agitated by Chinese reactions.

I recorded the incident and boycott of French products here to demonstrate global business is not purely commercial. For global business, localization and local sentiment are important. An overlook of local sentiment is likely to cause loss in global business. The political power of state as an invisible hand is also there to manipulate the operation of business and globalization. Simultaneously expatriates life also gets political as a consequence.

Conclusion

The development of French business is the result of globalization, expansion of capitalism and Sino-French relations. Despite its relatively recent presence compared to other countries it has witnessed rapid growth. The increasing French business in China helps to understand the existence of the relatively large population of French in China, particularly in Shanghai. A large number of these companies are small and medium sized.

French culture enjoys a great popularity in Shanghai, seen from the numerous stores of French brands which are an image of French *haute culture* and the large number of French restaurants. In addition, some of French restaurants also serve as a meeting point for the French expatriates. The popularity of French brands and consuming French cuisine among the French and the Chinese, on the other hand,

demonstrates the power of globalization. It further articulates consumption culture and form a metropolitan lifestyle involving incorporating other cultural elements.

Globalization brings in English as an operational language within French business. French becomes a minority language within French enterprises in Shanghai. In addition, more French improve their English rather than Chinese. All this tells the importance of English and its domination among the French expatriates. However, this is because they have no choice but to improve their English. Paradoxically, among the French expatriates, those who can speak English consider themselves global. Thus speaking English becomes a cosmopolitan label among the French expatriates. Are they really cosmopolitan as they label themselves? The coming chapters will examine their social life and personal network to answer this question. Next chapter will present the background information of the French expatriates in Shanghai.

The French business in Shanghai has presented two aspects: a global characteristic with English as the main communication language, and a localization of business. The localization of French business indicates French corporate culture is different from Anglo-American culture despite English domination around the world. The localization and the incidents happened to French business in 2008 point to the importance that good relation with the local host and adaptation to local situation have on the success of global business. Thus earlier studies that say global business follow American way are not grounded.

Chapter 4 The French in Shanghai Today

It is never easy to understand the cultural life of another nationality. I remember going into the field with great enthusiasm. I thought it would not be too difficult to understand the French in Shanghai. A couple of months in the field showed me how wrong I was. The more I talked with the people, the more I discovered how ignorant I was of their “culture”. Then one day I was talking to a French student who said it was difficult to talk to the Chinese because of cultural differences and different ways of thinking. But she added, it was not so difficult to talk to me because I had a notion of what a “French culture” is. What she said actually bewildered me because I actually did not find it easy to understand them, even at the time.

4.1 The French Population

As mentioned in the introduction, cheap labor force draws capital and people from foreign markets to China. Shanghai, as China’s economic center, draws the biggest number of the foreigners who come to work in China. At the same time it attracts a large number of foreign exchange students. According to *Shanghai Statistical 2007 Yearbook* (SMSB 2007: 42, 120), 4,854,000 international visitors passed through Shanghai customs, among whom the French numbered 156,800. In 2006, the number of foreign resident permits reached 119,876 persons, among whom 5437 were French.

Table 4.1 Foreign Populations (Unit: person)

	Total foreign visitors	French-visitors	Total foreign residents permits	French residents permits
2005	4,522,700	134,400	100,011	4181
2006	4,854,000	156,800	119,876	5437

Source: SMSB 2007: 42, 120.

The population of the French is sizeable. For example, in Shanghai in late 2006 the French community surpassed the 5,000 Germans, becoming the largest European community within the city. The French Consulate in Shanghai estimates that there

are about 6,000 French people in Shanghai (See Table 4.2). French population in Shanghai grows rapidly. In 1992 there were only about 100 French. A former vice consul from the French Consulate told me in an interview that in January 2007, that 5,554 French citizens were registered with the General Consulate, among whom 2,881 - including housewives, a few students and children - did not work. Of the 2,673 who work, *expatriés* make up of 62 percent, while the remaining 38 percent came on their own to look for a job. The number of people coming to look for work is gradually increasing and the proportion of *expatriés* is decreasing. The real number of French expatriates in Shanghai probably exceeds 6000 as many people do not register in the Consulate. According to the statistics presented on the official website of France's Embassy in China, about 100, 000 French passed through Shanghai in the year of 2004⁸, and about 90,000 visited Shanghai in 2005. According to the French Consulate, the French community grows 15-20 percent per year. The numbers are sizeable enough to again make Shanghai the "*Paris de l'Orient*," as the French President Nicolas Sarkozy put it in his speech to the French population, during his visit of China in November 2007.

The 6,000 more or less "fixed residents" comprise interns, young graduates, artists, diplomats, lawyers, a few medical doctors, managers sent by their companies, teachers and a few exchange students. Some of these - particularly managers - are usually accompanied by a spouse and children. The social stratification of the French in Shanghai is varied. The French population is, as Scott has described them, persons with skills, including "a broader stream of migrants who are unspectacularly part of a 'normal' mass middle class" (Scott 2006: 1107). Their occupations include

⁸ Unless otherwise stated, all the statistics about the numbers of French enterprises and population in Shanghai are from the official website of French Consulate in Shanghai. <http://www.consulfrance-shanghai.org/accueil.html?lang=fr>

specialities such as health, education and welfare professionals, project specialists, consultants, private career development practitioners, businessmen, academicians, corporate transferees, students and even entertainers.

Table 4.2 French Population in Shanghai (over 6 months of residential length)

Registered	Residents
<i>Expatrié</i>	1657
Local-hired	1016
Non-working population	2881
<i>Subtotal</i>	5554
Non-registered	446
Total	6000

Source: *Le Consulat Général de France à Shanghai*, an interview with Mr. Stéphane Bourchardy, a previous Vice Consul.

In addition to the 6,000 estimated in January 2007, there were about 2,000 to 3,000 French exchange students in Shanghai⁹. They are a homogenous group, having the same motivations and similar expectations: an interest in Asian or Chinese culture. Although some students are in a one-year exchange programs, the majority are enrolled in programs that last only three to six months, and cannot, therefore, register with the French Consulate in Shanghai. Three thousand is not a small number in the sense that China is not the most popular destination for French students. French students, particularly those looking for an internship after their studies, meet many other French persons. Many students seek and find such internships in Shanghai after their exchange programs. They believe that meeting other French will facilitate their job-hunting although they don't limit themselves to French companies. Many exchange students want to remain or return to Shanghai after their program and some

⁹ An interview with Mr. Stéphane Bourchardy, a previous Vice Consul of Consulat Général de France à Shanghai in 2006.

do come back if they find a job. The number of students and the fact that large numbers of French people visited Shanghai and other cities in China are unequivocal evidence of the growing interest among the French in China and in Chinese society. They also have many opportunities to meet other nationalities, as many exchange students from other countries are on the university campus. These exchange students are not discussed in this study due to their special status and short stay.

One of the characteristics of the French population in Shanghai is its relatively young age. According to the information on the website of the French Consulate in Shanghai, in March 2007 the majority of the French in Shanghai were between 25-40 years old while the average age of the French population in France is 39.2 years old (Embassy of France in US 2008). The age of the French community tells us that the French who reside in Shanghai are there temporarily and although we do not exclude that there are some French who settle in Shanghai, replacement is a frequent occurrence.

The French live mainly in four areas: Pudong, Hongqiao, Huqingping, and the historical French Concession area. The historical French concession area, which today covers Luwan and Xujiahui Districts, occupies the center, south, and west of urban Shanghai. It is the most prosperous commercial area while Pudong, Hongqiao, and Huqingping are more suburban and newly developed. At the same time, Pudong and Hongqiao are also industrial areas. Hongqiao started to develop quickly because of the establishment of the Hongqiao Development Zone in 1980s but Pudong did not get much attention until 1990, when Deng Xiaoping made a tour to Shanghai. Before 1990 Pudong was mainly farmland and countryside. Studies show that professional expatriate communities tend to concentrate in suburbs (Glebe 1986, Wagner 1998, White 1998, Scott 2006). People with school age children usually live close to

schools, which is a pattern for skilled migrants (Scott 2006). The French school is in Huqingping and there are other international schools concentrated in Huqingping, Pudong and Hongqiao. Most French with children live in Hongqiao and Huqingping. Although some live in Pudong, most French families residing there do not have children over five years old.

In contrast to the suburban skew, young single French or couples without children live more centrally in the French concession area with accessibility to city-center amenities, including bars, pubs and clubs that are important spaces of sociability. As they say: "That is where the life is".

4.2 Why They Came

It has been fashionable for the French to come to China. As one said "*La Chine est le pays à la mode en ce moment*" (China today is the country in vogue). Coming to China is a result of China's economy and the mass media coverage in the French press. Many transnational corporations and hundreds of small and medium foreign enterprises (SMEs) are headquartered in Shanghai, a rising global city. In this capitalist era, the relocation of factories, the expansion of transnational corporations and the setup of SMEs, are a result of flexible capital and the pursuer of more benefits. Moreover, global factors often result in increased unemployment in some professions in developed countries and increase the requirements of the skilled labor force in global cities and regional centers in developing countries. Cheap labor in China coupled with its potentially huge market attracts these relocations and flexible capital. Increasing capital also pushes Chinese companies to absorb skilled foreign labor. The increasing number of French companies provides unequivocal evidence that China is important for French economical development. *L'Année de la Chine en*

France (Chinese year in France) in 2004 also played an important role in making China, Chinese culture and Chinese economy known to the French people.

Mass media in France plays an important role in attracting young French persons to China in the way they are important means of transmitting information. The television, radio¹⁰, the daily newspapers talk about China, if not every day, at least every week. For example, on 28-29 January 2006 (weekend issue), one of the French dailies, *La Croix*, which is not a French main daily, had a one third of its coverage on China¹¹. The front page was with the title over a picture of a Shanghai man called Chen Weide who owns at least twenty pair of shoes he bought in the foreign places to which he has travelled (see Figure 4.1):

Chine, Le quatrième empire: La Chine devient la quatrième puissance économique mondiale, derrière les Etats-Unis, le Japon et l'Allemagne. L'empire du Milieu, qui fête samedi le Nouvel An chinois, a perdu ses complexes. Il attire de plus en plus de Français (China, the fourth power: China has become the fourth world economic power following the United States, Japan and Germany. The Middle Kingdom, which celebrates New Year Saturday, has lost its complexes. It attracts more and more French.).

The remarks in the picture from him: *Shanghai est trop rapide, trop bondée, et trop vaste. J'aimerais pouvoir ne pas travailler et parcourir le monde...Je ne voyage que pendant les vacances. Et je ramène des chaussures de partout* (Shanghai is too fast, too crowded, too vast. I wish I could not work and discover the world. I only travel during vacations. And I bring back shoes from everywhere.). This undoubtedly presents a new economic reality of China, shows the affluent Chinese society, and thus creates a fantasy that attracts the French.

¹⁰ I could hear news about China on the Radio de France International (RFI) nearly every day in Shanghai.

¹¹ The newspaper had different news on China as a whole, and also reports on different parts of China. The first cover talks about China as the fourth economic power after America, Japan, and Germany. And France should not be afraid of that, as Chinese economic growth is good for the French. I have to thank Paul-Vincent Fontaine, the philosophy teacher of the French school for bringing me the newspaper from France in 2006.

la Croix
Samedi | Dimanche

RELIGION & SPIRITUALITÉ
L'homélie, un art
difficile, une Parole
dans son temps CAHIER CENTRAL

la-croix.com Samedi 28, dimanche 29 janvier 2006 - Quotidien n° 37357 1,10 €

Chine

Le quatrième empire

La Chine devient la quatrième puissance économique mondiale, derrière les États-Unis, le Japon et l'Allemagne. L'empire du Milieu, qui fête samedi le Nouvel An chinois, a perdu ses complexes. Il attire de plus en plus de Français P. 3 & 10



Figure 4.1 Front page of *La Croix* on January 28-29, 2006, weekend issue.

Reports on China and stories about making fortunes arouse their interest and the dreams of success. This makes some people who do not dare to think of starting their own business abroad or living a wealthy life before start to expect this day to come.

This is as Appadurai (1996:53) said that more people now start to consider which they did not think possible before. That is why Bruno who is around 64 and speaks no English or Chinese came to Shanghai in 2004 to start business with some Chinese. Unfortunately his attempts at making good money failed a couple of times.

On the www.vivrealetranger.com website—the column that mentions Chinese destinations—each month about a hundred young French arrive in Shanghai hoping to find a job or start a company, according to official consulate statistics (*Vivre à l'Étranger* 2007). The reason for this astonishing phenomenon is that the young French are disappointed by what they perceive as a lack of interesting job opportunities in France. Of course, they also come to China for adventure and experience.

A student of finance I got to know soon after my arrival in the field said that in France they heard a lot about China. He also added that many in France are afraid of China's economy because many French companies go bankrupt or move to China - a cause of the high rate of unemployment. That is actually the main reason why many leave France to look for opportunities in other countries - not only in China but in America and Great Britain as well (Hussey 2007). A fear of China is also paramount in the minds of many French. The web page of Cercle Francophone (2006) had a link to the article "*Quand La Chine Nous Réveillera*" (When China Will Wakes Us Up) (Valance 2003) published in *L'Expansion* in 2003. The article talked about the growth of Chinese economy as a "yellow peril" (*péril jaune*). In the article it says that Chinese economic growth makes China a power that will change the world, affecting old industrial countries. Thus the West needs to at least adapt its economic and social structures to defend itself against this unrestrained competitor and pressure China to revalue Chinese yuan.

From what I heard from my informants, the people I met, and what I read, we can see that the reasons for coming to China are varied and the many different categories can be found among the French in Shanghai: tourism or adventure, financial reasons, job opportunities, for a change, following friends, following the husband or wife, interest in Chinese or Asian culture, simply fulfilling company obligations, and the last but not the least, the influence of mass media.

Fulfilling company obligations comes first. This refers to *expatriés* who are sent by the company. Their spouse, either wife or husband, follow them. Some young people come to Shanghai because their friends decide to come.

Job opportunity is another important reason that many French are coming to China. Many French in Shanghai mentioned that in France it was not easy to find a job. Companies moving out and constant high unemployment (about nine percent in 2007, one percent lower than previous two or three years) pushes young people to move abroad to seek for opportunities for jobs and success. They believe from what they hear and see in the media that it should be easy to find a job in China, as China is the factory of the world¹². Nowadays more and more young people leave France. The UK and the USA are still popular French destinations but China has become a new and more “exotic” destination. In addition, relocations of global companies and flexible capital compel many companies to send skilled workers to establish businesses in developing countries. This also contributes to the phenomenon of an increasing number young people coming to look for a job. Nevertheless, for some, both *expatriés* and young people, interest in Chinese culture also plays a role.

Adventure or tourism comes after job opportunity as some young singles come as tourists or for adventure, but decide to stay. A twenty-seven-year old Frenchman

¹² While still in the midst of writing my thesis, the worst worldwide financial crisis in 80 years has started. China seems to have lost some of its impetus as “the factory of the world” although so far it has not suffered as greatly as many other industrial countries.

I met at a birthday party in Pudong said that he had only planned to visit a friend who was working in Shanghai for two weeks' vacation, but "I found the life here is great, so I decided to stay. That was two years ago." Another said, "It is amazing that I have been here for four years. I came because a friend asked me to come and visit him. So I came, and then I stayed!"

Some young singles come to Shanghai for financial reasons. Cost of living is high in France so young people cannot often go out as often as they would like or eat out with a girlfriend or boyfriend as they might like. Others simply get tired of the same routine and just want to go abroad for a change.

In other words, nearly all of the French expatriates in Shanghai chose to come to Shanghai because, just as Holdsworth (2002: xiv) describes the expatriates in Hong Kong, "They knew deep down that whatever their endeavor might be, the likelihood of their succeeding was greater here than anywhere else in the world." A French manager who had worked in India before being sent to Shanghai said, "The French come to Shanghai for the purpose of business because if you do not know what to do in your life, you go to India rather than Shanghai." The foundation in 2007 of the Young Economic Chamber of Shanghai, further proves that the number of French with entrepreneurial spirit is not small. This is just like the historical period when the Westerners also came to China for opportunities not available at home. In the 1920s, what brought the Europeans, including the French to China and French Indochina was the prospect of greater freedom and the opportunity to live out the dreams and ambitions that were denied them back home. For most of the French, Shanghai offers an easy life, very different from that in France although in France they have very good social welfare. It is probably the easy life and freedom from cultural rules that attract people as in France the French usually have to follow certain cultural

rules during their life just like the Chinese in China, Americans in America, etc. However, in Shanghai the main stream is Chinese culture rather than French. That is to say, even Chinese want the French to follow Chinese rules they may not know how to say it and make these people follow. Some French take advantage of this.

Sometimes fantasy and imagination are far from the reality and life in Shanghai is not as easy as some had been led to believe. Two students I had met left Shanghai because they could not find an internship after their exchange programs in universities. One of them returned after two months because some friend found him an internship but he was not satisfied with the job and again departed. These two are examples of the many young people who cannot find jobs and leave disappointed.

In *La Semaine Française de Shanghai* (French Week in Shanghai) during my fieldwork period in 2006, many French showed up in the streets where activities were held and stopped by the stand of the boules game (*la pétanque* in French), which is very popular in South France, particularly Provence. I was there to help a French friend to organize the boules game, so I got a chance to talk to people who stopped by. They talked about how people in France were crazy about China and how they became disappointed in China. Stories became daily conversation that some young French came to China with their suitcase without knowing anybody before arrival. Most people conclude that Shanghai is a fascinating city but is difficult for the people who come to find a job.

Shanghai, along with New York, London, and Sydney, have become the four favorite destinations for the French seeking work overseas. Many French people think they can make a fortune in China as they heard somebody has opened a company in Shanghai¹³. They believe that life is easier in Shanghai. Some came to

¹³ In late November 2007, one day *Radio France Internationale* (RFI) mentioned that Shanghai had become the second most popular place after United States for young French entrepreneurs to land.

Shanghai because friends who have been in Shanghai told them how good it is. Two French in their twenties I interviewed said they came to China partially because they wanted to go out more often or to live together with their girlfriends. Both of them came from outside of Paris. Compared to France, life in Shanghai is cheaper. French restaurants are expensive, but rents are not expensive and they think in China they can do what they want to do. One of them said to me, “Look at our apartment here. It is more than 120 m². It is impossible for me and my girlfriend to rent such a place in France. We also have an ayi coming once a week to help us with the cleaning in the apartment. In France we would not dare to think about this. That is why we decided to come to China.” Therefore coming to China for these French involves, as for the British in Shanghai during the semi-colonial period, “going up a class in both lifestyle and aspirations” (Bickers 1999: 85).

Most of the people I met in Shanghai in 2006 said it was also difficult to change things in France. They get bored in France because everything remains the same for years. As they say in French: *Il me fait chier* (It makes me bored). *C'est chiang!* (It is boring) *Rien a bougé* (Nothing has moved on). *C'est lourd* (It is heavy). *Je ne peux pas imaginer que tu peux rester dans un pays comme ça* (I cannot imagine that you can remain in a country like that).

As we have already seen in Chapter One, French people have a special feeling for Shanghai. They like visiting and living in historical French areas due to the nostalgia for their historical glories. They imagine themselves to be in the historical French concession, or “*le quartier français*” as they put it.

In Shanghai they can live a rather easy life compared to that in France, as life in Shanghai is less expensive. As a global city, Shanghai has access to many foreign products ranging from daily life consumer products to cultural products, which

enables them to live a life similar to that in their original country. For them, *Shanghai c'est pas la Chine* (Shanghai is not China). *Shanghai c'est plus occidental que chinois* (Shanghai is more Western than Chinese), which explains why foreigners can live a life completely separated from the Chinese. Thierry said, "The life in Shanghai is very easy. You don't need to integrate into the local society. We have been here for two years, and we don't speak Chinese. But we still have an easy and comfortable life. If you are Chinese, and don't speak French, and know nobody, I do not think you can stay for two years in France. This is the advantage of Shanghai." What he said projects the picture of French seclusion from the local society.

During my fieldwork, I talked to people of different nationalities, including American, British, Belgian, Canadian, Turkish, Australian, Swiss, and Spanish. Most of them think Shanghai is more Western than most Chinese cities and they think that in Shanghai, non-Chinese can live in their own compound and form a micro-community of their home country and live a life isolated from the Chinese. As Sophie who taught in a French fashion school in Shanghai said, there are different micro-communities of different countries in Shanghai. Nic told me about one of his colleagues, an American man, who worked in a video company. He lived in Shanghai for a year without speaking a single Chinese word. After work, he spent his time in his apartment, where he could order food by telephone or MSN. By ordering through MSN he does not need to speak a single Chinese word. He just inputs what he wants and the address to which he wants it delivered. Cases like this may be rare. At least I did not meet any people like that. However it is true that many French, in particular the *expatriés* cannot speak Mandarin except a few words that are used in daily life. There will be further discussion on this in the chapter on interaction.

It is sometimes difficult to imagine how people will behave when they do not have to concern themselves about their image or following certain cultural regulations. During my last field trip, on November 15, 2008, the French woman I was staying with asked me to join her and some friends for dinner in the historical French concession. We went to *Tap Anyaki Sushi Sashimi*, a Japanese restaurant on Dong Ping Road. It was a Saturday and the six of us arrived at about ten o'clock at night. I was the only Chinese and since the other three tables on the same floor were fully occupied by French people, only French was heard. There were more than thirty people in our section of the restaurant. Twenty minutes after our arrival, the people on the next table started to sing, dance, and shout. Truly, the way they shouted and sang in the restaurant was beyond the normal French behavior that I had witnessed during my field studies. The French friends in our group said, "The way they act is crazy. They would not behave like this in France. So many of them came together also shows that the French always stay with other French."

The attraction of Shanghai for the French and other foreigners has a lot to do with its status as a global city. Global cities are very important for the international mobile professionals to build their identity. As Scott says (2006: 1113) "They (British expatriates) have strong professional identities, like working and networking in a major economic center like Paris, and their spatial mobility is strongly associated with upward social mobility." In other words, working in global cities is also a way to appreciate social, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu 1992). For example, London and Paris form part of an international network of "escalators" (Fielding 1992) for international professionals (Breen and Rottman 1998; Sklair 2001, Scott 2006). Similarly Shanghai offers easy access to an international network of "escalators" for the French in addition to its role as Chinese economic center.

Thus Shanghai, as a global cosmopolitan city with its charm of enormous opportunity of jobs attracts the French expatriates. In other words, the main motivation for the French to come to Shanghai is grasping economic offer rather than exploring another culture. This sets the tone for their not so cosmopolitan social life with other nationalities in Shanghai later.

4.3 The Nature of the French Community

The word “*transient*” characterizes the French community in Shanghai because of the relatively short length of stay. Actually this is a commonality of all expatriates community (Cohen 1977). Looking at the composite of the French and the reasons why they came to Shanghai, we see that most of them do not intend to stay for an extended period of time. Their time in Shanghai may range from six months to a year. Some may even stay 10 years or more but for most, Shanghai is just a stop along their life passage. Today it seems that more and more French are willing to stay longer in Shanghai. Many have been in China for more than four years. Other French have been there eight or 10 years and they plan to stay longer. However, none of the French interviewed, including those who are married with Chinese, said they want to stay in Shanghai or China for the rest of their lives. When asked how long she will stay in China, Jolie said, “I will probably stay another two years. We (she and her boy friend) are planning to get married soon but we don’t want our children to live in China, which is greatly polluted. It is too dangerous for the children.” Her boyfriend agreed with these statements. As Amanda, who has been in China for 14 years, says, “My husband is Chinese but my two daughters are of French nationality as they were born in France. Since my company is here I certainly don’t want to leave but once I stop working for my company, it will be difficult for me to stay here because of the visa difficulties and the lack of social welfare.”

Although there are some long-term residents who have been in Shanghai for more than nine years, for example, the manager of Gibcom, who organizes French week, at a neighborhood barbecue in Pudong, he told me he had stayed in Shanghai for 18 years. He has actually been in China since 1979 but before coming to Shanghai, he worked in many other places in China, such as Nanning and Beijing, they are still transient. This is partly because of China's policy of accepting single nationality. For example, Amanda has two children with her husband since she came to China 14 years ago. However, she is not Chinese nationality. She said, "I still hold work visa in China. I do not know what I should do when I reach the retiring age if Chinese government does not want to give me the visa. My two children are of French nationality. If something happened I could leave with my children for France, but that would be unfair to my husband." In addition, most of the French interviewed are in Shanghai for business. They also expect to go back to France for their old age. They have not made roots where they landed. The transient nature explains the relationship that most French have with other nationalities in Shanghai. This will be further discussed in the following chapters.

Under the backdrop of globalization transnational professionals are often deterritorialized. In his study of the Chinese in Silicon Valley, Bernard Wong (2006) argues the Chinese there try to ground themselves in America. The reason the Chinese professionals can settle in the United States because they want to live there. Other scholars suggest that globalization will create a rootless society of transnationals who have severed their ties with their family and nation-states (Appadurai 1996, Hannerz 1993, 1996) or become flexible citizens (Ong 1999). As mentioned above, most of the French interviewed do not intend to spend their lives in China. At least twenty people said they keep close connections with their families in France. Obviously these

French transnationals have not severed their ties with their family. Because of the transient nature of the French community in Shanghai, anomie or rootlessness would be strongly felt if the roots referred to settling down in China. In other words, the French community is not reterritorialized. The roots of the French community in Shanghai are still in France. In my last field trip, I joked with Beatrice and Etienne in the interview that they were becoming Shanghainese as they had been in Shanghai for more than nine years. Beatrice responded, “No, not at all. I am always French, living a French life in Shanghai.” Etienne said, “I would not say I am becoming Shanghainese. At home we do not often eat Chinese food although my husband is Chinese. I don’t watch Chinese TV. Actually I only watch TV5. Additionally, most of our friends are not Chinese.” Amanda is the one who seems to be more Chinese as her husband does not speak French or English. She joked about herself as “rooted expatriate” (*expatriée plantée*) but she remains culturally French and hopes to go back to France for her retired life although she may not be able to afford the life there. Amanda is one of the few French who said they were becoming Chinese to a certain extent.

Part of the French life the informants mentioned can be seen from their eating habits. The *expatrié* families I met in Shanghai mainly consume French food. However, for the working *expatrié*, the lunch is often Chinese food, but when they arrive at home at night they want French-style food. It is much the same for the housewives, who often eat Chinese food at noon, too, when the children are in school and the Chinese *ayi* prepare lunch. Two of the families I knew well never had Chinese dinner at home. Partially it was because the children and the father did not want to eat Chinese food. Food is one of the two things French expatriates in Shanghai frequently mentioned they miss: *baguette* (bread), *fromage* (cheese), and *vin* (wine), in particular

the cheese. They are usually very excited when they talk about French *nourriture* (food).

We are what we eat. Food can represent a class, an ethnic group or a nation as an identity. For example, we sometimes try to distinguish ourselves from the Other from the food we eat. In Shanghai's golden age, "food was an important component of foreign efforts to shore up a sense of native culture and an identity as civilized people" (Swislocki 2009: 101). As Belasco wrote (2002:2), "To eat is to distinguish and discriminate, include and exclude. Food choices establish boundaries and borders." Although eating the French bread, cheese and drinking French wine are a matter of taste, but by choosing them these French expatriates maintain their taste, reconstruct their identity and establish boundaries around them. This is also one of the reasons that the French expatriate families often say the Chinese are different because they do not invite their French friends to eat at home. Sharing food at home with friends shows intimacy for the French. Inviting friends to home dinner is part of the French expatriates sojourning lifestyle. This will be further discussed in next chapter.

French *expatrié* families eating French food is not very different from that in the semi-colonial period in Shanghai. The British in Shanghai, before 1949, as Bickers (1999: 102) notes, "ate their domestic cuisines, reproducing as far as possible the tastes of their home with Chinese or imported ingredients, and they mostly found Chinese food disgusting." The eating of British food served as "daily domestic rituals, involving the maintenance of 'standards'" (ibid.). William Medhurt, the most prominent English missionary noted the English culture in Shanghai: "After the evening airing comes dinner, and it is at this meal that the foreign resident in China concentrates his efforts to forget that he is an exile from home" (Medhurt 1873: 24-25). What Beckers wrote and Medhurt's observation indicated the important role

that food culture played in distinguishing Western culture from Chinese one. It was also confirmed by an Englishman's memory of his time in Shanghai: "We were different from them; we ate strong flesh of cows and sheep, which they avoid; and they looked upon our violent games as perhaps necessary to work off the effects of beef and mutton" (Dyce 1906: 99-100, cited in Swislocki 2009: 102). I recall what a Frenchman said to me when he was trying to distinguish the French from the Americans: "I don't like Americans. They don't eat frogs. The Chinese eat frogs, too. That is why I like the Chinese." I knew he was joking with me, but he was using food as a way to separate cultural identities just as the Englishman did.

For the Shanghai French it is easy to access French food, not only through the shops of Carrefour as I have mentioned, but also other shops, such as Fizz and Cheese or *Epicvres*, that sell only French goods. These French shops, if not to mention Carrefour, sell mainly French products, such as French wines, French coffees, tea, French *baguette* (bread), and cheese as well as canned olive oil, mustard, liver pates, even wine glasses and other day-to-day items that do not have a Chinese equivalent. All these are important to "feel at home" (especially during holiday seasons). Sometimes it is also possible to get some spices what they use frequently in French cuisine in Shanghai. In December 2008, Camille recalled her busy time before Christmas to me, "After finishing shopping for Christmas, I went to a plant market just to get a spice which we use in French cuisine. Just like the Chinese, you use ginger in cooking, we use that. It took me one and half hours to get there." What Camille said and did tells the importance to have French flavor for French food even in China. As some of the French products in Shanghai is comparatively more expensive than in France, so many of them utilize transnational links to meet their demand for French products and ask anyone they know who is coming to Shanghai to bring cheese and

any other food that will make the journey. In Shanghai in 2006 during my fieldwork I was invited to join home cheese party twice. The party was to enjoy French cheese, bread, and wine over small talks of anthropology, French culture, arts, and Chinese culture. During Christmas time, the French will eat *foie gras* (goose or duck liver).

4.4 Sub-Groups within the French Community

The French community in Shanghai is very diverse. Age, life-cycle position, social and professional status, salary, period of time overseas, gender and regional origin are important sources of diversity. Group behavior varies according to these criteria. In addition to young singles, *expatriés*, housewives, there is also a group of global commuters who spend half their time in Shanghai and the other half in France. These are generally owners or executives of small private companies. Taking length of stay into account, there is another group that stands out as prominent: people who have been in Shanghai for more than five years. More and more French these days are willing to stay longer in Shanghai, probably due to the fact that the global status of Shanghai makes it easier for foreigners to lead a life similar to that which they left in their native land. These people are either locally hired or have established their own business. Among the locally hired there are further divisions according to age: those under 32 years of age, those 40 years or older. The categorization does not account for all the 6,000 to 10,000 French in Shanghai, nor does it attempt to. Nonetheless it covers much of the diversity and provides a more complete picture of the French in Shanghai.

According to residential location, we have already divided the French community into Pudong community and Puxi community. One of the apparent differences is that residents of Puxi are older and often have children in school as the first and the largest French school is located in Puxi.

There are also a few “house husbands” who followed wives sent to work in Shanghai, but unfortunately I do not have information on these *expatriés* husbands. In the thesis, housewives refer to wives of *expatriés*, as I did not really have contact with the wives of long-term residents. Most of the long term residents I met were married to local Chinese who often worked.

Social stratification or the concept of social class is important in understanding the behavior of the different French groups in Shanghai, just as it would be in France because France is a hierarchical class society (Marceau 1977). French society, according to Marceau (*ibid.*), consists of three major social classes: upper class or *bourgeoisie*, middle class (*classe moyenne*), and working class (*classe populaire*); each class is mutually exclusive. Bourdieu distinguishes the social classes by economic, social and cultural capitals. The upper class is composed mainly of owners and senior managers in industry and commerce, members of the liberal professions, senior civil servants, political leaders, and senior university teachers (*ibid.*: 7). Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue education reproduce social classes in France. In France, as in most societies, there are marked differences between *bourgeoisie* and the working class—especially the urban proletariat—but a proletariat does not exist in Shanghai as the French who go to Shanghai to work are usually well-educated middle class persons in their native country. I heard some French use the expression of *grande bourgeoisie* to refer to those who are really on the top of the social class (the highest among the *bourgeoisie*), which also exists among the French expatriates in Shanghai. In other words, these social classes differ in the property they own, the occupational status they reach, the educational level they have reached, the income and power they have.

The differences are expressed and symbolized by behavior, consumption, lifestyle, residential space and social interaction. Bourdieu (1984) and Lamont (1992) have shown how different social classes in France express their class identities through taste and moral values. The French community in Shanghai is similar, with different social classes also emphasize their identity in different ways.

Following Marceau's idea, the French community in Shanghai can mainly be divided into three main classes: lower middle class, middle class and upper middle class. They differ in income, property, lifestyle and residential patterns. Borrowing Bourdieu's (1992: 170) term, it is the "habitus" that structures practices and the perception of practices. The difference between young singles and *expatriés* is often no more than one's stage in life, but if measured only by age and income, young singles belong to the lower middle class. Following Marceau's categorization of classes by the occupational status, all of the French *expatriés* sent to Shanghai have at least reached the position of senior management: I estimate about half of them have reached senior positions, and at least half of *expatriés* and their wives are upper middle class, while the rest of *expatriés* can be placed in the middle class. Some of the long-term residents fit in the category middle and upper class as some of them have their own business.

4.4.1 Young Singles

This group consists of a large number of interns and young graduates, ranging from 22-32 years old. They cover about 18 percent of the population in France, but make up 38 percent of the French working population in Shanghai.

Their length of residency varies according to their schedule, many interns coming for just three to six months although some stay longer. Young graduates with their bachelor's or master's degree, tend to stay as long as it pleases them. Most of these

young singles come to improve their skills in economics or international business, others because China is fashionable but also for the adventure. In addition, the difficult employment situation in France also exercises a centripetal force on these people to look for opportunities outside of France. It sounds so exciting and attractive to come to China that even graduates who had majored in literature or botany sometimes come to “try their luck.” Generally they are limited to working for a French or other foreign company rather than a Chinese one, where they would have to be able to speak Chinese.

Some young graduates are taking part in a government program called *le volontariat international en entreprise ou dans l'administration* (VIE or VIA) (International Volunteers in Enterprise and Administration). The program is designed to help recent graduates to work in French companies abroad. They sign a non-renewable contract for from six to 24 months and although salaries are low, the program gives them a chance to gain working experience abroad for their future career. It is also designed to meet the growing need for personnel in French companies established abroad as a result of globalization. The program shows that governmental policies can also increase the flow of people in this global world, without high capital expenditure. It is also a good example of demonstrating how nation-states strongly influence the global process.

Young French tend to have more contact with Chinese, especially if they do not know any Frenchmen upon arrival. Pierre said that during his first year in Shanghai he basically went out only with the Chinese colleagues upon arriving in Shanghai because he had no French contacts. In his second year, however, another young French employee joined his company who happened to have pre-arrival French contact. The earlier arrival began going out with this French colleague and by the second year the

circle had widened. After that, most of the people he saw were French rather than Chinese.

For those with French friends who arrived earlier, an opposite pattern may develop. In the first year they basically associate with their countrymen but after learning some Chinese they start to meet some Chinese, especially if their friends happen to have Chinese girlfriends or boyfriends. Sophie mentioned that in her first year she basically saw only French nationals but in the second year she began meeting other nationalities. An intern mentioned that when he arrived, he received at least 15 calls from different French persons, including old classmates and friends' friends. He was so busy meeting them that he did not have time to meet other nationalities, least of all Chinese. During his stay in Shanghai, he spent most of his time with the French.

Among the French there are small proportions who have little interest in anything Chinese. Elodie C. stayed in Shanghai for two years did not like Chinese food or Chinese music and, in fact, tried to avoid anything Chinese. She shared an apartment with a Frenchman with whom she started a business. Whenever she saw a Chinese book on the shelf, she would put it somewhere so she would not be able to see it; if she returned home and found her flatmate playing Chinese music, she would change the music. As she explained, the reason she was in Shanghai was "just for the business. Once it goes well, I will go back to France and he will stay here." (I do not know whether she later started to accept at least a few Chinese things.)

As practically anywhere in the world, young people tend to hang out with peers. Henri, of Chinese origin who knew a couple of French men working in Shanghai before being sent there by his company, told me his contacts introduced him to others upon his arrival. He joined the group and they often spent time together. He was 27

years old in 2006 but said he felt as if he were leading a “student life” in Shanghai. He usually spent time with the same young group after work, just as he did at university. This had not been his original intention. He told me that one of his reasons for coming to work in China was that he had always wanted to discover more about China and his Chinese cultural roots. Yet here he was, associating almost exclusively with other French compatriots.

Regarding French of Chinese origin, particularly those who live in Chinese neighborhoods in France, the situation is different from other French people as a rule. This group generally has more contact with the Chinese because they speak the language and share some Chinese values. In other words, they have the least cultural distance from the Chinese so it is comparatively easy for them to have a deeper relation and more contacts with the local Chinese. Antoine, 28 years old, is a Frenchman of Chinese origin who speaks Mandarin, Cantonese, English, and of course French. His grandparents moved from Guangdong to Thailand and his parents moved to France from Thailand. About half his friends are Chinese and many of his French friends are also of Chinese origin.

When going out, young people go to bars or eating places of the same class, usually because of their similar economic status. The bars that are popular among the younger crowd include Blue Ice Club, Anecdote, Yin and Yang, Barbarossa, Face, VIP room, Bonbon, Eddy’s Bar 1924, and Tang Hui. The first two are the cheapest as one can get a drink for 10 or 20 RMB and are favored by students and people on low salaries.

As big as Shanghai is, the saying that “it’s a small world” has a lot of truth especially when it comes to networking of persons. Frequenting the same places facilitates meeting the same kind of people and forming a group. Four French men

commented that they were very surprised to know that many of the friends whom they thought did not know each other, had, in fact met in the same or similar bars. I personally had the same feeling when I was in the field. Among all the people I met, a large number of persons were below 30 years old. I got to know some young French persons through parties, through others or by chance. Often I assumed some of them had never met but it turned out they often knew each other. At a birthday party, I discovered that two friends knew the Frenchman I had just met. Before another party, organized by a Frenchman who worked in a gallery, I went with Antoine to an apartment where several French had a get-together. There I was surprised to see a French woman whom I met a long time before at a dinner, with Seb and other friends. She had just moved into that apartment because she knew the French men who lived there.

A student mentioned how he found a part-time job at a French luxury cosmetic shop, where he worked weekends distributing the leaflets for RMB 500 a day. He had got the job through a compatriot as “the French community is so small that it is easy to meet French if you want to!” Seb mentioned something similar: “You just can’t imagine how much everybody is linked to others. I did not know this friend knew that one until the moment I spotted them greeting each other. It seems everybody knows everybody. It is really unbelievable!” It is not difficult to meet other French as long as you want to meet them.

4.4.2 *Expatriés*

The group of *expatriés* makes up 62 percent of 2,673 persons of the French working population and about 30 percent of the total French population in Shanghai. According to a former president of the Francophone community of Pudong, about 40 French families resided in Pudong in September 2006. However, a large number of

French people are concentrated in Puxi, because the French School is at Huqingping, northwest of Shanghai, far from the commercial center of Puxi or Pudong.

The majority of *expatriés* are married and came to Shanghai with their families. Generally speaking, the wife does not work except if the wife is also sent by the company. Some wives started to take some small jobs after a couple of years of “exploration”. According to their income, *expatriés* basically belong to the middle or upper middle class of the society but they pay a heavy price for that enviable status. The persons employed work extremely long hours, 12 to 14 hours, sometimes even 16 hours a day. Compared to France, the work load is heavy in Shanghai. Nevertheless, the *expatriés* are an economically privileged group and receive a variety of benefits for the hardships of living in a strange environment and the extra expenses actually or supposedly incurred by their stay abroad. These compensations or allowances are a whole package to induce the *expatriés* to work abroad. These usually include children’s education allowances, subsidized or free housing in Shanghai, and holiday’s packages. There are “living expenses” for the spouses- taxi, language classes, dance lessons or painting classes and other activities psychologically important for mental and physical health of spouses and children, especially given the long office hours of the working spouse. They often gain other kinds of assistance from their organizations. Many of the French said the life of *expatriés* in Shanghai is “*plus élevé*” (higher), they live in luxury compared to their life at home. Most of the *expatrié* families have an *ayi* at home doing the housework. It has been noted that *expatriés* of different nationalities often live in considerable luxury compared to their lifestyle at home and with that of the local elite (Cohen 1977: 22). They often do, in fact, have exceptional expenses that many outsiders do not think of. For example, although they live in Shanghai, they must pay French income taxes, although not

necessarily at the same rate. They often must close up their homes in France, yet maintain certain services like the cost of retaining the same phone number, electricity for fire or burglar alarms, and other things that those who are not in similar positions do not consider. There are mortgage payments and on-going life, health, automobile and homeowner insurance policies that must be paid in full, etc. For many families, moving to Shanghai may also entail the loss of income of working spouses (see Young 1973).

To a certain extent, long working hours prohibit the *expatriés* from participating in social activities. Furthermore, for those who have a family in Shanghai they have a family to attend to after work. Therefore they do not go to bars or parties as often as the young single individuals. When they go out, however, *expatriés* prefer to be with their personal friends rather than business colleagues. In short, many would rather not mix professional life and personal life. This forms a contrast with the group of young people who go out with their colleagues.

Those people with family who knew no one upon arrival tended to approach social institutions such as the Cercle Francophone as an aid to integrating with other French. Those who had some contacts already living in Shanghai, did not bother to contact social institutions unless their network changed with the passage of time. After a few months of "settling in", they often form their own small group. Those that do join social institutions do not usually remain with the social organization too long a time. Children, who are less reserved and inhibited than adults and make friends almost spontaneously, make a great contribution to building networks for their parents. Parents get to know other parents through the activities of their children.

4.4.3 Housewives

Housewives—often referred to as “trailing spouses” by the Consulate—make up about 25 percent of the total French population in Shanghai or approximately 1,500 persons. Many of the housewives had a job in France before they came to Shanghai. From the perspective of career, self-realization, or material independence, they sacrifice greatly for the husband and the family. They quit their job to follow their husband and keep the family together. A French woman’s life, even today when she may have a job or a profession, is expected to center on her family (Métraux 2001: 19). Oftentimes it is not so easy for some women to choose to be housewife in order to follow the husband but many of them do so to keep the marriage safe.

The wife is also crucial in the company’s decision of whether or not to select a particular candidate for an overseas job (also see Yeoh and Khoo 1998)¹⁴. Some of them said that the company also interviewed them and asked them whether they were ready to follow their husband. Some certainly seemed happy to stop working for a while and discover a new life and a new culture. I got to know a woman in her early thirties with two sons around ten years of age, at a neighborhood barbecue in Pudong. She said:

I was happy to follow my husband to Shanghai because I was tired of my job and coming to Shanghai allows me to discover new things and start a new career, after we go back to France in two years. Two friends I made through the café meeting mentioned that, too. One is thinking of learning acupuncture, another will try to learn massage.

Some were not very happy to quit their job to follow, but “a married woman’s job is to preserve the interests as a group” (De Singly, 1996: 95). Alice said, “I did not want to come to China but I decided to come when I heard we could not stay in Spain

¹⁴ Yeoh and Khoo (2000) argue in their studies on expatriate communities in Singapore that women play an important role in negotiating the move and coming to terms with the transformations wrought by the move in the domains of home, work and community.

and had to go back to France. I did not want to go back to France.” A friend of hers said, “What I miss most here is my job.” Certainly there are also exceptions. One man around fifty years old who worked in a governmental unit said, “I am now alone in Shanghai. My wife followed me every time before when I was sent to other places. This time she said to me that she needed to do something for herself as she often sacrificed her interests for my work.” Alice also mentioned one of her friends did not want to quit her job at the beginning so her husband worked all alone in Shanghai while she worked and took care of the children in France. After six months she decided to join her husband in Shanghai but found out her husband had had an affair with a Chinese woman. Frenchmen having affairs with Chinese women are not rare. Chapter Eight will further discuss this issue.

Housewives look after the home and shop at the supermarket. Every now and then they may give a dinner party or go to one. If they are mothers, they take children to school, or music lessons, or sports. In their spare time, they meet their friends for a coffee or for lunch, play mahjong or go out to practice yoga or taiji. They need to be home at about 4:00 p.m. since the children come back home from school then and may need help with homework. By being in the house they can actually keep an eye on the children. Sometimes some of them take the children out for extra classes or music lessons after school.

Most families have an *ayi* (maid) at home, who plays an important role in daily housekeeping. It is usually the *ayi* who cooks lunch and if she is a full-time maid who lives in the house, she may cook dinner, too. However, according to the housewives I met, their children do not like Chinese food; so the mothers cook French or Italian or other European meals for dinner rather than serve Chinese food. Camille said, “The children don’t like Chinese food, so we cook French food instead.” Alice mentioned

that her husband and the children did not like the rice cooked the Chinese way, so she cooks the rice as they do in Madagascar where her family lived for a few years. She sometimes cooked Italian or French food for a change.

During fieldwork, I took part in café meetings, language exchanges, sports, family parties, and sometimes simply just went out with French friends to visit their friends. I found that apart from taking care of the family and having coffee with friends, housewives occupied themselves with many other things. Some explore Chinese culture by reading literature about the country or by learning the Chinese language, Chinese cuisine, or Chinese painting. Some may learn Western painting, too. I do not have the statistics, but according to the people I met, estimated at least 30 housewives took painting lessons. At least ten housewives I knew worked in part-time jobs for a company or a shop, working one or two days a week.

There are quite a few women among the French community who started small businesses. For example, Penny, who has resided in Shanghai for six years, has a small business making and selling cushions. Among the housewives there are three groups who design clothes and have them made by hand in cities around Shanghai. A group of three women started a dress company they call "*Vert Bonbon*" in 2007 February. "*Framboise et Ficelle*, little things for little ones" a children's clothing enterprise, was started in August 2005. "Good China" is a brand name for women's clothes and accessories, owned by a woman who designs her products and has them made by hand locally. They are sold in outlets located in different parts of Shanghai. Generally of European style, they occasionally contain Chinese cultural elements and all are stamped "made in Shanghai". They are well received among the *expatrié* community and their clients include French but also English, Canadian, Spanish, Italians, and Germans. The women entrepreneurs appear to be quite happy with their work

although it is time consuming. Apart from being an interesting job that provides them with extra income, they get to meet many people.



Figure 4.2 “Good China” clothes, taken in March 2007.

These woman entrepreneurs present a very different picture than the usual image of “expatriate wife”, that of a woman with little to do except worry about shopping and socializing in the Western expatriate community. For instance, in the study of Singaporean and British migrants in China, Katie Willis and Brenda Yeoh (2002) described some of the British expatriate wives in paid or unpaid work, shunning the stereotypical image that the people who work full-time for a salary have of the housewives. Many non-*expatriés* with a full-time job think these housewives stay in the compound most of the time and do little more than shop. As a matter of fact, they did not realize many women work part-time.

It seems the phenomenon of working “expatriate wives” is more common among Asians. In a study of expatriates in Singapore, Brenda Yeoh and Louisa-May Khoo (2000) mentioned more Asian expatriate wives (67.3 per cent) - particularly those

from China and India - tend to take paid jobs than do their Western counterparts (26.6 per cent). Nonetheless, we have to bear it in mind that Asian expatriates have a lower salary than their Western counterparts and many speak Chinese. In addition, different from the image of women being wholly dependent on their men, woman entrepreneurs show that they can be also active in social and economic activities and creative, as they start their own business rather than just seeking for an opportunity to work for an existent company or institution. Some women are involved in charity activities. A French charity organization, such as *Couleur de Chine* is dedicated to helping Miao children. In France, donating one's time to charitable work is a relatively common practice and many housewives who feel they have time to do so become involved in charitable work. They have carried this custom to Shanghai.

It was interesting to note that many French housewives behave just like professional women. They usually carry an agenda which they always check any time they need to make for an appointment. Looking at their agenda one would find that their days were fully scheduled. This is a habit they carry with them from when they worked in France and most French women nowadays work before and after they establish a family. According to INSEE, in 2004, about 58.6 percent of women between 15 and 60 years old work (Insee 2007) but the percentage increases if the child-bearing years are discounted.

Obviously, the lives of many French housewives are not idle in Shanghai. They work or help with charity activities. Some of them try to get to know about Chinese culture. Nonetheless, they find it difficult to understand the Chinese people or their way of life. In French they have an expression of "*c'est du Chinois*" (It's all Greek to me) for anything complicated. Although this expression has sometimes an ironic and humorous aspect, for the French there is nothing else that can be more complicated

than the Chinese. Their experience with the Chinese makes them aware the importance of thinking from a Chinese perspective. In my follow-up trip to Shanghai in late March, 2007, Alice told me about one of her experiences with the Chinese bank. She went to the bank to withdraw money one day. The money they had in the bank was in Euros because this is the legal currency in France and that is the way the employer pays them. She needed to change Euros to RMB but after waiting in a long queue for about two hours, her request was rejected because new regulations required that she needed her marriage certificate in addition to her passport. Upon her demand, the manager came to see her and proposed to her that they would give her money if she brought the certificate the following day. However, she insisted they should give her money as she had been there so many times before, meaning they knew who she was already. Unfortunately the manager said no. Eventually she was so furious that she left immediately because she did not want to go back to the bank the next day. Later she thought that she was stupid and did not give the manager “face” by rejecting his suggested compromise. This case actually does not mean Beatrice did not give the manager “face” as he was just trying to find a solution to meet her requirement.

4.4.4 Long Term Residents

People who have stayed more than five years usually have a local contract or they have their own companies. They range from about 34 to 55 years of age. Many of these people have had a Chinese partner. Their company at the beginning sent them but they decided to take a local contract after their expatriate period finished. There are various reasons for such decisions. Some of them want to stay longer in China; others find another interesting job; while among others, the Chinese partner may be reluctant to go to live in France.

The main difference between these residents and other groups is, in general, that they have more contacts with the Chinese because of their Chinese partners. Some of them speak good Chinese. Long-term residents would be the ones who would be in the position to construct a creolized French-Chinese community, if they remain twenty years or more in China. Even among the long term residents there are variations, however. Those who have their own business are often much better off than those locally hired. Stéphane, in his forties, had been in China for about nine years at the time of interview, all but one in Shanghai. The first year in China he was sent by the company to work in Wuhan. He returned to France after his expatriation term terminated, but one day in Paris he met somebody who asked him to work for his company in Shanghai. He liked China and decided to take the job. Nonetheless he had no intention to spend the rest of his life in China. During my fieldwork, I met at least a dozen long-term residents but Stéphane is the only one I met who came back as a local hire after expatriation. In my last trip, the manager of a fashion business also expressed his intention to take a local contract with another French company, as he believed that the company has a larger market. In Hong Kong I met a manager who had an expatriate contract with one of the French banks but after eight years he resigned because the bank wanted to send him to London. His family, on the other hand, was happy in Hong Kong and did not want to leave. Afterwards he started a business with a French company in Hong Kong. (In my sample there are five people of this category.)

Despite the contacts these long term residents have with the Chinese society, they are far from establishing an identity with China or Shanghai in this case. A main reason is these people have not lived in China long enough. Moving somewhere else has basically not left their mind. The picture of a group of foreigners who like Shanghai is not likely to form again. During the semi-colonial period, a group of

British called themselves Shanghailanders (Bickers 1999: 67-68), who “saw themselves, and were seen by observers, as a coherent group, sharing a coherent local identity” after their British and imperial identities although they economically depended on the “existence of a foreign-controlled society in Chinese port cities under the treaty.

There is an exception among the long term residents: the most senior French, Madeleine (Josset) Zuo who was 95 years old in 2006. Madeleine¹⁵ arrived in China as an artist specializing in church decoration in 1934 at a difficult time when Japan invaded China. Since then she has never really left China. She came to China with her late husband who was Chinese and had studied pedagogy in France. They had four sons who have already retired. She had been to a few places in China such as Kaifeng, Wuhan and eventually Shanghai. When the war became very violent, she sought for help at some Italian religious families. They first lived in Nanchang Road in French concession when arriving in Shanghai. Madeleine still remembered some French names of the streets. For example, she said of *l'avenue du Marcechal Joffre* when speaking of Huaihai Road. They later moved to Changning Road where she was still living until 2006 because her husband moved to work in Huadong Normal University from Fudan University. During her long time in Shanghai, she outlived many of her friends and relatives. She recalled, “The French were progressively expelled from the city. I was more and more alone.” Her husband died at 95 years of age in 1995.

On the other hand, Madeleine Zuo never learned Chinese. She felt sorry for herself, “Mandarin never came to my head. I am narrow-minded.” With her maid,

¹⁵ This story is from *Arc-en-ciel* (2006), a small magazine for the students of the Alliance Française of Shanghai.

she spoke Mandarin mixing with French. But her sons such as Pierre speak fluent French, Mandarin, and Shanghainese.

4.4.5 Global Commuters

Global commuters refer to people who spend about two weeks each month in Shanghai and the other half-month in France. Many of them are bosses of private companies. From my observation in a French company for which I worked full time for nearly a month, while in Shanghai, they work 10 to 14 hours and they keep close daily contact with France through email and telephone. These people also travel quite a bit on business within China. As they eat in restaurants and drink in bars, they get to know other *expatriés*. Generally they either live in a hotel or rent an apartment. They have many contacts with the Chinese through their work but some of them only speak French and know a few words in English.

When I interviewed Chris in May of 2006, he had had his company in Shanghai for about a year and a half. A man in his late thirties, Shanghai was a base for him to contact Chinese suppliers. His company had molds made in China that were used to manufacture plastic products in France. Every month he spent two weeks in Shanghai, and two weeks in France, where his main company was located. When he was in Shanghai, he worked very hard from seven or eight o'clock in the morning to seven in the evening. If he went to see the suppliers, then he would spend about eight hours in transportation, another hour to talk to the supplier and still another hour for lunch. Every day he called his company and his family in France to make sure every thing went well. When he was in France, he talked to the staff in Shanghai every day through Skype or by phone. He used a translator when he was in China but knew how to say a few words in English and Chinese.

Jean-Luc—about fifty years old—was the representative in Shanghai of a company that got its raw materials from China so he spent half of his time in Shanghai and the other half in France, where his family was. He often worked from nine am to eight or nine pm and had little time for social life. In Shanghai, after work, he generally ate in restaurants. He went to French Alliance once in a while to check out some books or look for people to hang out with. Every day in his house in Shanghai, he watched TV5.

4.4.6 Children

There are a great number of children in the French community. It is impossible to know the exact number of French families because not everybody registers in the Consulate but as mentioned above, many of the *expatriés* are relatively young and their children have not yet started school. Among the children of school age, some study in the French school, some study in a Chinese school and some study in an English school.

In November 2006, a former administrative manager of the French School told me there were 971 students in the school and 871 were French. Among the French students, the parents' employers sponsored 80 percent of the students. The other 20 percent were supported by their family.

As we have already mentioned, children are an important means for their parent to get to know people. Parents, especially mothers, attend activities organized by the school, which allows them the opportunity to meet the parents of other students. Alice mentioned that she met one of her good friends at an activity that was organized to acknowledge the efforts of the teachers. She also got to know many other French people through her children and the activities organized in school. Another French woman who has been in Shanghai for six years said something similar; she got to

know one of her best friends through her daughter. During two family parties I attended at Christmas time, nearly all the people got to know each other through the children and at one of the parties; the teachers of the children had also been invited to join the festivities. Theirry said that in the morning, when he went to work, he often met many parents who sent their children to school and the parents always greeted each other.

4.5 Pop culture

The pop culture among the French in Shanghai is characterized with cultural activities, family parties, and clubbing. Cultural activities are important French indices. Going to the theatre, cinema and travelling are the most popular activities among the French. In Shanghai, there is an amateur expatriate drama group which holds a theatre show nearly every year. Various DVDs in different languages are to be found, including French. Because of their cheap price, the French also take advantage of pirated DVD's and buy them from the peddlers or small stands in the street. They pass DVDs among themselves. They are not restricted only to French ones but watch many Asian movies, including Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Thai, etc. Because of the cheap DVDs, the French do not go to the cinema as often as they do in France. Besides, in regards to new movies, Shanghai does not offer many opportunities to watch new Western movies in the cinema. French cultural activities also cover inviting friends to dinner at home. Clubbing is more an activity for young unmarried people and a few married men, as well.

4.6 Basic Facilities

In addition to *le Consulat Général de France à Shanghai* (the French Consulate), there are several facilities that provide the French in Shanghai with major links between individuals and organizations. These are *le Cercle Francophone de*

Shanghai (the Francophone Association of Shanghai, CFS), *la Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie Française en Chine* (CCIFC, the French Chamber of Commerce and Industry in China), *l'Alliance Française* (French Alliance), *l'Ecole Française* (French School), *La Mission Economique* (the Economic Mission), attached to the French Consulate, the Church, and *L'Association Démocratique des Français à l'Etranger* (the French Democratic Association Abroad). As we mention elsewhere, *La Communauté Francophone de Pudong* (the Francophone Society of Pudong) and *L'Union des Français de l' Etranger* (UFE, the Union of French abroad) ceased functioning after three years. After January 2007 there have been two new associations. One is the Breton social organization called KerShanghai. The other is called *La Jeune Chambre Economic de Shanghai* (JCEF, the Young Economic Chamber of Shanghai) formed by some young French entrepreneurs.

4.7 Education

The French school in Shanghai is located in Qingpu, Huqingping. It is sponsored by the French consulate and offers French families primary schooling and high school education on a par with the education facilities found in the mother country. It was first founded in September 1995 and in 2005 the school combined with the German school in the sense of sharing the same campus. This campus covers nursery, primary and high school education (three to eighteen years old). It can hold about 650 students for 31 classes. In the fall of 2008, as a result of the fast growing French community, a second campus opened in Pudong. The second campus can hold 300 students of CM2 (the last year of primary school). Furthermore, it offers some special programs: bilingual (French-English) classes and an international session in Chinese. Their offer of these special programs depends upon the requests of the families. When I was in the field, several French women

mentioned that they hoped their children would have more chance to learn Chinese or English, as the Qingpu campus only offers a Chinese course of two hours per week and English only three days a week. These schools follow the same curriculum as those in France. More than eighty percent of the students are French. The teachers who teach in French are all French and have a teacher's diploma.

There is another French school which started in late 2006. It is located on Henghsan Road of the historical French concession area. Different from those two located in Qingpu and Pudong, this school is not sponsored by the French government. The establishment of this school was actually the efforts of those French families who live far from Huqingping. This school also offers more Chinese courses.

In terms of the adults, most of the French are at least college educated and only a small proportion of entrepreneurs of small enterprises have never been to college or university.

4.8 Religions

French King Louis XIII said that France is the elder daughter of Church (*fille aînée de l'Eglise*) and few deny that even modern France is a Catholic country both historically and culturally. French scholars consider that French culture is not only political but also religious (Pitte 1992: 15). Thus, when talking about French culture one cannot avoid the subject of religion. However, as in many Western European countries, the majority do not practice. Of those that do admit to some religious affiliation, main religions are Catholicism, Islam (as a result of the massive emigration from France's former North African colonies), Protestantism, Judaism and Buddhism—much of the latter because of emigrations from France's former Asian colonies. According to a survey done in 2003, about sixty-two percent French

were Catholic, six percent were Muslim (this figure has probably grown), two percent are Protestant and one percent Jewish. Twenty-six percent French said they are not religious (Diplomatie 2004). That is to say, among France's sixty-one million people, approximately thirty-seven million are Catholic. In Shanghai among the French there are Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and other religious followers but I did not meet any Muslim French there. However, the religious activities are not thriving among the French, because during my fieldwork period I heard little about religious activities, perhaps because I made few inquiries on the subject. One of the children interviewed, a Protestant Christian, said he went to the Protestant church nearly every Saturday because there was an English service. I have read that Muslims in France are more regular in their religious practice but perhaps because Muslims comprise the lower social-economic social strata in France so there are fewer working in Shanghai.

In Shanghai, many French interviewed said they were born and grew up in a Catholic family but now they do not believe in it, or at least do not practice it. Two or three said they only practiced in France. According to the Chinese Father, there were about fifty or sixty persons among the community at the beginning, which is late 1990s. After two or three years the regular French Catholic practitioners increased to about 100 persons. Today there are about three hundred French Catholic practitioners in Shanghai. Usually at the monthly French language mass, about two to three hundred persons can be found, but during Christmas time and Easters Day the number of people who go to the church can reach four or even five hundred.

There is a Catholic mass in French held at Saint Peter's church located on Chongqing Road, at the crossing with Fuxing Road. It was originally built in 1932. In 2006, mass was held on the fourth Sunday of each month. Since 2007 there are

two French masses monthly. In September 2008 a new priest came to Shanghai from France. Compared to Hong Kong, where there is a French mass every week, the Shanghai French Catholic community is less active. The reason behind this, as mentioned in the introduction, has to be related to Chinese religious policies. There are some conflicts between the Chinese government and Vatican. Therefore Catholicism is relatively sensitive in China. For example, the French Catholics in Beijing can only practice in the French Embassy. Therefore the voice of French Catholics in Shanghai is not that loud, perhaps out of fear, perhaps out of misunderstanding.

Saint Peter is an international Catholic church in Shanghai. There are Catholic masses in different languages - for example, English, French, German, Spanish, and Korean - celebrated there. The obvious contrast is that English masses are every week, even four times a week, while the Spanish mass is only monthly. We do not know whether this is also the discourse of English in religion but according to the Chinese priest, no matter how often the religious followers want to celebrate mass in the church, they have to apply to Chinese government. He explained the reason that there are only two French masses because the number of French Catholics is not too large. In addition, some French said they could also go to Chinese or English mass in addition to the French one.

Conclusion

With a population of more than 7,000 the French community constitutes the largest European community in Shanghai and the community is a young one. The reason they come to Shanghai varies from economics, adventurism, and tourism, to following the spouse and an interest in Chinese culture. The history of French

concession in Shanghai and French architecture are another attraction for the French expatriates.

The community is made up of students, young graduates, and interns, *expatriés* sent by their companies, housewives, teachers, diplomats, and children. In terms of category, the community can be grouped as young singles, *expatriés*, housewives, global commuters, and long time residents.

The French community is stratified. According to the difference in income, and residential patterns and occupational status, and following Marceau (1977), the French community in Shanghai can mainly be divided into three main classes: lower middle class, middle class and upper middle class. The coming chapter will be on how these groups establish their own network and the content of their networks to see whether they are cosmopolitan or not in their social networks.

Chapter 5 Network and Sense of Belonging among the French

In this chapter we investigate the diversity and boundaries within the French community, the way they establish their networks, the contents of these networks. I view certain aspects of the French expatriates through their relations with each other as well as with their surrounding social environment by using social networks to analyze the community. As discussed in the last chapter, the French community in Shanghai is stratified. The Shanghai French population can be classified mainly as upper class, middle class and lower middle class.

Personal networks are used here to examine personal relations, the linkage of community networks to institutions, and the structure of the French community. Social networks are a very effective way to study social relations in urban areas because they reflect the nature of urban society, which is relation-linked rather than territorially bound (Hannerz 1980, cited in Rogers and Vertovec 1995). The French community in Shanghai is not neighborhood or territorially bound; instead it is linked by a variety of different personal relations. A person's network may vary according to one's stage in the lifecycle. Personal networks often show social inclusion or social exclusion. Whether the personal networks focus primarily on other French persons or whether they include other nationalities, will tell us whether the community is exclusively French—or nearly so—or whether it is integrated into the international community, or, perhaps, has formed a hybrid French-Chinese community.

5.1 French Media in Shanghai

Media can create a sense of belonging by providing access to one's home news while abroad. In other words, media can create an "imagined community." However, in this global era we have witnessed the domination of the English-language press. Transnational corporations control the global media through

the amount of advertising they can purchase or withhold from the media. For example, General Electric, Microsoft, Swiss pharmaceuticals, French chemical corporations, can purchase huge advertising from English-language press groups like the New York Times, NBC, etc. They have not only contributed to the dissemination of global discourse, but also transmit the values, attitudes and identities of the cultures from which they originate. Whether or not this contributes to the weakening of local cultures is yet to be seen (see Fairclough 2006), but the spread of American English media and values and the weakening of local cultures affect the French. Noguez (1991), French writer and activist, even argues that American language and culture has *colonized* the French (my italics).

Media is centrally controlled in China. For example, the Internet is censored. Nonetheless, Shanghai, a global city and regional center in Asia (Sassen 1991), enjoys a wide range of different media. According to Mayfair Yang (2002: 329) in the post-Mao period, the mass media has “brought about the pluralization, differentiation, and stratification of public media according to class, educational level, region, locality, gender, occupation, and leisure interests, fragmenting the state’s public masses”. There are English magazines and websites designed, mentioned in Chapter 3, for foreign audiences in Shanghai: *City Weekend*, *That's Shanghai* (magazine and also website), *Shanghai Business Review*, *Shanghai Daily*, *Shanghai Star*; www.smartshanghai.com, Shanghai.asiaxpat.com. There is also a French magazine, *Le Petit Shanghaien* (the Little Shanghainese), and a French website, www.bonjourshanghai.com. In Citic Square located on Nanjing West Road, the CNPIEF bookstore sells many English magazines and newspapers like *Newsweek*, *the Economist*, *Wall Street Journal*, *International Herald Tribune*. Most of the four or five star hotels also sell English newspapers and magazines.

However, English-language media basically dominates the foreign media in Shanghai. This is an outstanding expression of “globalizing English.” Compared to English media, there is less access to French media. Only in a few places can one find French media so those French who read English often buy an English language newspaper to keep up with the daily news or find how their favorite sports teams are doing. Thus, the French tend to read more English than they did in France. At the Foreign Language Bookstore situated on Fuzhou road, some French books can be found but just as in many places of the world, there are more English books because there is more demand for them than for French works. Another bookstore, Garden Books located at Changle Road, also handles French books, and Shanghai’s Municipal library also has increased its collection of French literature.

In terms of circulation of French newspapers and literature, the Alliance Française offers quite a large number of books and various French magazines or reviews, including political, economic and artistic magazines such as *Le Nouvel Observateur*, *L’Express*, *Le Point*, *Paris Match*, *Elle*, *Marie Claire*, etc. and *Le Monde*¹⁶. The only English newspaper they have in the library is China’s Shanghai Daily. The French, in particular the teachers of the French Alliance, are often seen in the library borrowing books or journals or DVDs. However, about 95 percent of the people interviewed had never been to Alliance Française, although a few persons said they would make use of the library if they lived closer to the Alliance.

About seventy percent of the French interviewed mentioned that reading is one of their hobbies in Shanghai and that newspapers and more serious reading is part of their life. According to INSEE, among all the leisure activities, money spent on reading material ranks second, after spectacles and trips. This is more than they

¹⁶ I have also been to the Alliance Française in Hong Kong, where I found fewer French magazines than that in Shanghai, which is perhaps to be expected in a former British colony.

spend on “nature activities” and cultural activities, including TV (One of the things that most of the French people miss in Shanghai is nature for everywhere in Shanghai are cement forests). See the following tables for the French leisure activities in France (in percentage):

How many books have you read in the last 12 months	At least 1	More than 1/month	Less than 1/month	0
Artisans, merchants, enterprise presidents	49	20	29	51
Higher intellectual professions and workers	81	48	33	19
Intermediate Professions	72	33	39	28
Employees	66	28	38	34
Workers (including agricultural workers)	36	11	24	64
Retired	54	25	30	46
Other non-working population	72	35	37	28

Table 5.1 Field: French metropolitans, individual ages of over 15 years old. Source: INSEE, permanent surveys on life conditions of 2004. <http://www.insee.fr/fr/ffc/figure/NATSOS05430.XLS>

Table 5.1 shows that more than twenty-five percent of all French read at least a book every month. Most French in Shanghai belong to these professional categories. Table 5.2 shows the expenditure on reading is ranked among leisure activities in metropolitan France.

In terms of literature, despite of the difficulty of finding French literature or French magazines, they manage to make use of the materials they have. They borrow or exchange books or magazines from friends and acquaintances. Christèle mentioned that they were going to organize a library in their compound. They hoped to collect the books and magazines they had and put them together, enabling them to have more access to French reading material. An informant said, “I participate in a reading group. Among the group, we exchange three French books each month. That is to say, each month we have to read three books and then pass them to another person. We have 12 people so that we can exchange twelve months

of the year. It is just like what we do in France. We don't discuss the books. This activity takes most of my time. I don't have time to read English because of this although I like reading English." She also mentioned, "There is also another reading group. They read the same book and come together to discuss it each month." Elodie said, "I read a lot, also exchange books with friends."

TV, Hi-Fi, Video, Photo	10.6
Computing (including software, CD Rom)	7.3
Discs, Cassettes, color photo	4.8
Other cultural and leisure activities	3.6
Game, toys, sport equipment	9
Gardening, animal and country	12.3
Spectacles, cinema, voyages	18.1
Dangerous games	9.8
Cultural services (including TV fee)	10.5
Press, books and stationary	14.1

Table 5.2 Expenditures on leisure and culture in France in 2005. Source: Insee, *Enquête permanente sur les conditions de vie (EPCV) (percentage %)*.
http://www.insee.fr/fr/ffc/chifcle_fiche.asp?ref_id=NATTEF05448&tab_id=325

On the aspect of literature, French expatriates seem to not only read often, they also write. Jean-Yves who had published two books when he was in France said he was asked to teach how to write a novel to several French women who followed their husband to Shanghai and did not work. Four or five French even mentioned to me they were writing a book on their family.

Books are a symbol for the French *expatriés*. I went to the homes of more than a dozen families that had been in Shanghai two to three years and half of them displayed hundreds of books on their book shelves. They are not professors, but their book collections are no less impressive than those of professors. Elodie feels

proud of her collection of books, she said, "I am a book champion." These *expatriés* move very often, but they take their books with them. The young singles don't usually have books with them. However, one particular French man in his late 30s has hundreds of books in his apartment and does not have more space for any new ones. The fact that these people take their books with them rather than leave them in France shows that books are a symbol of status or "symbolic capital"(Bourdieu 1992:291). Lamont (1992:103, 108-109) describes this as a style of class.

Fast transportation and mobile life styles facilitate media flows. When the Shanghai French have to return to the homeland for whatever reason, they do not miss the chance of obtaining a French book or magazine. A French man said, "I don't usually read French magazines because there is no place to find them in Shanghai. Generally I only read those brought by friends who come for a visit or to work but my mother sends me books once in a while." Others will tell you: "Oh, my wife just got me a book when she went to France last time," or "I have to tell my husband to bring me *le Point* and the *Nouvel Observateur* for the news on the presidential debates." Gael said, "What I miss most is books. I used to work in a book store in France. There I read a lot. Now every time we go back to France for holidays, we come back with a suitcase of books." About ten persons also mentioned that they sometimes order books through internet and there is no problem with Chinese customs.

The Internet is a significant way to obtain information in this information era (Herman and McChesney 1997). It offers easy access to different information. For example, when people travel they can watch TV, read newspapers, and listen to the radio on the Internet, to catch up on what is happening at home and in other parts

of the world. Practically all key global newspapers have an electronic version and most French read French newspapers on the internet, sometimes daily but at least several times a week. Among the newspapers they read most there are *Liberation*, *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *L'Express*, and *L'Economique*. The first three newspapers are mentioned the most among those interviewed. Some read only *Liberation*, and others *Le Monde*, or *Le Figaro*, their choice indicative of their political position. *Liberation* is leftist, *Le Figaro* is conservative while *Le Monde* is comparatively neutral. Following the news is a rather important link for many French to connect to their homeland. Bourdieu (1990) talks about the relation between media and politics in his book *Distinction*.

In addition to the above newspapers, some people inform themselves by reading French news on French-language Internet servers such as Yahoo or MSN, or on the French satellite TV5 website on the Internet if they don't have satellite television. But these people were only about fifteen percent of the total number interviewed. People who choose TV5 say they prefer visual interface. What is interesting is that most of these people are female and most of the women who choose TV5 do not work and probably have more time to watch television. The men who chose TV5 say they turn it on when they get up in the morning.

Many read local English-language dailies such as *Shanghai Daily*, which is more popular among the French than *China Daily*. Many cosmopolitan foreign professionals in other parts of the world read English-language newspapers, such as the International Herald Tribune, Wall Street Journal, Times, etc. However, what I found in Shanghai is different. Although some read the local Shanghai Daily, very few French interviewed mentioned they read the English-language newspapers I just mentioned. Reading English language newspapers may be to obtain a different

point of view rather than simply because French-language newspapers are harder to find. A Frenchman said he did so because he likes to compare different points of view, French and English. Everyday he reads *Le Monde*, BBC news, and *New York Times* in order to get different points of view.

In addition to the *Shanghai Daily*, CCTV 9 is an important means for young French to connect to the global world as all its programs are in English and it carries international news. Homes in expensive compound communities come with satellite TV—including French TV5 Asia—installed. However, young people who do not have access to TV5 may watch CCTV 9 as an international-environment alternative. As a 25 year-old French woman remarked: “I don’t have access to French TV5, but I watch the Chinese English channel CCTV9 to keep me informed for what is happening in the world. You know in China the newspapers do not tell the truth. I cannot have myself cut from the outside world.” Another Frenchman of 37 also said he watched CCTV9 every day. Those living in compounds usually have access to CNN, BBC World, MSNBC and the like but most just watch TV5. Only three persons mentioned BBC and CNN. Christian explained, “Yes, I watch TV5. It is good to watch it. You know CNN is everywhere but that is more an American way of thinking. We need to have a different perspective. In addition, French is much easier for me.” Most people who mentioned the French satellite cable TV5 said they basically just follow the news. Three persons said they also watched the film programs and another two said they watched some drama series in English.

Modern technology and communications make it less necessary for the French to create a local newspaper for themselves although there is a French magazine called *Le Petit Shanghaien* (The Little Shanghainese in English). This is a quarterly magazine, covering the introduction of Chinese culture such as calligraphy, painting,

etc, tourists resorts in China, history of French concession, and what happens among the French community in Shanghai such the activities of the French School. Most of the writers are French. To a certain extent it helps to circulate the main events among the French community. The magazine is supposed to be free to the members of the Francophone Society of Shanghai. *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* both have reporters in Shanghai and Beijing. Anything which is considered to fall into their interests happens in these cities will appear in their online newspaper. I recall what I seen in these two newspapers, particularly *Le Figaro* in 2008. They were the first one who reported the events happened in China compared to other English media such as South Morning China Post, International Herald Tribune, and the Guardian. Another reason is these expatriates do not have the intension to stay long in China, which makes it difficult to sustain local media business if they wanted to. While in the semi-colonial period, many of the foreign groups created their own newspapers and magazines in Shanghai to cover what happened locally and back in their home country. For instance, the French established *Le Journal de Shanghai*, the Germans had their newspapers *Der Ostasiatische Lloyd*, *Deutsche Zeitung fur China*, *Der Ferne Osten* (Kreissler 1999:212). The Russians created about 24 newspapers and 27 magazines such as *the Free Russian Thought*, *Shanghai Life*, *Evening Zaria*, and *Russian Daily News* (Wang 1993).

When talking about media and newspapers, many French say they really miss the small shops in France where they could get a newspaper or magazine. There are those who complain that Shanghai has no culture, which according to them could mean the culture they see is not traditional as they expected. Furthermore, these French were used to the cultural life in France. Maybe Shanghai is not as cosmopolitan as French big cities, such as Paris, holding different global cultural

events or having access to different international things. The local Chinese language media, do not have any place among the French in Shanghai. Most simply say they are just not interested and even those who speak good Chinese find it difficult to read Chinese.

The reading habit manifests the Frenchness of the French connection that most of French display. Most still keep the same reading habits they carried with them from France except that they read French newspapers on line or obtain news from French websites or the satellite TV5. On the other hand this demonstrates that most of them are still used to the French language and French media as it is more comfortable and ease with their own language. Additionally, reading French news makes them cognizant of the key events and shifts in France, maintaining a close watch over the homeland they left behind. From what the French expatriates read and their reading habits we see most of them still keep their enduring preference of familiar things, which is to read French newspapers, magazines, and books. Only a few people read at the same time English media. In other words, globalization forces French expatriates to adapt to English media to a certain extent, but mostly it enables them to secure their original lifestyle and thus does not really make them cosmopolitan. Therefore, as discussed by Thompson and Tambyah (1999) in Chapter Two, by seeking for their original comfortableness, these French are not showing the sign of cosmopolitanism.

5.2 The Sojourning Lifestyle

Globalization brings floods of commercial forms of mass entertainment for the diverse population to Shanghai. The presence of numerous foreigners and foreign cultures creates a need for things they were familiar with before coming to Shanghai. As a result, a complete array of foreign consumer products is available in Shanghai.

It is not difficult for the foreigners to live a Western life separate from the Chinese if they want. There are supermarkets, social clubs, museums, galleries, karaoke clubs, massage or spa houses, restaurants, bars, which provided entertainment in the form of food and drink, music and dancing. There are also some shops specializing in foreign products, furniture and even house styles targeted for the foreign consumer. Just wheeling a shopping basket up and down the aisles of a giant hypermarket is a form of entertainment for many. And let us not ignore prostitution, which is a preferred entertainment for others. Different kinds of restaurants, small, luxury, elegant, can be found. Cuisine from different part of the world can be found: Brazilian, Italian, French, Thai, Indian, American fast food, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japanese, etc.

To a large extent, foreign shops, bars and eating places provide access to foreign products and lifestyles. When a foreigner is ill, he or she can turn to World Links or some other foreign insurance companies, which cooperate with the best hospitals in Shanghai. Foreigners who plan to reside a long period of time, can get foreign furniture from Da Vinci House, IKEA, or other outlets if they prefer European styles to Chinese tastes. A French female doctor was very surprised to see IKEA during her trip in 2006. IKEA denotes low or middle quality in France but in China it is interpreted as a symbol of good taste and *avant garde* styling beyond what is normally available in China.

In other words, the foreign communities in Shanghai live a sojourner lifestyle. Wakeman and Yeh (1992) have described the Shanghai sojourner lifestyle before 1949. They argue that Shanghai sojourners had their own lifestyles due to the unavoidable presence of different groups in their life, including Westerners and Chinese groups other than Shanghainese, and the unbalanced relationship between them. The present foreign sojourner lifestyle is similar to what Wakeman and Yeh

described in the way the outsiders stick to their familiar lifestyle and their fellow countrypeople.

5.2.1 Bar Clubbing

Bars and cafés are an alternative “third place,” different from the work place and the home (Oldenburg 1997). In France, Spain and Italy, especially, a bar is much more than a place that serves alcoholic beverages and food. It is an “institution” that serves people’s needs for sociability and relaxation after they have completed their responsibilities elsewhere. Boyer (1994) writes that in France a café is a socializing area where one can drink, talk and meet people. Gilmore (1998) echoes his words writing that in Spain bars are the social milieu where people - particularly men - socialize. Although bars in Shanghai may not provide the same socializing atmosphere as they do in Europe, they nevertheless play an important role for the French as well as expatriates of other nationalities in Shanghai, to relax and meet friends.

A café in Shanghai connotes modernity. Generally it is foreigners and middle class Chinese who go there. Among these cafés there are about sixty Starbucks. (A few French mentioned that they did not like Starbucks simply because “that is American. It is not good.”) Many, when they go to Starbucks or some other cafés, order espresso because “This is good. American coffee is too awful.” Mediterranean peoples (including the Portuguese, from a country which is not actually on the Mediterranean) usually favor espresso coffee. In particular, it is very appealing for the French because of its manner of drinking (Oldenburg 1997: 161).

Nevertheless, meeting at a café is popular among the French, whether young singles, or housewives, global commuters, or others. It is an extension of the “Coffee Culture,” which is very popular in France. In Shanghai housewives often have coffee

with their friends in a bar or a coffee shop such as Starbucks. The organization of the Cercle Francophone also organizes monthly café meeting.

The importance of cafés or bars is the role they play in making friends although naturally, the success one has in making acquaintances is affected by personality, age, occupation, etc. People without families tend to go to bars or cafés more often than those with families in Shanghai so bars are obviously more popular among young people, both men and women. Nevertheless, *café rencontre* (café meeting) is an important part of life for the housewives who often feel a need to take a break from household chores and spend some time with lady friends, having coffee and some conversation. Even for single British expatriates (and the British are not known as coffee drinkers) bars or sports clubs are also social places in which to make friends (see Willis and Yeoh 2002).

In Shanghai, there are numerous bars, and a new bar opened nearly every month in 2006. Expatriates, including French in Shanghai look forward to “bar openings” which are very well received among the Westerners. There is a “party atmosphere” for such events are always crowded. One has to elbow others out of the way in order to move around. At an opening party of a bar called La La Land at Tongren Road in November 2006, nearly all those in attendance were Westerners. Roads like Tongren, Hengshen, South Maoming and Julu have a concentration of bars. In the 1990s South Maoming Road was an exciting place for nightclubs. In the new millennium, many bars are still to be found, but its previous glory has faded. Some bars, such as Bar Rouge, Cotton’s Club, Yin and Yang, Mints, etc, provide an opportunity to connect to Frenchness because many French like going to these bars. They provide refreshment and sometimes organize parties especially pointed to the French. A bar named Blue Ice Club, located at West Fuxing Road, although not owned

by a Frenchman, organizes French-oriented activities occasionally. I had been to a special evening called “French Connection” on the night of April 20, 2006 (see Figure 5.1). The DJs were all French and they only played French electronic hip-hop funk rock music. There were about forty young French men there on that night—probably students, young graduates or interns. They received the news about the party from friends via SMS or email. Bar Rouge also organizes such events once a month.



Figure 5.1 Poster of French Connection night at Blue Ice Club, 2006.

Bars in Shanghai are classified as low class and high class according to the price of drinks and the class of the people they cater to. For example, Anecdote and Blue Ice Club are so cheap that a glass of beer only costs 10 or 20 yuan while in bars like Bar Rouge in Bund18, Moonsha, Cotton’s Club, drinks are of at least 40 yuan. Thus young graduates with lower income go to bars like Anecdote or the Blue Ice Club. People who have reached a certain social status, such as *expatriés* and private company owners, go to higher-class bars. In general, the bars the French expatriates seem to enjoy most include: Cotton’s Club, Yin and Yang, Barbarossa, Glamour Bar, Bar Rouge, Face, Eddy’s Bar 1924, Home Bar, Manifesto and VIP Room (originally financed by the celebrity couple Li Yapeng and Wang Fei from Hong Kong). Many French learn of these places and frequent them because they are mentioned in most of

the tourist guides to Shanghai, such as that edited by the gallery No. D, Suzhou River Gallery Creation and on the Internet. The bars favored by French seem to be those under French management and/or ownership. As we have already written elsewhere, globalization has brought to Shanghai, foreign restaurants, bars shops and products, etc, providing the foreign residents with another connection to their familiar cultural environment. Since many of these bars have French managers or French DJs, the French expect them to be more in tune with French entertainment needs. The famous Bar Rouge is owned by a Frenchman and the DJ who works there is also French. In the bar they often host French musicians, such as the electric music by the band of Daft Punk (July 2006), and Chris Lefriant, (known as Bob Sinclair, a character in an old French spy film) (October 2006).

The Bar Rouge, whose owner is French, located on the top floor of the Bund 18, is one of the best known among the French. Anyone having friends coming from France will recommend the Bar Rouge. What is special about the Bar Rouge is the marvelous view of Huangpu River and Pudong new area. It has become a “must-visit” place but only for those who can afford it. There is an entry fee just to get inside. In 2006, this was raised in November from RMB 50 to 80. Obviously only expatriates with rather high positions in a company can afford going there frequently. All tables need a reservation and the reservation fee per table is RMB 2,000. A table pre-set with bottles (including champagne which is sold for RMB 600) costs about RMB 6,000. Stéphane said he and his group of French friends have a table reserved nearly every Saturday night. Cigars are more popular among the clients than cigarettes. In the summer the balcony is decorated with beach sand and there are sofas topped with a canopy, a popular place for couples, that they often share with friends who drop by.

I went to Bar Rouge a few times. The first time was in March 2006 when I did not know many French. I went there with a British friend to do a simple observation upon the recommendation of Seb. The second time was in late June. A Saturday night after party at Stéphane's home, at about 11 p.m., a couple of French professionals insisted that I go to Bar Rouge with them if I wanted to study the French, so I went to Bar Rouge with Stéphane and about ten of his friends. About half of them were French, the rest were Swiss and Chinese. When we arrived at one floor below Bar Rouge, we saw about thirty people were waiting to pay the entrance fee. Stéphane and a Swiss woman started calling the people who they knew who worked in the bar to give all of us free entry. Eventually we did go inside without paying. Stéphane said he never paid for entering, an indicator of French *guanxi*. The bar was very crowded when we entered. There Stéphane met several of his good friends.

Not different from other bars, alcohol and loud music were two main features of the bar. As soon as we entered the bar, Stéphane started to buy some drinks for some of the friends. Then everybody started to dance to the music. It was so crowded that any big move could bump another person. After about half an hour, Stéphane and his friends bought champagne, and they offered a glass to nearly all the women around. Around the table, four or five persons were holding champagne and talking to their friends, some men were hugging women, Chinese and other nationalities, who looked really sexy. Some were dancing. On a corner of the inside space of the bar, two foreign women dressed sexy were dancing on a table. Another half an hour later, the bar tenders were performing spectacles by burning alcohol on the counter. People shouted at that. Until two or three o'clock in the morning, there were still many people in the bar. The Chinese law that all bars should close before

two o'clock in the morning did not seem to work here. The bar often organizes parties and during weekends and important festivals the bar is so packed that one needs to push one's way through. The description of the scene above is to show how French networks works in their night life and how a night life can be for some French expatriates in Shanghai.

There are also many "non-professional" single women hunting for men in bars. Such bars are favorites of married men in summer. These are exactly the backgrounds for stories of broken French (and other European) families. There will be a fuller discussion in the chapter on interaction.

Xin Tiandi is one of the more important places frequented by expatriates. It holds galleries and various bars and restaurants, some of which have open spaces. In the daytime many tourists can be seen. In the evening it is packed with expatriates and Chinese. A Frenchman said he liked *Xin Tiandi* because all the bars have open spaces. Sitting in an open space, he said, gave him a feeling of being in Paris, watching people walking around. For him, *Xin Tiandi* is like Bercy Village in Paris. To a certain extent, *Xin Tiandi* is not only the name of a place but also an exotic symbol of excitement and higher class. Saying "I went to *Xin Tiandi* last night," can imply all these things. It is because of this symbolic meaning that *Xin Tiandi's* role in Shanghai is like that of Lan Kuai Fong in Hong Kong.

As an institution that serves people's social needs, bars and cafés are an important part of social life for the French expatriates in Shanghai just like in France. Furthermore, some bars such as like Blue Ice Club and Bar Rouge organize French nights. This provides connections to French culture.

5.2.2 Appreciation of the Arts

Museums and galleries offer level of entertainment in the form of the arts on display. Chinese museums usually have a fixed exhibition that seldom changes although they do organize exhibitions of borrowed material on occasions. In France, while there are permanent exhibitions, new material is frequently on display monthly or even every week. That is the reason that only a few French mentioned they visited the museums with any frequency. Galleries, however, do offer frequently changing exhibitions. About half of the French interviewed mentioned they visit galleries, which are also the places most of the French like to visit when they have friends coming from France. There is no doubt that this is evidence of art appreciation favored by a large portion of French in France.

Gallery exhibitions are an important occasion for expanding or re-enforcing friendships. Some artists have told me that over the last seven years Shanghai has become an international artistic center. This is evidence of the city's global status and economic power. Mo Gan Shan Road, originally a warehouse area, now has embraced hundreds of galleries. It is estimated that 100 French nationals work in the galleries. Although frequented by Europeans and other foreigners, the principal art buyers are not foreigners but new Chinese millionaire collectors who purchase art works for their decorative pleasure and as a future investment.

Practically every week there is an opening of an exhibition by artists of different nationalities. The exhibitions may range from Chinese traditional and modern paintings through Italian sculpture and photography. During the openings, drinks are served: wine, cocktails, Coca-Cola, fruit juice or mineral water as well as snacks or finger food. These are an added inducement for people to attend the openings. People go not only to view the pictures but also to meet people. Apart from artists—painters,

sculptors, photographers—merchants, architects, dancers and art-lovers from any walk-of-life, are on hand at the event. That is why art appreciation is only a part of the activity. Getting to know people and “having a drink and conversation” are important. Most of the time people congregate in small groups, saying what they do, what they like and don’t like.

There are also a few French galleries in Shanghai. IFA is one of the famous. It is owned by some teachers of the IFA (International Fashion Academy Paris) Shanghai College. Most of the employees are French. They organize exhibitions of paintings and fashion. When they do so, they invite about a hundred of possible buyers, many of whom are French. They also invite French friends who are not buyers, for example, the French Consulate in Shanghai.

The arts are not something the French often talked about during interviews but many are interested in art because in French homes, many paintings can be found. In addition, as we have mentioned on several occasions, many French women learn painting including Chinese painting as a pastime. In other words, not a small proportion of the French in Shanghai pursue their cultural interest through art appreciation.

Related to our discussion of arts appreciation, some French do show this cultural aspect that they also appreciate arts from other cultures. For example, I have seen some practical, non-decorative Chinese items are used by some French in Shanghai as aesthetic works of art that can be put to a different practical use. In other words, peoples also adapt material culture aspects to fit into their own environment. In 2006 I visited some French houses, and was surprised to find that many housewives used a typical red cloth of Chinese design as curtains or table clothes or even put it on chairs, as decoration (See Figure 5.2). On the cloth we can see typical Chinese cultural

elements: lanterns, a peacock, mandarin ducks (love couple), roses, and the peony, the national flower of China. The reason I was struck by this was that in my own particular culture in Guangxi, we use this kind of material and design exclusively as quilt covers in bedding, and it was widely used in 1960s. Later, I saw the cloth used as decoration in the *Dongbei Ren* restaurant in Shanghai, where I ate several times with French friends. The waitresses even wore trousers of that design. Apparently, the French saw and liked the cloth, recognizing it as symbolic of Chinese culture but not knowing of its rather limited traditional use. Their recognition of the design and weave of the cloth as symbolically Chinese, was then picked up by the restaurant owner, who then used it in a commercial way to attract foreigners to a “typical” Chinese restaurant.



Figure 5.2 Cloth of Chinese elements

The use of the cloth is not the only material change I found in my study of the French in Shanghai. I also found that several French families use Chinese *douli* (hat made of bamboo and the leaves of bamboo) used primarily by peasants working in rice fields as decoration. At an informant’s house I found some decoration items from Indonesia. I was told that the same kind of hat is taken back to France and used as lamp shades. A key informant’s house is decorated with art crafts and antiques from

Thailand, while another family uses Chinese jade antiques as decoration. Naturally, many persons appreciate the exceptional beauty and designs of carpets from China and other countries in Southeast Asia but these are all items that serve the specific purpose they are made for. In her study of expatriates in Hong Kong, May Holdsworth also found the use of Asian antiques in house decoration: "Collecting South-East Asian or Chinese antiques has become a fashionable expatriate activity and the décor is more likely to be sprinkled with oriental touches" (Holdsworth 2002: 207-207).

There are other two interesting examples I found in Shanghai. One day I went to interview a woman in her house located in the French concession, I noticed her house was decorated with several paintings, exotic and modern furniture, and some other art craft articles. While she was preparing tea for me, I asked her to introduce all the decorations to me. Half of the paintings, she said are from some Australian indigenous artists they bought in the International Art exhibition in Shanghai. The painting on the wall above Mao (see Figure 5.3) is one of them. Some other paintings are Breton. The furniture under Mao is Malaysian. The most interesting is the three different white statues of Mao which was the reason I asked her for permission to take the picture because several French mentioned they did not like Mao because of what he did in China. She was smiling to me, "Why not? I don't even worry how you are going to use it. I have Mao in my house. It should be good." I explained to her the sentiments I found among some French towards Mao and that some Chinese use Mao's picture, particularly badges as a protection against evils. She replied me, "The reason I put them here has nothing to do with that. I simply just find them beautiful." Another informant, Camille has also collected two porcelain statues of figures of Qing Dynasty. She did not show them to me until the day I talked about the Mao statues with her. She keeps the figures in the cabinet.



Figure 5.3 Statues of Mao taken in a French family in Shanghai, taken in November 2008.

All the above examples of material of Chinese elements, antiques and artworks from China and Southeast Asia are the indicator of how exotic cultural products become art and cultural commodities because of globalization. How they become cultural commodities in French expatriates' home is like what Yuko Aoyama (2007:106) says in the study of the consumption of flamenco in Japan and the United States that, "Demand for cultural commodities that involve an aesthetic of exoticism combines two types of distances; one of nostalgia of the distant past, the other of romanticism of the culture that has a perceived distance from one's own."

Figure 4.2 in Chapter Four shows the fashion design of the Good China store combines Chinese style and other Asian styles. This is typical ethnic fashion which is not new. Similar consumption is also found in Britain. Fashion cultures of Britain have used sustainably certain fabrics, styles of clothing and accessories that have clear connections to Southeast Asian contexts (Jackson *et al.* 2006:910). In 2008, when I was working for a French company, one day during the break of work, I saw a French woman of a neighbor French company wearing Miao costume from Guangxi. I recall a

design by *Vert Bonbon* is a female blouse with a stamp of "Made in Shanghai". This is certainly to use the word Shanghai as exotic attraction to show the experience and the distant Other on fashion. The ethnic fashion examples here show how globalization and transnationalism have entailed new hybridity of culture instead of the assumption of Americanization.

The above examples of ethnic fashion and arts and the use of Chinese products in decoration also indicate that these French expatriates project a cosmopolitan picture as they are adopting Asian exotic culture into their life. These examples on arts and fashion point to an aspect of cosmopolitanism, that is aestheticism. This shows French expatriates are cosmopolitan in the perspective of aesthetic cosmopolitanism.

5.2.3 Theatre and DVD Movies

The French are said to be a nation who are theatre lovers and the enthusiasm for theatre displayed by French expatriates in Shanghai cannot be underestimated. In Shanghai, cinemas are not uncommon and movies are supplied not only by Hollywood and Europe, Hong Kong and Taiwan, but also by a Chinese home industry. As mentioned in the last chapter, there is a considerable production of pirate CDs, VCDs, and DVDs which can be found in shops or on the movable stands of peddlers along the streets. Film production companies are not happy with these pirated VCDs and DVDs, but they compensate for the deficiency of live theatre activities that can be found in France. These DVDs cover the range of offerings from moving pictures filmed in most of the world's important centers to TV dramas. Antoine said he did not often go to the cinema as he did in France because there are plenty of cheap DVDs in Shanghai. Some French even buy dozens of DVDs in Shanghai and send them to their friends in France. All foreigners in Shanghai, including the French, take advantage of the existence of pirate copies and it is not rare to find dozens, even hundreds of such discs

in the Shanghai homes of French families or the apartments of young singles. One person I know, 25 year-old named Jack, had a collection of about 200 DVDs after six months of his internship in Shanghai. More than half of the people I interviewed mentioned they watched a considerable amount of Asian movies such as Japanese, Thai, Chinese, etc. Cable TV supplied in many compounds offers another access to Western entertainment programs. Additionally, the Internet has been a very good means for people to download films. Stéphane did not usually buy DVDs for films or go to the cinema; but he had a collection of more than 150 movies that he had downloaded from the Internet four or five days a week.

In Shanghai there is an amateur French drama workshop, called *l'Atelier Théâtre*, whose members include *expatriés* and other people who like acting. Since its beginning more than five years ago, this drama club has had an annual show every summer. The plays they rehearse are usually edited versions of French novels or dramas. In 2006 and 2007 the president of the club was a philosophy teacher. They held rehearsals every weekend for several months. It was a “family” activity as family members were also invited to join the rehearsals to give advice and support. Each member is also required to seek sponsors for the show. Theater activities are considered very intellectual and bourgeoisie in France and the drama club is certainly a very important way to establish and strengthen a network.

5.2.4 The “Hostess” and Activities among Friends

One of the most misunderstood roles of the “trailing wife” is that of hostess. In fact, the duties involved in this important French source of entertainment are demanding enough as to make the term trailing wife somewhat pejorative. To understand this one has to know that getting together with friends is a custom all

French seem to practice. The “get-togethers” are often in the form of a party or dinner with one or more French families.

A party—“*une soirée*” or “*une fête*” in French—is an important vehicle for making friends. One can often hear, “*on va faire la fête ce soir*” (we are going to have a party tonight) or “*j’ai une soirée*” (I have a party [or a date] tonight). For the French in their own country, having a party at home is a typical way to treat friends and it is natural for them to continue this custom in Shanghai. In French magazines, the idea of cookery appears to be an enjoyable, fulfilling part of family life in all social classes. In addition, cooking, eating entertaining and sociability is part of a leisured social life (Mennell 1985: 263-264). Many French women mentioned that friends are often invited to dinner parties in their homes. As Camille said, “We like to invite friends to our home. That is why we like to have a big living room. Chinese real estate agents never understood this when I was looking for an apartment.” This couple held three family parties for me to meet people for my research. Parties celebrated in the home are particularly popular around Christmas time. If someone is invited to the dinner, he or she is supposed to bring flowers or pastry or, perhaps, wine.

Christmas and New Year period is a busy time for French families in Shanghai. Sometimes they start to prepare gifts before December. They have to prepare gifts for the family, make *foie gras*, and invite friends to come over more often. In mid November 2008, I was visiting a friend who had been in Shanghai for five years. When her husband came home from work he said to his wife, “We need to prepare some gifts. The cashmere scarf you bought, how much is that? You can talk to the seller, we need a few. They are well received in France.” In early December 2008, I was visiting Camille and her husband who had been in Shanghai for four years.

Camille explained to me how busy they were during Christmas time. "Last night we were having a party at a friend's place. This week I have been shopping for Christmas. A friend is arriving this weekend from France. Then I have to show her around. Tomorrow we are invited to a dinner."

For reunions involving two or more families, the task of organizing such get-togethers falls on the shoulders of the woman in whose house the party or dinner is held. She has to make the decision of what to serve and has to do the cooking or, if she has an *ayi* who is a good cook, to oversee the preparations. She also has to make certain that the house is very clean and neat, because French housewives take great pride in their homes. As one woman told me, "In France we cannot afford household help so dinners are more work because I have to not only do all the shopping for the food and the cooking but I also have to clean the house before the company arrives. My husband doesn't have much time to help me although he does what he can. My daughter is too small to help so I only ask her to play in her room and not make a mess."

As mentioned above, the company that sends a husband overseas usually interviews the wife before making a decision because in France, the wife plays a very important part in a husband's success and holding parties seems to be one of the reasons. I would have not known this if I had not been a "participant observer" in helping a French woman organize a get-together. She told me that in France a wife often has to organize a dinner party for a family in relation to a husband's work or position. These things are important for his career. This may also explain the attitude of a couple I mentioned elsewhere who are offended because their Chinese friends do not invite them to their house but only invite them to go out to eat. The French apparently place much more value in being invited into a friend's home as it shows

that the two families are closer and also shows that the woman is willing to go through much more trouble and work and not merely to pay for a meal in a restaurant. I also believe that the willingness of French couples to invite non-family members to intimate social engagements is symbolic of a cosmopolitan attitude.

The situation is not the same among young singles. They don't organize fancy dinners because of their income but also because they don't want to get so involved as a host or hostess. They often organize parties at home, however and almost every other week there will be a home party organized by the young French. Parties are almost always organized when they move to a new apartment. This is a French (and Western) tradition of "*pendre la crémaillère*" (having a house-warming party). According to a French man from Lyon, the original meaning is to invite friends to the new house or apartment and expel evil spirits, thus bringing luck to the house. He said that in his town they have frequent parties and not only when someone moves into a new house—today they go to the house of one friend, tomorrow to that of another. Young French also organize "going-away" parties when they leave for France or for another assignment elsewhere.

Most of these are open-invitation parties where friends can bring their own friends so sometimes it can be a very big party. Parties have become an important way to network and from personal perspective, they are used not only to relax but also to make more friends. From the cultural perspective, they want more people to come to "warm up the apartment." The obligations of the host are minimal compared with home parties or dinners for families. The one giving the party usually provides some simple "snack food" and very few drinks because the guests are expected to bring drinks for themselves. In reality, the host provides little more than the local to hold the party, music from his or her CD player and a few snacks to start people off.

Social gatherings such as parties at home or in bars are not only favored by the French expatriates. Americans are reported to have similar habits. In his study of American community in Spain in the 1960s, Dennison Nash found there were many social gatherings such as cocktail circuits, or receptions “as a rite of passage, i.e. to mark an arrival, an opening or a departure” (Nash 1970: 98). Those parties helped to provide kind of stability or continuity in a changing situation. However, there is some difference I find between those Americans he studied and the French expatriates in Shanghai. According to Nash, there is a relationship between sociability and alcohol. The Americans tend to drink more than the time when they were in America to make them feel better in a different cultural situation (ibid: 98-99). I remember one of my informants mentioned her American friends like to get drunk in bars while the French just enjoy drinking and dancing with friends. Nevertheless I did not find the French tend to drink more than they did in France.

5.2.5 Sports

In Shanghai there are clubs for a variety of different sports; yoga, judo, martial arts, rugby, hockey, cricket, etc. Different from Shanghai’s semi-colonial period, when there were clubs like the Shanghai Club for the British, German Club Concordia (Chinese members from 1917), and the Cercle Sportif Français for the French (Gompertz 1967, Bickers 1999), no sports club are created for a specific national group. However, different national associations also organize sport events. Men who like sports more often than not search for these clubs when they arrive in Shanghai. Sports clubs are an excellent way for men to get to know other men with a common interest. They usually practice or play once or twice a week and very often they go out to drink and eat together afterwards. As a result, many of these sportsmen

develop friendships. Sports, then, are not only a healthy pastime, but another way through in which the French, particularly men, make friends.

“I have liked judo since I was teenager,” said Stéphane. “When I arrived in Shanghai, the first thing I did was to search for judo clubs to continue the sport and in the club I actually made two good friends.” Another said, “I played cricket before in England and France so I looked for a cricket club when I came to Shanghai. One reason I did that is to continue to exercise; the other was to make friends through the activity.”

Among many Europeans, including the French, walking (*marcher à pied*) is a sporting activity as is jogging (*futing*). These, along with swimming, tennis, badminton and golf, are sports that attract both women and men. Football, rugby, hockey, judo, karate, or martial arts are also practiced, but usually by men. The practice of judo and martial arts among Frenchmen also tells East Asian cultural influence on the French. It is impossible to generalize on the function of sports among the French because people practice sports simply because they like it as well as for the challenge it offers. Many engage in sports for the sake of their health but also use the activity to get to know more people. A French *expatrié* said he started to search for a sports club when he arrived in Shanghai two years ago. As he had played hockey in France, he was happy to find an international hockey club where the people meet once a week to play. Through this activity he met a lot of people. Alice’s husband mentioned that he registered in a football club where there were many Chinese. For him, “going to play football every Saturday when I have time, is a way to talk to Chinese people and know about Chinese culture.”

As we pointed out above, women have many choices to do sports, and in Shanghai there are numerous sports clubs which provide classes of yoga and Pilates,

stretching and body-balance exercises, not too distant from yoga, to help keep fit. These are rather well accepted among housewives. Middle aged women, who often worry about their bodies, join these kinds of courses to keep fit. Alice said, "I went to join yoga class in my area twice a week in the morning for about a year, but unfortunately I found out that was not helpful and I got hurt and tired afterwards. Then I went to a Pilate class as I believed that could help to lose weight. Otherwise I have to be on diet. A few of my friends also go to yoga class."

Although football is the "global sport," of all those interviewed only four Frenchmen played football as a team sport. A few other Frenchmen said they played football in France when they were younger. France's team won the 1998 world cup and in 2006 the French national team suffered a heart-breaking (to them) loss to Italy in the final. During the World Cup in 2006, the French were excited, especially those matches played by the national team. Many bars equipped themselves with TV to attract audiences and customers and they were filled with French. People wore blue jerseys with the number of 10, 14, and 20 to show their support and admiration for their heroes. During the matches, the French audience sang a song written in praise of Zidane. People were in frenzy and even Frenchmen who did not usually watch football did not miss the semi-final and the final although it was telecast early in the morning and they had to work the next day.

People above the age of 45 years tended to engage in personal athletic activities like swimming, rather than team sports. In many compounds there is a swimming pool. The general manager of the famous Bar Rouge and its DJ go swimming twice a week in the pool of a luxury hotel but few people can afford such a luxury. Sport is often seen as an integral part of social life and marker of class. For example, in his study of the British in China, Bricker (1999: 85) found, for example, paper

hunting—fox hunting without the fox—was an elite sport as it “demonstrated mastery over the Chinese landscape near Hankou or Shanghai. However, I do not find sport as such an effective marker of class among the French in Shanghai although the general manager and one of DJs of Bar Rouge do show that. Nevertheless, I do find in Hong Kong some rich French *expatriés* do make their class marker on sports that they buy or build their own ship and sail around the world.

5.2.6 Compounds and Apartment Blocks

As mentioned in the last chapter, the French expatriates are scattered in several communities or neighborhoods. Shanghai offers various styles of buildings, including apartment blocks and compounds that include different building, ranging from apartment blocks to villas. In Pudong and Hongqiao, compounds are nearly every where. In some neighborhoods there are only apartment blocks. Some districts are built particularly for the wealthy, whether they are foreigners or Chinese and in these neighborhoods there are many independent villas. Most of the French *expatriés* occupy villas such as these or very modern apartment blocks. The rent for some of these villas in Pudong is usually around RMB 40,000-50,000 per month. All these compounds are enclosed by walls and gates and guarded. The compound houses or independent villas are usually of Western style (see Figure5.4).



Figure 5.4 A house in a Hongqiao Area compound where some French live, taken in Nov.2008.

In France, there are sharp boundaries between social classes, which are often reinforced by the location of domicile (Carlisle 1996:48). For example, “in Paris, each side of the Seine is broadly associated with different classes and different sets of values” (ibid.). In addition, the working class usually lives in “many of the close suburbs of Paris (Clichy, Ivry, etc.). Indeed, these suburbs used to be called the *banlieue rouge* (red suburb) because of the political coloration of most of their inhabitants, who were sympathetic to the French Communist party” (ibid.). I remember one of the informants made similar remark, “In France, people will easily know which social class you belong to from your address. This is not good for those people who live in the suburban because you have to write your address when you apply for a job. Some companies do not want to hire you when they see you live in a certain suburbs.” Of course, this depends on the level of the job. If it is a low paid job, it probably does not matter where you are from. The situation in Shanghai for the French expatriates is slightly different in that most of the middle and upper class live in the suburbs instead of the commercial center. In addition, the difference between the places where they live also projects their social position in the corporation. The

decision to stay in an independent villa or apartment block is up to the financial situation of the company for whom these French *expatriés* work and their position in the company. As Fanny who did not like Shanghai said, “we have to stay in this apartment instead of those villas you have seen in other parts of Pudong because my husband’s company does not have so much money. Actually they chose the area for us.” Once when Marie and I left a café meeting together by taxi, she said, “the compound here is nice, but too far from the town. To live here one really needs a car. We do not have a car, but our place is close to the metro station.” Therefore the residence of a villa or an apartment block signifies a lifestyle, too. In flourishing commercial areas, such as in Luwan District, if not to mention the legacy of French style buildings in the French concession, most of the residences are more humble buildings and luxury villas are not be found as they would require much space. These buildings are favored by the young singles because the rents are relatively lower.

The closed compounds are actually gated communities. Many other rich expatriates of other nationalities also live in these gated communities. Because of rapid economic development, the gated residence has become more popular in Shanghai. In fact, because of globalization, this kind of community may actually become “ethnic landscapes”. In Beijing there are gated communities of a specific nationality and Wu and Webber (2004) write of a community where only Koreans live. While I did not discover a single-population community in Shanghai, many wealthy foreigners and Chinese prefer to live in gated communities. Cohen (1977:28) describes as a tendency for the expatriates to live in compact expatriate enclaves. Low (2001:48) argues that “gated communities respond to middle-class and upper-middle-class individuals’ desire for community and intimacy and facilitate avoidance, separation, and surveillance”. The secured enclaves with walls, gates, and

guards actually materially and symbolically set up barriers to social interactions with the outside world. This is as Nico said, “you have seen our house, not many Chinese live in a house like that. As a consequence, we have very few interactions with Chinese.”

To conclude, the French expatriates’ sojourning lifestyle has presented a complex picture. First, scattering in closed compounds and apartment blocks, they continue their coffee culture by meeting friends at a café. Young people also frequent bars to meet their peers while relaxing themselves and at the same time they can put themselves back in a French cultural environment once in a while by going to French nights and listening to French music in some bars. The French expatriates also like to enjoy having a home party just as they do in France. In addition, another French favorite cultural activity is related to art appreciation, both outside of residence and inside the house. It is in this aspect they display a cosmopolitan disposition by absorbing different cultural elements into their house decoration and house design. Another aspect of their lifestyle which also shows cosmopolitan traits is watching many Asian DVD movies. From their sojourning lifestyle, we see a cosmopolitan culture that includes appreciating Asian art crafts and arts from other cultures, adapting practical, non-decorative Chinese items (let’s put this into exotic category) into life environment, reading French literature, including those on China and other Asian countries, incorporating Asian cultural elements into couture, listening to French music, enjoying French food and eating from time to time Chinese food. This without any doubt is different from what Field (1971) talks about the high cosmopolitan culture (the vogue for Indian and Far Eastern literature, philosophy, and art), discussed in Chapter 2, in the 19th century. What they have in common is they both contain the exoticism in literature, and arts for the Other, Asia in this case.

Additionally the French cosmopolitan culture in Shanghai is indicated in entertainment and arts.

5.3 Internal Socioeconomic Boundaries

The lifestyles seem to be different for different groups of the French expatriates. The “sense of belonging” among them also differs according to the group. Being French in Shanghai does not automatically bring a sense of bonding among all the French people. Instead, what we see are internal boundaries and social exclusion between different groups. Different individuals act within the social spaces that they belong to. As mentioned in the last chapter, many of the young singles represent the lower middle class; the rest of the young people and a large part of the *expatriés* and their wives constitute the middle class and a portion of these *expatriés* and their families are in the category of upper middle class. Boundaries between class and self-representation are fluid and over-lapping.

5.3.1 Being *Expatrié* and Bourgeois Lifestyle

The difference in income, which is the main source of the boundaries between different groups, differentiates the *expatriés* from other groups. *Expatriés* are a privileged group because they receive a high salary and a whole package of different allowances. Their high social status also places at their disposal the means—economic, organizational or political—to transform their surroundings to their tastes and needs. It allows them to create their own social space. They live in closed compounds, which are often cut off from contact with the local population. Compared to the *expatriés* and the long time residents, the young singles are in a less favorable economic situation due to their lower salary. They live in cheaper apartments, in buildings where many Chinese also reside.

Young singles often try to dissociate themselves from the *expatriés* who are sent by their companies. They do not call themselves *expatriés*, who they consider to be persons on a short-term contract and with high salaries and good benefits. Very often these young adults claim that they do not like the *expatrié* or housewife lifestyle. They reproach them as being “*fermé*” (closed) as these *expatriés* seem to spend most of their time in their compound and to show little interest towards the other groups, including the Chinese. The tone in which the young singles talk about *expatrié* often conveys a negative meaning of the word *expatrié*. Gorge, a French man in his late 20s, who started a trading company with Elodie C, said, “I am not *expatrié*, I don’t live in a closed compound. There are many Chinese neighbors in the area where I live now. The place I lived before was more Chinese. I want to know more about the Chinese.” Jean, a French teacher in his 40s said, “An *expatrié* is someone who chooses to live in another country for a variety of reasons, but mostly for his/her career: Better opportunities, better salaries, etc. An *expatrié* is like a parasite, living on the back of local people, taking advantage of them for his/her benefits. I don’t consider myself and the people I work with as *expatrié*.”

There is obvious envy regarding the *expatriés*, who usually frequent only the expensive places when they go out, that they (the young singles) cannot afford to go to, and live in expensive homes. A young Frenchman, Seb, mentioned it a few times that “I do not think it is necessary to spend 40 *kuai* on a drink when you can get one with just 10 *kuai*.” He came to Shanghai on his own, to find his job; obviously he did not live a life as comfortably as the *expatriés*. From what he said we see either envy or jealousy or an expression of differences in taste or an appreciation of the necessities.

The way the young people distinguish themselves from the *expatriés* appears to be an attempt to justify their own lifestyle and to deny their economic inferiority. The

true basis of the difference between the consumption of a drink for 10 yuan and 40 yuan is the difference between “the tastes of luxury (or freedom) and the tastes of necessity,” as Bourdieu (1992: 177) puts it. Young people can only choose the “taste of necessity” because of their low income, while *expatriés* have the freedom to choose “taste” as representative of their identity. In a sense they are trying to draw a boundary between themselves and “others” but the same can be said of the lower social strata because their differences are also the product of economic capital and consumption patterns actually reinforce these differences. By accusing the *expatriés* of being “*fermé*” (closed), young people claim to be better and more open to other cultures. On the other hand, by excluding older persons or persons with more money, they are being “*fermé*.”

Obviously lifestyle is the focus of the critics. When some housewives go shopping in the supermarket they have the *ayi* push the cart for them and afterwards carry what they have bought into the house. Some families have a driver to take them where they go and if an *ayi* does not accompany them to the supermarket, the driver pushes the cart or carries the goods. All this is considered by the French to be a part of bourgeois lifestyle although most of the *expatriés* residing in China cannot afford such a luxury in their homeland. Some housewives mentioned that they were shocked to see “such actions” on the part of their compatriots saying things like “I was startled to see that. I couldn’t imagine they also do that in China.” Their criticisms may be an embarrassment of the image these French present to the Chinese. The French, be they *expatriés*, housewives, children, or young singles, are not just individuals relating privately among themselves within the confines of their own society, but living examples of France in general. How some bourgeois housewives act creates a social and moral space between themselves and the Chinese. Certainly some

French are not aware or do not care how the Chinese interpret such behavior but others want to present a good image. Some *expatriés* and many of the housewives are criticized because of their dissociation from the local life that may be a condition of bourgeois life. On the other hand, in France, it is precisely the bourgeois who expend the most time, energy, and money in charitable works.

The representative role of the image of France sounds very important to some people, in particular to early arrivals. Seb, who was often critical of Chinese education, once criticized another French man who had just arrived:

He was behaving very French, just talked and talked. You see so many Chinese were listening. You cannot talk like that because the Chinese will believe everything he said. The Chinese don't know how to reflect. I don't agree with him on many issues. He talked without thinking. Actually he was just expressing his ideas. He really should have paid attention to what he said. So many Chinese were listening. And they don't usually think and will believe every thing you say. But France is not like that.

Seb's comment actually shows he was concerned about the proper image presented to the Chinese. Nonetheless, the fact is that not every one presents a good image. A French woman of 28, a department manager who had lived three years in China, said to me, "I am sure you have met many bad French." What she was trying to say was some French were arrogant and thought they were superior. A French teacher who had been in Shanghai for three years said, "Many foreigners in Shanghai often act as if they are superior to the Chinese, and they act very badly. The French are not exceptions."

Young people or people who don't live a bourgeois life don't hesitate to show their disdain towards the disassociation with the grand bourgeois, either. A young French man said that was why he left Singapore for Shanghai because the big French bosses there did not care about the local culture and they knew nothing about it. He might have exaggerated, but it shows that some big French bosses are not interested in

the local culture. It would seem that the bourgeois life is the same in Shanghai that the grand bourgeois does not appear to be interested in the local culture. By disassociating themselves from the local life, first, they may feel that they are showing that they are cosmopolitan. As Friedman (2000: 751) writes:

The discourse of cosmopolitan openness is not coming from people who are integrated socially with the diversity that they espouse. It emanates from the gentrified fortresses that form the urban centers of global powers. Its voice is the royal “we” and in this way it conflates its own real segregation with a vision of global solidarity.

What Friedman tries to argue is that cosmopolitans have their own small world and are reproducing it among themselves. However, what he says of “cosmopolitan openness is not coming from people who are integrated socially with the diversity that they espouse” echos what Segalen’s (2002:32) remarks on exoticism, as I argue against in the Introduction, that it is fulfilled by experiencing cultural diversity and remaining detached at the same time. That is not cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitans may be able to reproduce the same cultural disposition among them, but they have to socially embrace other cultures. Without that the saying of cosmopolitan openness is just something on the paper. That young singles disassociate themselves from the *expatriés* is an indicator that they are trying to show they are the cosmopolitans open to other cultures.

Patterns of socialization extend beyond social associations and sports clubs. Night life is also an expression of social status. It has already been made clear that young singles and *expatriés* don’t really meet or mix because of the economic differences between them, different lifecycle position, and different interests. Actually, people of different classes go to the bars that belong to their own social class. The bars in Xin Tiandi and the Bund area (such as Bar Rouge) are usually expensive, and are frequented by the *expatriés*. Young graduates and exchange students usually

go to some cheap bars, such as Antidote, probably the cheapest bar in Shanghai, (located on Changning road about 15 to 20 minutes away from Zhongshan Park) and the Blue Ice Club (situated at the crossroad of Fuxing West Road and Yongfu Road). In these cheap bars one can get a bottle of beer for price of 10 or 20 yuan while in many bars one has to pay at least 40 yuan. On weekends one has to pay a “cover charge” or the entrance fee of RMB 80 at the Bar Rouge. Many drinks there cost about 100 yuan or more. Second, since the residences of the various classes are very dispersed, there are not many locales that can serve as a center for the formation of interclass friendship. As a result, social distance is maintained and the possibility of dialogue between classes is limited.

5.4 Personal Network and Friends

Personal networks are considered as *social capital* (Bourdieu 1992: 114), thus are very important for social life. The range of choices people have in both establishing and sustaining networks varies. Thus differences of personal networks exist ultimately because of differences in the total economic and social structure. Most people encounter other people through their families, at work, in the neighborhood, in organizations, or through introduction by friends or relatives and in bars they continue meet persons they met in some earlier settings.

When talking about the sojourning lifestyle in the last session, some ways of making friends, art appreciation activities, bars, cafés, sports, and parties are mentioned. There are other ways through which the French make their networks. For example, they establish their network through friends' friend, internet, etc.

5.4.1 Friends

Many French make friends and create their personal networks in Shanghai through the introduction of friends. It is easy to meet other French because the

French population of Shanghai is not too large. Before they came to Shanghai, they spread the news among their friends and their relatives, who often find that someone they know or heard of is in Shanghai. Telephone numbers and addresses are passed around and a network is frequently established even before arriving. This is particularly important when they arrive in Shanghai. As a young single French man who came to Shanghai alone to look for a job said:

I knew absolutely nobody when I arrived in Shanghai but some Parisian friends gave me the contact of a friend of theirs, that of a French architect living in Shanghai. I called him and met him. He introduced me to other people who also presented me to other people, among whom are some Chinese. Therefore I don't need to go to some sites on Internet to meet people, or to Alliance Française or other organizations like that.

Alice mentioned something similar. "Friends' of her friends" were working in Shanghai and she and her husband were welcomed in a family dinner upon their arrival. The other people they met at the dinner became the network she would need and rely on. These friends told her where to buy furniture, where the hospital is and who to call when sick, and other information that they need for daily life. That actually saved her many problems. She had no need to contact any social organizations after her arrival.

Not all French people are so fortunate. Sometimes they use another nationality as a medium. These people are usually those who claim to be uninterested in meeting other French people in Shanghai but live in a Chinese milieu. A French man of about sixty-three years of age, who I will mention later in the thesis, did not speak Chinese or English except for some basic words like 'thank you' and 'hello'. He did, however, know some Chinese who spoke French. He claimed he did not want to meet other French people. He came to China because of a Chinese friend he got to know in Switzerland. There were so few French in his network that he had to go through a

Chinese friend who worked for a French counseling company to introduce other French to me for my research and my job search.

Short time expatriation makes it difficult to make friends for long term but it does not seem to hamper making good friends. Furthermore, it usually depends on an individual's personality, although several said that sometimes they don't have a choice of choosing friends when they are abroad, as one might in France. Working as an expatriate, they sometimes have to meet with people they don't particularly like. I suppose they are simply saying the choices are fewer. If they are fortunate enough, they can find some good friends, but this does not last long time since they don't stay in one place too long, generally two to five years. But they do cherish this short-time friendship. Some French take their good friends in Shanghai as part of the family as they provide mutual help: "When I was sick, it was they who came to see me and took care of me and we see each other every week. They are just like part of the family."

5.4.2 Social Clubs and Social Events

Social clubs play an important role in people's social network. The biggest social organization and also a club is the Cercle Francophone which was established in 2001. It organizes activities among the Francophone communities. It is not clear whether there were other organizations before that. There were a few organizations that do more or less the same kinds of tasks—for example, *l'Union des Français de l'Etranger* (Association of French Abroad), and *La Communauté Francophone de Pudong* (the Francophone Association of Pudong). However, now only *le Cercle Francophone de Shanghai* (the Francophone Association of Shanghai) is still active. The other two dissolved after three years of existence.

The Cercle Francophone is generally appealing to the French who know no one upon arrival. Most of them joined the association for the purpose of obtaining help for small, daily problems and to get to know people and set up a personal network and to enrich their social life in Shanghai. This is particularly important for the French who do not speak languages other than French. Among the French interviewed, only a small proportion were actual members of the Cercle Francophone. Nonetheless many of them had been members when they just arrived in Shanghai but withdrew because they did not feel welcome during some activities organized by the association. The people who withdrew were usually the inhabitants of Pudong. The reason they withdrew will be discussed in the next chapter, Social Organizations. Nonetheless, some long time residents maintain their membership in the Cercle Francophone. Those, especially, who basically don't work, stay with the association to enlarge its network and make their social life richer.

The Francophone Cercle is an important association for the French who like staying among the French speakers. Steve said the reason he joined the Francophone Cercle was to "*retrouver des francophones*" (find some Francophones). As a typical Frenchman, he often joined social activities. I met him three times at the business lunch, once at a French opera show, and once at a Christmas Party. A couple of French men also mentioned that Steve was everywhere. Steve gave people an impression of a wealthy French expatriate. Sometimes he had a cigar in his mouth, sometimes he could not stop talking about different parts of China and French life in Shanghai.

These different organizations sometimes arrange social events that attract French speakers. The French are famous for their wines so it is not surprising that a typical event is that of wine tasting. *Alliance Française*, the Cercle Francophone, the previous

l'Union des Français de l'Étranger, shops like Epicvre and Carrefours, all organize wine tasting events. These activities offer opportunities to get to know other French in a French environment.

Painting class is listed here because many French women like the arts and learn drawing in Shanghai. They join French or Chinese painting or pottery painting class. Most of these classes were not just for the French. A Chinese painting class in Liu Haisu Art Museum, which I visited, had eight persons. Five were French, the others included an Italian, a German, and a Belgian. They had class twice a month. A couple over 60 years old translated the instructions of the Chinese painter into English. The painter only spoke Chinese with a few English words, such as Thank You, Hello, Bye bye. The couple did not speak good English. Two of the French women sometimes had to guess the meaning.

Neighborhood activities are another means of extending one's network. In terms of neighborhood, more than a half of the *expatriés* I met lived in independent villas. The others lived in apartment buildings within a large compound. Neighborhood relations are not always strong among the French residing within a compound, which is basically where most expatriate families live. This is particularly true of villas residents but there is an exception in a compound of apartment buildings in Pudong. A family organized a barbecue every year to get to know the new arrivals. The woman sent e-mail to everybody and called some people if she had the telephone number. At the barbecue held in late September 2006, many of the French residents in the compound went, although not all. Most of the new arrivals were present. A housewife said they sometimes talked to their neighbors and invited them to their house.

Living in the same neighborhood does not mean that interactions among people are close. Some housewives admitted they do not say hello to their neighbors and vice

versa, or when they tried to be nice, their neighbors were very indifferent. According to other housewives, they knew that many French lived in their compound, but they had no ties with them other than being French. In short, neighborhood ties do not seem to be strong among many French people. When asked to describe their neighborhood, many French said they knew a few of people but most of them did not talk to their neighbors or that they knew there were quite a few French in their compound from the administration office, but they did not know each other. A man in his early sixties told me, "I said hello to the French couple in this building when I met them in the elevator. The wife (who is Chinese) seemed to be all right. The husband is too cold. He did not really say anything. They have never invited me to their apartment." For him, I am not very sure whether there is an issue of social class as he did not belong to those entrepreneurs while the couple he was talking about had a good business in Shanghai. Coral said, "There are many French families in this compound but some of them are cold. My husband often goes to play tennis in the residents' club. A French man happened to be outside of the club once but he did not say hello to my husband." Alice said, "I tried to be friendly to one of the neighbors by going to their house telling them of something but they were cold and just thanked me. Since then I started to be 'savage' (not polite), not too friendly with my French neighbors." All these complaints point to the nature of French concept of friendship. Friendship for them is chosen rather than imposed by circumstance or by chance (Carroll 1988: 32, 85). Carroll (1988: 32) explains, "It is also 'normal' for me to refuse all ties that I have not chosen (in the broadest sense), that have been imposed on my by circumstance, by chance, which assigns me certain neighbors, which places me next to others in the subway..." Therefore even when being abroad French do not automatically become friends with their French neighbors even though some try to

be friends. Consequently they do not really care to talk with their neighbors as conversation commits them to the others (ibid: 31).

5.4.3 Internet

The Internet is a modern way to find friends although it is not usually mentioned by the French during the interviews. Nonetheless, some French people use it as a means of finding people who share the same interests.

www.bonjourshanghai.com is a French website where French people provide and seek information on life in Shanghai, jobs and friends. People place small notices on the web site saying they have plans for a certain thing and asking if anyone else would like to join. A French man said one of his colleagues who knew no one in Shanghai, did that soon after arriving with his family. A French housewife said "Yes, I often go to the web site, but I only take information rather than leave some notices there." Many French also chat in the discussion forum on that web page.

Other websites also have similar functions, such as www.thatssh.com, www.smartshanghai.com, and <http://shanghai.asiaxpat.com>, but they point to all expatriates rather than just French in Shanghai. The first is the website for the magazine of *That's Shanghai*. All these websites provide information on bars, restaurants, leisure, lodging, jobs, language exchange, bars, etc. The last one is also an important website for people looking for jobs. These are the three more frequently mentioned by the expatriates I met in Shanghai, no matter French, British, Chinese, Turkish, or Americans. However, website SmartShanghai is most frequently heard, and it is probably the most important website for people to find out what is going in town. Words are often heard, like "I checked on SmartShanghai this morning, finding there will be a party in Mints this Saturday." "Yes, right, this Thursday is for

the *Beaujolais*. I am sure there will be some parties somewhere. Better check Smartshanghai.” I got a chance to interview the director of Smartshanghai, who is from Sydney, in early December 2008. He said that since they started the website five years ago, they have had numerous hits. In 2008 on average they have 7-10,000 visits every day. He said that is a conservative figure as in one office there can be more than three persons using the same internet IP address. So the real figure can be three or four times more. The visits doubled after two years. Then it doubled again after another two years. Most of the visits are from Shanghai. There are also people outside of China viewing our website. There is more information on the website now. Usually the information is on parties, events, such as bar opening, special promotion of restaurants, restaurants. They have eight full time writers and two part-time writers for different columns. Most the writers are expats. The way they get the information tells how popular they are. He said that they are never short of information. Every week about forty to fifty people send them information on parties. “We simply don’t have enough space for them. Every week there is a bar opening on average. In December there can be three. Of course, many bars closed.”

What he said about SmartShanghai confirms that the Internet serves as a way to organize life as well as to search for friends. In addition, what he described also implies the large expatriate population and the importance of night life for these expatriates. People arriving in Shanghai search the Internet to find activities, organizations and places. Afterwards they follow up the activities which they find and make new acquaintances and expand their networks. For example, Seb, a young French man of 23 years old, did not know anybody when he landed on Shanghai. He searched all kinds of lists of activities then he added his e-mail address to the mailing

list and followed the activities from those newsletters. The examples mentioned above further support this.

Another new Internet development is Facebook. A creative director of a French events organizing company said Facebook has become a very important means for people, no matter whether young or old, to keep connected with their friends. About ten out of eighty French I interviewed use Facebook to connect with their friends. There is no doubt that internet facilitates connections between friends.

In addition to providing access to news, the Internet offers a platform for people to communicate and exchange information. For example, www.bonjourshanghai.com has different information on the life in Shanghai, helping people to organize their lives and to connect to the local life and to other French. They can ask for help or information by leaving a message in the forum of the website. They can chat in the forum, too. Therefore, the website seems to be a virtual community, which connects to the actual community.

The Internet also links the French to the Frenchness in Shanghai. The Cercle Francophone has a mailing list. The mailing list functions as the means of circulating social and cultural events. By receiving the updated news from these mailing lists, one can follow up French cultural events. Many small French companies use these mailing lists, too, sending emails out to inform others that they offer services to the French—for example helping to adapt to life in Shanghai by learning languages, getting business cards, information on opening of boutiques and the selling French fashions. Through the Internet, it is not difficult to obtain information on French products.

Mailing lists are also used by groups of individuals to share their life and tell others what has happened to their group. Stéphane mentioned that every time one of

his groups of seven persons sends an email telling something about himself, he sends it to all the other members of their group. Additionally, they also talked often on MSN.

5.4.4 Religion

As mentioned in Chapter Four, French ethics, law, customs and their modern culture has been heavily influenced by the Roman Catholic religion. Today although over 40 million French have been baptized in the Catholic religion, only about 10 million, roughly one quarter of that number, actively practice their religion by attending religious services even as little as once a month. Exception for Muslims, who make up roughly six per cent of the population, portions of Catholic history and custom are part of the culture of every French person. For example, in France, every day is a saint's day and on most calendars names of one or more saints can be seen under each calendar day. This is to remind people to call or visit friends baptized with the name of the saint, in order to wish them a *bon anniversaire* (Happy Patron Saint's Day).

For the practicing population, this root is too important to be abandoned. The Church is still important in their lives. Those believers, who do not go to mass regularly still celebrate Christian holidays like Christmas and Easter and, to a lesser extent, the Feast of Corpus Christi, the Assumption, the Ascension, and All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day. Even those who have left the Church usually choose all Souls Day to visit the graves of deceased family members and relatives. Many, perhaps most, still have their children baptized, which is why Christian baptismal records demonstrate that 40 million French men and women are baptized. Carol said, "I was baptized as Catholic in France when I was a kid. Now I don't really practice it, but I still celebrate every holiday." A French manager 55 years of age I met in Hong Kong said, "I am not really religious, but I was baptized and I go to the mass maybe once a

year. I also had my children baptized. All my three children were baptized at the same time.” Many people still get married in the church. As the French priest who serves now in the French Catholic Community said, even the number of people who hope to have their body brought to the church after death is not small.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, there are about 400 French Catholics in Shanghai, according to the priests. There are at least about 300 people who are active church goers. For them, apart from matters of faith, going to mass is a very important way to establish their social networks. Beatrice said, “Most of my friends are French but I got to know most of them through the parish.” Marie said she has more in common with Catholics, including those of other nationalities, as they share the same values. However, when talking about the people she sees most, she said that remains French. Claire said, “The community is like a big family. It makes us feel warm and comfortable. It is true that going to mass here is very helpful for the network. We do not find it difficult to live here although we just arrived two months ago.”

As a way to build up a personal network, religion does not only refer to church activities. It includes religious events, too. Christmas is widely celebrated among Christians in France. However, Christmas for the French Christians seems to be more important as a season or period of holiday. For them, not the only Christmas day, December 25 is important. The Christmas season starts from December 1st. A French tradition—still carried on by some—is that on December 1st parents give their children a calendar with twenty-five small boxes which are filled with chocolate. Every day, the child opens one small box to get the chocolate to eat until Christmas day. A French priest I met in Hong Kong said, “Inside the box it is not necessarily a chocolate. It can also be a message from God. So every day there is a message from God telling us to prepare for the coming of Christmas. That is called an Advent Calendar (*Calendrier*

de l'Avant)." In November 2008 during my fieldwork in Shanghai, I was living with two French women. One of them went back to France during my first two weeks there and brought a calendar gift to the other woman when she came back. I could really see the joy in the eyes of the other woman. She said that reminded her of life back in France. Christmas Eve and Christmas Day, numerous people go to church. During Christmas time, they eat *foie gras*. Some women get together to prepare *foie gras*, while others purchase it. In 2006, a woman in Pudong made *foie gras* and sold it to French families. Traditional Catholics usually go to mass on Christmas Eve (*Le Reveillon*) and also on Christmas Day. In 2008 the Chinese Father said there were about 400 people in the church on Christmas day.

Under the section of activities among friends earlier in this chapter, I mentioned Christmas period is a time to invite friends to home dinners. This can help to build up and solidify their network and friendship. In terms of inviting friends to family dinners and the way they celebrate Christmas, we see there is a cultural continuity between the life in Shanghai and their life back in France. In other words, globalization does not necessarily lead to a cultural rupture or lead people to other cultures.

5.5 The Content of the Networks

Having looked at different ways of establishing personal networks, we need to have a picture of their contents in order to understand their nature. According to the first 60 interviews, the majority associated basically among the French. Very few said they were not interested in meeting other French. When asked to name the ten persons they have seen most in the past week, about half of them (32 out of 60) saw more than five French, among whom, three persons saw only French (see Table 5.3). In my last field trip, among the 18 interviews I completed, 14 said the contacts in their mobile phone are basically French. For the other four, about seventy percent of the

contacts are French, thirty percent include Chinese, Belgians, Italians, Spanish, English, and Americans, although English and Americans are only a small proportion.

These networks do not seem to be very diverse as the majority met mainly Frenchmen. Some people have other nationalities in their network, but these are just a small proportion. In addition, during the interviews, quite a few people mentioned that the people they saw most were usually French speakers, which we do not see from the table. For example, Zoé, a woman who has been in Shanghai with the family for five years, says, "I meet many different kinds of people. Last week the people I met more often include five French, two Chinese who are married to French, and one Belgian. One of the Chinese is Hongkongese but these two Chinese are both French speakers." This may denote the cultural distance between French culture and other cultures or to the cultural similarities with their own people. Examining the study from the aspect of connectedness, we see in the networks that the proportion of French, like Zoé, has at least two circles. The inner circle is closely tied to French speakers, while the outer circle is sparsely tied to people of different cultures. Nonetheless, in studies on expatriates in China, Wang and Kanungo (2004: 787-788) argue that expatriates from different cultural backgrounds tend to form different types of networks in China. They found that North American expatriates form a network of the most diverse cultures and the most frequent network contacts.

Table 5.3 the composite of the 10 people you met more often last week (person, N=60)

Among the 10 people you met more often last week, how many are	10	5-9	4	3	2	1	0
French	3	29	14	10	3	0	1
Other Europeans (excl. UK)	0	2	0	10	26	8	14
Chinese	0	4	1	16	21	15	3
Other Asians	0	0	0	3	4	8	45
Anglo-Saxons (including British, Australian, Americans)	0	2	0	2	5	8	43
Other					4	10	36

The content of the network is also an important indicator of whether the French networks are socially French exclusive or internationally inclusive. The above result does not and cannot cover all the French in Shanghai. There is a proportion of French who have a French exclusive network or international inclusive one. For example, one of the woman interviewed said she does not like anything Chinese. If someone plays Chinese music, she will change it. If someone puts a book on Chinese culture where she can see it, she will put it somewhere where it does not catch her eye. Steve, whose network is basically all Francophones, says he knows a group of French who are French exclusive. They speak only French, too. For someone who does not speak French it is not possible to get into this French circle. A German Chinese woman I met four times said among her French friends, some only go out with French, while others completely enjoy going out with non-French, including Chinese. I did not meet many of these French exclusive people, so am not sure how many of them there really are.

Being exclusive or inclusive is, however, more often a matter of degree. Furthermore, exclusive and inclusive can co-exist. For example, religious groups tend to include more religious people who may not be French in their extensive network.

However, the inner circle of the network remains French. In other words, they are national and cosmopolitan at the same time.

The content of the network is subject to some other factors besides those of culture. As mentioned in the last chapter, within families, one is likely to know people through one's partner. In her studies of family and social network, Elizabeth Bott (1971: 52-96) puts families into a smaller classification. According to her, if the two partners do not have common interests, they usually have separate social networks. On the contrary, if the partners have many common interests, they carry out many activities together and thus have a common social network. When the families have children of school age, the parents will certainly have many chances to get to know other parents through the friends of their children at school. If the children go to French school, then this social network will contain many French speakers, and may be exclusively French. For the children going to English international school, their parents will have more chances to meet Anglophones. Furthermore, the social network will more likely involve Chinese if one of the partners is Chinese. Again, this is not always true. By adopting E. Bott's idea of the division among couples, some French-Chinese families (usually with a French husband and a Chinese wife) end up with the husband forming his own social circle because of cultural differences, and the wife trying to establish her own network. This will be further discussed in the chapter of interactions with other foreigners and Chinese.

Personal networks also indicate the sociology of "homophilia" (Ferrand *et al.* 1999: 204), which means that individuals are inclined to establish ties with people like themselves. Among all the friends an individual may have, their network of friends is generally based on the people who arrived in Shanghai at more or less the same time as they. The reason for this is, as Alice said:

Arriving at the same time creates a link between us. We have the same interests. We are curious. We discover the city together, and buy furniture and cloth together. Among my friends, a couple arrived at the same time as us. Another couple arrived six months earlier.

During a discussion with a French woman and Seb, both of whom worked in galleries, the woman explained that she only started to look for other friends after many of her friends who arrived at the same time left Shanghai. Seb said that he knew many French people but most of his networks were the people who arrived almost at the same time as he.

Network homophilia is manifested in the similar socio-occupational category involved in different groups as well. In the earlier sections on sojourning lifestyle and the internal boundaries, we notice different groups have different lifestyles. Then there is the disassociation between young singles and some parts of the *expatrié*. Few young singles' networks include the *expatrié* although we are not referring in absolute terms. Thus their network is also often confined to the similar socio-economic category.

The majority of French expatriates remain in the group of French even though they also meet other nationalities. As Christèle mentioned, "We French people like staying among ourselves. My friends are basically French. In our compound, there are some Belgians and Italians but our relations basically remain at saying hello." Cloé said, "We are neighbors with Italians in Europe. We have something in common. In Shanghai we do talk to Italians and other Europeans when we meet in a bar or restaurant but we don't usually go out with them. In other words, there is an invisible boundary between the French and other nationalities. Thus the patterns of the content of the French network are it is often confined to the similar socio-economic category and most of them stay with other French although they also contact other cultural groups.

In Chapter 2 I defined cosmopolitanism as appreciating other cultures, aesthetically and intellectually, and being open to multicultural experiences. By opening to multicultural experiences, a cosmopolite generally accepts people from other cultures in their social interactions. In other words, their personal networks include not only people from their own culture, but also those from other cultures. The French internal networks indicate most of the French interviewed are not cosmopolitan.

5.6 Transnational Networks

Transnationalism has become another dominant discourse alongside globalization. In a broad sense, it does not matter if you are a Colombian in New York (Guarnizo *et al.* 1999), or a British expatriate in Paris (Scott 2003), transnational means are available in abundance and the need or desire to use them is as strong as ever, particularly in global cities. Modern technology and invention such as Internet, flows of media, and satellite TV all enable easy access to what we have at home while we are abroad and to the information from other parts of the world. That is to say, the French can have French cheese in China; Americans can follow the New York Stock Exchange in India, and Italians can keep up with the football scores of their favorite teams. In other words, living in Shanghai does not seem to make living a French life difficult for the French expatriates nor make France “out of sight” and much less, “out of mind.” In addition, immigrants or skilful transnational professionals continually cross national frontiers through embodied and disembodied back-and-forth movements. This may involve physical travel back to the country of origin.

The actual back-and-forth movements that constitute transnationalism refer to the social and cultural exchanges here. The translocalities involved in this type of deterritorialised behavior are often communal, involving expatriate participation and

conviviality at 'high' and 'low' institutional events (Portes *et al.* 1999:221). Outside of the communal realm, there are other forms of more 'banal' transnationalism, involving migrants maintaining individualized or familial links with home that remain relatively private and hidden. Askoy and Robins (2002), for example, talk of the banal in relation to satellite media to show how that has increasingly shaped what it means to be a migrant. They examine transnational broadcasting among the Turkish diasporas to indicate how a 'banal' thing such as satellite television can be critically and self-consciously consumed.

Most French interviewed remain cognizant of the key events and shifts in French society, maintaining a close watch over the homeland they left behind. First, the French interviewed expressed concern towards changing circumstances and events in France, with media links central to this. Second, they stress maintaining cross-border contacts. Such engagement is thoroughly knowledgeable and highly informed, with the skilled and high status nature of the community no doubt central to this. Various cross-border information channels are fundamental to the critical interest expressed by the French expatriates. French newspapers, satellite television, RFI and RMC radio and the Internet are all widely available. These enable media consumption and shape topics of conversation and matters of personal communal interest. The result is that, at both the individual and group level, information diffusion from France shapes every day behavior.

Transnational contacts remain important over the longer term. French expatriates regularly receive visitors from France, just as they frequently return there to meet with friends and family. A key informant had visitor from France nearly every month in 2006. Every time when he had visitors coming, he invited me to join them in activities. A Frenchman who had been in Shanghai for 4 years said, "I have always

stayed in contact with my friends in France. Next month, I am going back to attend a friend's wedding." Trips to and from France are more intense during specific periods of the year, especially at Christmas and the summer holidays. All the families with children who I talked to and interviewed go back to France at least once a year, either during the summer holidays or during Christmas time. As several people said, "That is the time we go to see our relatives and friends." Mr. Benzemann goes to France every other month since his retirement in Shanghai: "I go back to France every two months as my family is still there and I also have a house there. So I have to go and take care of the house." Many of the interviewees mentioned they returned to France about once a year just to feel the atmosphere, to eat French food, to breathe clean air rather than Shanghai pollution and to be free from Shanghai's noise. Nicolas, who had been in Shanghai for five years, said he needed to go back to France at least once a year, otherwise he would suffocate in Shanghai. He was exaggerating but it expresses very important French psychological needs regarding nature and cultural comfort.

E-mails, international chat servers such as Skype, MSN, and telephone calls also help to reduce the isolation that accompanies expatriation. About forty percent of the people interviewed use the Internet daily and an equal amount sign on to the Internet three times a week, the rest, one or two times a week. They check and answer email and many of them use MSN and Skype to talk to their friends and families. Two women mentioned they talk to their family nearly every day by phone or Skype. One of them had been in Shanghai for four years, the other had resided there 14 years. The latter said, "My mother calls me nearly every day. She is retired, and has nothing to do." I remember in March 2007, during my week-long stay with the French friend, her family or in-laws called nearly every day. Matieu said, "Now I talk more with my parents than when I was in France because we don't see each other as often as before.

We talk about once a week on the phone.” Housewives tend to use Internet less although ten housewives I spoke with mentioned they use the Internet every day. Facebook is mentioned by a Frenchman who works in an events-organizing company, “You have to talk about Facebook if you are talking about the French in Shanghai.” Still, among the French interviewed only two of the persons mentioned Facebook although I know fifteen others who use Facebook.

Satellite Television, which in this context refers specifically to the French channel TV5 Asia (in brief TV5), has been very important for the French expatriates, the *expatriés* in particular, to keep posted on events back in France. In terms of satellite television in general, several French interviewed also mentioned the BBC. The fact that English television is seldom mentioned is because French TV is seen as relaxing and comforting. In Shanghai, and it is probably true in other cities in China, only those living in wealthy compounds usually have access to French TV5 as it requires a license for reception in China. French Alliance has the license but even the staff there says that the reception is not stable as the Chinese government occasionally interferes with the reception of programs, particularly those they consider sensitive. That is to say, it is the *expatriés* and other rich business families, including long-term residents and local-hire expatriates, who can afford to watch French TV5 through the satellite channels. Every time I visited a key informant who lived in Pudong, I found her watching TV5. A global commuter said, “The first thing I do in the morning is turn on the TV to watch the news on TV5. That is all I watch on TV5.” A dozen others said something similar, “I watch only the news on TV5 to keep me informed about what is happening in France.” Two young French mentioned they watch the news through TV5 on the Internet.

Some young French who do not feel they have a sufficiently high enough salary to afford TV5, and to keep them abreast of what is happening in the world, including France, watch, instead, Chinese international channel CCTV9, broadcast in English, mentioned earlier. Here media serves as an imagining function of France and the world.

As Appadurai puts it:

Mediascapes tend to be “image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places. (Appadurai 2002: 52)

The transnational political concern was maximized in the French presidential election in 2007. Before the election, what the candidates did and said became daily topics among the French in Shanghai. They followed the news every day either by satellite television or newspaper or magazine. According to the French Consulate in Shanghai, on 22 April, 2007, during the first round of the French presidential election, in Shanghai 3524 persons registered to vote. In the end 2240 voted, which was sixty-four percent participation. Sixty-four percent is a significant number as it is not too far from the participation percentage in France. The number of voters shows that many people are still concerned with their country even when they live abroad and want to keep up-to-date about what happens in France for they are still part of France. Their keen concern with the politics in France is partially because they expect to return one day to France. Governmental policies greatly affect their lives now and once they return. Therefore they also want to choose the president who they think can better serve their interests. For instance, Alice remarked, “We would not want to go back to France if Royal were the president. She does not have the capacity.” The high voting rate further shows that even when away from France, expatriates can also influence the domestic politics to a certain extent.

The transnational political concern is also present in the way French talk to their friends and to French audiences back in France through the media, regarding Chinese issues. In 2008, after the incident of the Olympics Torch Relay in Paris, demonstrations against the West—in particular France—were initiated across China. The French in Shanghai were anxious about what could happen to their life in China and some of them talked to friends in France, telling them that they probably did not know much about China and the Chinese. Jolie said, “I told my friends in France that they don’t know too much about China. In China, the Chinese often think Tibet is part of China and they don’t want Tibet to separate from China.” An article I read on *Le Monde* on the Internet also cited the interview with some French business people in China, in which they expressed their concern on French policies towards China could greatly affect their business. In other words the French expatriates in Shanghai are concerned about French policies toward China because they do not want those policies to bring bad consequence to their interests and life in Shanghai.

From the media, Internet, and phone, we see the French have many ways to connect with French society and culture back in France. Mobility offers the French expatriates many choices in life, but many French try to maintain the links with France and keep their French way of life. In this sense, they are not oriented towards cosmopolitan openness.

Conclusion

The French community in Shanghai has presented a complex picture. First, globalization does force some of the French expatriates to approach English media. However globalization also enables them to secure their persistent preference of seeking to familiar things—reading French media, including newspapers, magazines, and books. They also keep some other French life habits, such as bar clubbing and

meeting friends at a cafe, having their own theatre group who only play French drama. Their personal networks pattern in Shanghai indicates the sociology of “homophilia”. That is to say they are inclined to establish ties with people of the same kind. The majority of French expatriates mainly see other French fellows. Thus most of the French expatriates do not necessarily become cosmopolitan because of globalization. Second, they watch not a small amount of Asian movies such as Thai, Japanese, Korean and Chinese thanks to the pirate DVDs in China in spite of their enduring passion for French movies and the existence of the amateur theatre drama group. This is a sign of cosmopolitan openness. Third, at least half of the French expatriates display their French passion for arts by going to visit museums and galleries in Shanghai. On the other hand, in their houses or apartments, we see signs of art lovers. They decorate the house with the items they obtain through their life experience or visit in Asian countries including China. This is certainly a projection of cosmopolitan openness by adopting different art cultures into one’s life. It is in fact cosmopolitanism in aesthetics. We do not know whether this is because art has no boundary therefore the French seem to be more likely to display cosmopolitanism at the aspects of arts.

Modern technology and communications help the French expatriates to remain connections with France. Most of the French interviewed remain knowledgeable of what is happening in France. Not a small number of them visit France regularly or they have visitors from France. That is to say globalization is so complex that it does not simply lead to complete exclusivity or sheer acceptance of other culture.

From the internal networking and interaction, we see that the French community in Shanghai is segmented. Its stratification is a reflection of French society in France. In Shanghai, French expatriates tend to divide themselves into many small groups,

each having its own social space. The way they enter a network varies: through friends, spouse, institutions, sports, children, school, work, social gatherings and religion. The internal networks also indicate most of the French interviewed are not cosmopolitan from the aspect of being open to multicultural experience. Since the French see more French than other nationalities, is there an exclusive French community? This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 Social Organization, Internal Differentiation and Social Life

Anthony Giddens (1984:24) writes, “Institutions by definition are the more enduring features of social life.” The contemporary philosopher of social science, Rom Harre (1979: 98) follows the theoretical sociologists in offering this kind of definition: “An institution is defined as an interlocking double-structure of persons-as-role-holders or office-bearers and the like, and of social practices involving both expressive and practical aims and outcomes.” This chapter presents the profiles of different institutions, describes the activities they organize and examines their internal difference, the ties between individuals and institutions, how the institutions function among the French community in Shanghai, and the French social and communal life.

All the social institutions among the French community have an impact on the individuals. They further organize the social or communal life and weave the individuals into a society although not in a systematic way as in France. The impact of institutions and their link with the community are best described through specific behaviors and daily life practices.

6.1 Social Organizations and Their Functions

6.1.1 Le Cercle Francophone de Shanghai

Le Cercle Francophone de Shanghai, Francophone Association of Shanghai in English, is an association of French speakers or an organization that has as one of principal aims, providing help to the people of the same origin, similar to Chinese *tongxiaohui* (Wong 2006: 83). Bryan Goodman (1992: 84) writes, “As associations, *tongxianghui* tended to reflect middle-class concerns and were more involved in the day-to-day affairs of this middle sector of the sojourning community.” The Francophone Association, created in 1991 by the current president of the French

Chamber of Commerce and Industry in China, Annick de Kermadec-Bentzmann, with 40 volunteers working for the association, attracts middle-class people, welcomes the newly arrived French speakers and regularly provides “members as well as non-members with activities all through the year,” as it says on the website. In January 2007, there were about 700 members of 13 nationalities registered. According to its president, speaking in December 2006, about eighty percent of its members were French, five percent were Chinese, and fifteen percent were other nationalities. Membership is based on individual not families participation. Although seven hundred is a relatively large number, it constitutes only about twelve percent the total population of French residing in Shanghai. The majority of the French interviewed are obviously not registered with the association.

Membership costs 300 yuan per year for regular members, and 120 yuan for students. In addition to the dues, members and non-members have to pay to participate in most of the activities. In general the association organizes activities monthly and on special occasions, such as Christmas, the *Fête de la Musique* (World Music Day, June 21), the *Beaujolais* (festival celebrating the first wine), and the like. In addition, they organize activities like excursions, breakfasts, business lunches and cafe meetings, meeting of young mothers, sporting events, classes in Chinese cuisine or Chinese calligraphy, etc. The activities they organize may be merely for relaxation and enjoyment, or to discover Chinese culture, or to help members to connect with one another. Their goal, in general, is to facilitate the French speakers’ integration into Shanghai, which is achieved by making life easier in Shanghai.

The Business Lunch, generally the second or the third week of the month, is usually for persons who are employed and most of the people attend are expatriates of at least the level of departmental manager, representing their companies. The cost

of lunch ranges from 120 to 200 yuan or more, depending on the restaurant. While such luncheons are not massively attended they usually attract 10 to 30 persons.

The lunch serves different purposes for different people. Many go to make business contacts, others merely to socialize with other French company executives. At a business luncheon held at a Thai restaurant, the representative of the French company Reneau, said he went to the luncheons to discover the delicious cuisines available in Shanghai. The manager and a section head from the French oil company Total, were at a luncheon to show support of a fellow employee who was one of the persons who helped to organize the lunch sponsored by Cercle Francophone. People see other French they normally have little contact with or meet persons they do not know and exchange business cards. Some owners or managers from other French restaurants also attend. For them, it is usually “strictly business” as they go principally to promote their own restaurant. They distribute their name cards to everybody. During a luncheon given in July of 2006 and held in the French restaurant Red House, located on South Shanxi Road, the manager of the French restaurant Moosha immediately began giving his card to every one as soon as he arrived, hoping, of course, to attract new customers for future business. During six lunches I went to, I did not see other managers of commercial companies give their name cards to everybody although they also gave to some of them.

Lunch is organized in a different restaurant every time, but mostly in non-Chinese restaurants, such as *Des Lys* (a French restaurant) located in Xinle Road (in the former French concession area); *the Allure* (located at Nanjing Xi Road) or the *Nova* situated on Dagu Road. Generally the restaurants have a very pleasant environment where diners can relax in an agreeable atmosphere and enjoy a select cuisine. The lunch usually lasts two hours from noon to two o'clock in the

afternoon. When people arrive in the restaurant, they will greet the people they know by lightly kissing on the cheeks, first on the left, and then on the right cheek. They will shake hands with people they don't know at a formal occasion like the business lunch, however they sometimes also greet people they meet the first time by kissing on the cheeks if it is an informal occasion. They exchange small talk with the people they know or don't know for about twenty minutes before the lunch is served. The talk will not stop until they leave as they say the French like to talk during eating. I have worked for three French companies, where I found the French employees often have coffee breaks and talk with the colleagues, or cigarette break¹⁷. Food is one of the great passions for the French people. An informant I met at a lunch said to me, "French people like to enjoy the cuisine and relax. While we eat so long in the restaurant, the Germans are working hard in the office." This is like what they say about the French—they care more about the lifestyle than salary although the French work much harder in Shanghai than their countrymen do in France.

There is no charge to attend young mothers' meeting. At the gatherings, information and suggestions are offered that are especially helpful to newly arrived young mothers. The meetings also offer them who attend a chance to get to know each other. A young mothers' meeting that I went to, held in the home of a French family near Xijiao Park, Hongqiao was crowded with more than thirty people, most with small children. From the number of those in attendance, it is obvious that this meeting is well received among young mothers, probably because they all share common interests.

¹⁷ I heard from quite a few young French women that the cigarette has become more popular among French women than men nowadays. They say a typical Parisian woman in a bar has wine in one hand, and a cigarette in the other.

Some young people registered with the association seldom attend the activities because of the price. For example, a weekend trip to a small city around Shanghai, that included instruction on how to cook Chinese cuisine, cost about 2,000 yuan; a visit to the historical French concession costs about 200 yuan; the 2006 Christmas party cost 450 yuan for members, 700 for non-members. For young singles with limited salaries, such prices were considered too high. The majority of the people who went to the Christmas party were married and many of them were recent arrivals judging by those that I was able to meet. Most, however, never showed up at other events that I had been to.

Participation in cultural activities is usually affected by one's economic power. Many young French who said that they were not interested, actually could not afford the activity fee. Young French are oriented towards the least expensive and most austere leisure activities because of their low income and tend to be less active because of low income. In addition, as Pitrou (1972) points out,

The higher the socio-economic status the more the 'public' or social aspect of leisure activities increases, as though one needed to attain a certain degree of ease and confidence in oneself and ones associations to participate in collective leisure activities and even more to play an active role in them (Pitrou 1972: 77, cited in Marceau 1977: 77).

In his research, he found that *cadres* always distinguished themselves from the other groups:

The *cadres* interviewed in our study presented a specific image of their main leisure activities; whether talking of the cinema, friends invited or visited, outings, sport, holidays, and even belonging to clubs and leisure associations, they always distinguished themselves from the other groups... It is not enough to see there is a reflection of financial inequalities.... (ibid).

Sometimes it is clubs and associations that first aim to serve certain groups rather than the whole community, which segregates the classes, nationality or even sex. For example, in early 20th century's Shanghai, the Shanghai Club was

exclusively for the British although other national clubs such as the American Club, the German Club Concordia and the French one-the *Cercle Sportif Francais* also accepted other nationalities (Bickers 1999:83). Membership was based on high cost and nomination system. “Most ordinary Britons would never have set foot inside the Shanghai Club, mixing, instead, in the police canteens or in Masonic lodges” (ibid). Women were also excluded from the club. In the 1920s and 1930s in Shanghai, Chinese *tongxianghui*, according to Bryna Goodman (1992:84), also mainly serve the middle class, as he writes “As associations, *tongxianghui* tended to reflect middle-class concerns and were more involved in the day-to-day affairs of this middle sector of the sojourning community.”

In terms of the frequency of participation in institutional activities, young people are not active because of the fees. However, the fact that there is less active participation among Pudong housewives is more related to the fact that they feel comfortable with the activities they do have than with the lack of money. Women residing in Puxi tend to be more willing to take part in leisure activities than the Pudong residents, because many of the housewives in Puxi are older than those in Pudong and older persons have more time and money to engage in more cultural activities.

Not all the activities were as expensive as the Christmas party. As already mentioned, the young mothers’ meeting is free. Café meetings, also well received, are up to one’s own likes. As the men worked in the daytime, the participants were always women and the same is true of those who join breakfast groups or participate in Chinese calligraphy and Chinese cuisine classes. Café meeting had two branches, Puxi (the west bank of the Huangpu River) and Pudong (on the eastern side

of the Huangpu River). People living on one side of the river do not want to travel so far go for a café meeting.

Pudong is a newly developed area compared to Puxi, the old commercial center. For some, it sounded as if living in one of the areas was like living in Beijing for those who resided in the other part of town: “too far away.” A French man who lived in Puxi once said that it takes an airplane to go to Pudong. He was exaggerating, but it shows his reluctance to go there. Seb said that speaking of Pudong reminded him of dirtiness. Physically, many parts of Pudong are very clean but culturally less developed than Puxi. To some, Pudong is a “cultural suburb” which usually reminded people of “dirts” and “cultural poverty”. Actually most of the area of Pudong is clean and the buildings are tall and new. In addition, for some people in Puxi, to certain extent, living in Pudong means unfashionable or “living in the countryside”. In part this shows that Puxi residents do not have enough knowledge about Pudong. In some Western countries, suburban connotes newer, cleaner, more fashionable, but not so in France where those with sufficient wealth live in residential areas of the city, preferably *centre ville*. How the French express their dislike regarding Pudong reflects their traditional idea of *centre* and of newly developed areas. The center is usually an aesthetic, artistic place where theatres, museums, fine eating places and posh stores—*magazins*—are found. As several French put it: Puxi is “*vivant*” (alive, where the life is) because they can hang out with friends in bars, go to theatre and exhibitions, and enjoy the chic fashions. That is merely the way some explain it when, in reality, it is economic and prestige. Nevertheless, the situation makes the residents of Pudong feel unwelcome and upset, which explain why the residents of Pudong do not like joining the activities organized by the Cercle

Francophone as most of the activities were held in Puxi. Living in different parts of the city makes it difficult to foster the same interests.

It is obvious there is not much communication between the community of Pudong and that of Puxi. The Cercle Francophone of Shanghai is not well received in Pudong so it is interesting that nobody I met in the activities organized by the association of Pudong attended the re-election party of the Shanghai association's committee in September 2006 or the Christmas party.

As an association for the same language, namely French speakers, the Cercle Francophone shares some similarities with the Chinese *tongxianghui* (native-place association) in the Chinese diasporas. Chinese *tongxianghui* flourished in Chinese cities in the 20th century (see Goodman 1992) and are popular in the Chinese Diaspora (see Wong 2006). In contemporary times, *tongxianghui* still carries the original meaning and function for overseas Chinese (Li 2002, Tan 2007). Compared to the Francophone Cercle, *tongxianghui* in the Chinese diasporas are more strictly tied to the small original place rather than the bigger cultural or political unit, such as a country or a large cultural circle. In addition, in the Chinese diaspora there are other social institutes that link the Chinese of similar culture, such as association of clan and family name. Another difference between *tongxianghui* and the Cercle Francophone is *tongxianghui* were able to resolve disputes and other problems between the members and even between the members and other organizations, while the latter is not in the position to do.

There is another association that is of the same nature as the Francophone Society of Shanghai. That is the Latinas en Shanghai (Latin women in Shanghai), created in 1998. One of my informants was its member. The association permits the expatriates who speak a common language of Spanish to meet and participate in

activities together. Its members include women from Chile, Mexico, Argentina, Spain, Colombia, German, French, Chinese, etc. They also organize monthly lunch, support needed people in China, and organize sport activities and trips to different parts of China.

On the other hand, as an association of the people of the same language, the Francophone Society of Shanghai covers members of different nationalities and different cultures. In other words, it is a cosmopolitan organization.

6.1.2 La Communauté Francophone de Pudong (The Francophone Society of Pudong, CFP)

La Communauté Francophone de Pudong (the Francophone Society of Pudong) was an association aimed to provide help and activities to the French speakers in Pudong, Shanghai. The different interest between people living in Pudong and in Puxi was one of the reasons that CFP was established in 2003. Some people joined the Cercle Francophone of Shanghai when they just arrived in Shanghai, and attended some activities but later withdrew in disappointment. A large proportion of the complaints were from the residents of Pudong. A half-dozen residents of Pudong mentioned that they were not very welcomed when they joined the activities.

For example, at the café meeting of the CFP in May of 2006, a few housewives talked about their experiences with the CFS. Some of them registered at the Cercle Francophone and joined some activities but their experiences were not very pleasant. They complained that the residents of Puxi were not very warm-hearted. “The people living in Puxi only speak among themselves. It’s cold.” They had not much to say after discovering that one was from Pudong. “After I said I live in Pudong, they replied, ‘Oh yes, you live in Pudong,’ then, silence came.” Apparently, others had similar experiences and complaints about the people living in Puxi were often heard. That is why they very much liked having their own association of Pudong.

A key informant also complained about the business lunch, saying, "My husband went once, but he found the people there were not *sympatique*. Thus he stopped going." She was saying that most of the people who went to the lunch were not so enthusiastic to meet new people because they just talked to the people they knew. From my personal experience, he might have been partially right. As a leisure function, the luncheon is an activity for people to socialize with each other but people often tend to choose to talk with the people they already know. The French men who work and live in Pudong find too few things in common with those who live in Puxi.

The previous president of the Francophone Society of Pudong (CFP) started the association, as she put it, because she also has had some unpleasant experiences with the Francophone Association of Shanghai (CFS). Later through an interview with the person who started the *Union des Français de l' Etranger* (UFE), I learned that "the president of the CFP was also a member of UFE, but she did not like the personality of the people of UFE, so she started the CFP." After three years of existence, the CFP dissolved at the end of August 2006.

The number of members during three years remained constant. There had been about one hundred and fifty people who registered with the association. They generally organized monthly activities such as café meetings, bricolage (similar to a "do it yourself" workshop), cooking lessons, outings and twice-a-year barbecues. Activities took place during the school year because during the summer holidays many families went somewhere else for vacation.

The activities that were more popular were the café meeting and meeting of young mothers. Café meetings, held at somebody's home, usually lasted from 9:30 to lunch time. A home environment apparently made people feel more comfortable. The practice of the association was to send out monthly newsletters telling the

schedule for every activity. The members then contacted the hostess who was to organize the activity if they intended to attend. Participants were reminded to bring something to eat and in general, the hostess also provided something. During the meeting cookies, chocolate, candies, cakes, and drinks were served. Very often some name cards for some shops were also found aside the food on the table, so that home gathering also served as a means of circulating the names and locations of favorite purveyors for products and services. The monthly newsletter also contained information on the exhibition schedule of shops that catered to the tastes known to the community, some small notices telling how to get one's name cards, and the like.

Most guests usually stayed until approximately 11:00 or noon at the latest. There were, of course, exceptions. I recall an incident that occurred in May 2006. The gathering was at the home of an Italian family. The Italian woman, who spoke excellent French and English had also invited some of her non-French-speaking English friends, perhaps as a novelty, perhaps to broaden the circle. Inviting non-Francophone was very unusual because the purpose of the organization was supposed to communicate in French and the get-togethers were only for association members. The Italian hostess obviously went beyond these regulations of the association. The result was that among the 15 women present, about half were English speakers who spoke little or no French, and the other half were French speakers, although all but one also spoke some English. The French woman who did not speak English or Chinese was there with her two-year-old daughter. She left much earlier than usual.

On that day a Canadian woman who worked for a jewelry shop also came to display her products, which she did, explaining them in English. Some women showed their interests in the jewelry; some French speakers talked among themselves;

and three or four French speakers talked for a short time with other English speakers. About an hour later, some French housewives who did not speak good English decided to leave. Some English speakers also left at about the same time. There may have been several apparent reasons for French women leaving earlier than usual. One reason is that it was difficult for them to communicate with English speakers in English. Another reason may have been that they did not have much in common with the English speakers. Moreover, it may be that the two groups of women from different ethnic backgrounds did not get along well. Anyway, the jewelry selling broke the rule that the gathering was not supposed to be commercial. As a conclusion, these French women did not get along with those English women.

Nevertheless, we see that the café meeting gathering serves as a way for housewives to take a break from their daily chores, to socialize, make friends, seek help, search for information, and to learn about what is happening outside their own intimate network. In this sense, the home café meeting among women serves the same function as bars do for men. The activity of café meetings is related to “coffee cultures” in France and elsewhere in Europe. Name cards of shops displayed and the potential reactions indicate that there may be similar tastes and consumption patterns among many of them. In other words, a similar lifestyle is reinforced, which argues for the desire to maintain contact with the culture of origin.

In light of what is said above, it is interesting to note that many French with whom I spoke during my year of field work in Shanghai, said that they, the French people, were “closed” and only associate with French. A woman, commenting on an event said, “Oh, the French remained among themselves. I do not like that. And you know some of them, Therese, for example, do not speak English. She only has

French friends. Fortunately there are some Belgians who made the society interesting.”

The reasons for the demise of the Francophone Society of Pudong at the end in August 2006 are several. First there were not enough people willing to work for the organization. The past president explained: “I cannot work all alone. It’s a lot of work. Many people said that they would like to help, but eventually they would tell you that they did not know how to do the thing you proposed. For example, ‘I don’t know cooking, and bla bla bla.’” In addition, they had to call many people to ask them whether they were willing to hold the cafe meeting at their place. Many people did not really want that. “Some people said, ‘Oh sorry, we have somebody at home this week,’ or ‘my home is too small.’ Then you have to call other people. You would be very happy if somebody said yes.” They eventually decided to give RMB 100 to the person who was willing to hold the event and some people agreed to have the cafe meeting in their home. Too much work and not enough participants discouraged the organizers:

It was tiring. It would be worthwhile if many people joined the activity. You know many people registered. We were happy about that. And we worked and worked, and did lots of preparation, hoping many people would come to the activity. But every time very few people came. We were very disappointed. So there is no need to work so hard.

The activity costs came from registration fee and there was no outside sponsorship. The past president explained, “In general we organized some small activities. That is why we did not search for sponsorship.”

When people heard that the association would close, they said they would like to continue because they considered it good to have the association. But the president was tired of the work because nobody proposed to help and she had to work on her business. “I have a small business with France. I have the products made in China,

and then send them to France. I need to work because we will soon go back to France. Both of us need to work because life in France is expensive.”

After deciding to close the association, she asked the Cercle Francophone to take charge of Pudong, which they agreed to do. Thus the previous association of Pudong became just a committee of the Francophone Association of Shanghai. In order to organize activities for Pudong Francophone community, the Francophone Association asked for help but none of those who worked for the Association of Pudong wanted to work with the Cercle Francophone. There were a few people, however, willing to organize some small gatherings.

It was also the first time that the CFS organized activities in Pudong since its foundation in 1991. The first gathering, which they called *café meeting*, was formal. The newly elected president of CFS presided over the meeting. Several people I met in the association of Pudong were there, but most seemed to be new arrivals, including a 65 year-old-man. None of the helping personnel were from the past Association of Pudong because these were not enthusiastic about working with the CFS. The past president of the Pudong Association did help them to disseminate the newsletter once in a while.

For both the new arrivals and old residents who participated in the inaugural meeting, their purpose was more or less the same. New arrivals wanted to join an association to help organize their social life and learn how the Cercle Francophone of Shanghai was going to arrange for activities for Pudong community. The few old residents who attended were curious to learn what the Cercle Francophone would do with the Pudong community. The CFS decided to keep the *café meeting* for the community of Pudong but to hold it in bars instead of at somebody's home. The difference is that in a home environment everyone greets and talks to each other and

it gives people a warm feeling. In a bar, people are more separated and one has to take the initiative to talk with the others. Under the CFS, the new community organization of Pudong organized some new activities, such as Mahjong game sessions and Chinese and English languages learning groups.

Unwillingness to cooperate with the Francophone Association and complaints about the coldness of Puxi residents are indicators of the gap between the residents of Pudong and Puxi. From the reaction Pudong residents to the CFS, we note obviously very loose relations between residents of the two communities. They do not share many things in common. The past president described the differences between them in this fashion:

We are closer in Pudong. We know each other, and we are willing to speak English and Chinese. The people living in Puxi are very French. They only speak French. The woman who works in the World Links told me she was very surprised to know that people in Pudong were willing to have the course on emergency aid in English or Chinese rather than French. The people in Puxi only want it in French. In Puxi, the children go to French school. They only speak French. In Pudong, we don't have a French school. We have to speak English or Chinese. The people in Puxi only stay among them. They don't know Pudong. But we go to Puxi, and we know Puxi. So you see we don't have much in common. The fact that children go to different school makes another difference.

Despite the President's assertions about the closeness of the Pudong residence, the people did not give evidence of a strong sense of cohesive community. Their network may be larger, and they may be closer compared to their counterparts in Puxi, but the Pudong association could not hold them together. During its three years of existence, the CFP membership numbers did not change greatly. Although more people came to live in Pudong, other left, either to move to another area or to return to France. Many people had joined the activities when they knew nothing about Shanghai but stopped coming when they had *savoir-fair* after a few months

and had established their own networks. The old residents only rarely joined the association activities.

As mentioned previously, the number of people who went to café meetings was small except for the two meetings that marked the commencement of the new, big events. The president plus another four or five housewives attended coffee meetings with regularity. One of these, a pregnant woman with a two year old daughter, spoke only French. She had been in Shanghai for about a year and never missed an activity. (She also joined the young mothers' meeting in Hongqiao, which is far from Pudong.) Obviously she was trying to build a network for her life in Shanghai. For the other activities, the people who attended usually differed from one meeting to another. Although the community link in Pudong was weak, it based on mutual recognition and help among the members. There existed a community despite the fact that people often formed small groups.

In terms of the age of the residents, Pudong residents are comparatively younger and in a corporate, expatriate world, younger age usually means less overseas experience and lower business status. This, in turn, suggests lower income since income usually depends on one's experience. The fact that they participate less in French community activities than do the Puxi residents, seems also to be an indication that are less "exclusively French". Most of the Puxi residents, on the other hand, if we leave alone the young people for the moment, are older as their children are going to school. They seem to be more enthusiastic about French community activities and have a thicker French network and tend to spend more time with other French expatriates. As we have mentioned several times, language ability is very important in one's network exclusivity.

The loose relation between Pudong and Puxi is also probably related to Shanghai's geography. Shanghai is large and Puxi, as the old part of town, has many commercial and cultural activities so it is often considered "where the life is." Puxi residents have little need to go to Pudong "to enjoy life" and so lack knowledge of that part of town, which makes it difficult for the residents in these two areas to communicate. On the other hand, Pudong residents know Puxi more or less as they often go to Puxi for cultural activities or shopping but the two areas go their separate ways socially.

6.1.3 KerShanghai

In 2006 a man from Brittany told me there was a Breton association. But I could not find it on the Internet and could not verify the information. In November 2008 during my third field trip I was lucky to meet and talk with the president of the Breton Association KerShanghai. She explained the situation to me: "The association existed before for a few years when the president died. Every one was very sad about it so the association ceased to function for a couple of years. I started it again in January this year. We do not charge any member fee because you have to prepare many documents to apply for that." There are about eighty members of the association. The president said they received more than hundred email asking information about the association. Among the committee members, the president is the only person who does not really have a job but she is also responsible for the French charity organization of *Couleur de Chine* in Shanghai. According to her, *Couleur de Chine* across China has supported about 5000 Miao girls in Guangxi for their education.

Compared to China, France is not a large country geographically. However, France is still very diverse geographically, socially and culturally. The South, the

North, the East, and the West are all different. The Brittany has been very different throughout its history. The Breton language is Celtic rather than French. Since the French Revolution there has been conflict between the French and Celtic Breton languages of in Brittany. The Breton identity became more widespread in the region because of the militant movement or so-called cultural-revival movement in the 1970s and 1980s (see MacDonald 1989). The president of the association said, “[The fact that] we started this Association means we just have strong Breton culture and identity. Just like the Chinese, we Bretons also like to get together among us to share our culture. You know the Bretons are voyageurs. They travel everywhere in the world.” The co-existence of the Cercle Francophone KerShanghai among the French reveals the French universalism, culture diversification and different cultural identities. The Bretons feel their strong cultural identity against a French one. The Chinese are similar. Often, after they leave their hometown for a bigger place, either within or outside China, they tend to form their own small group or association of origin (*tongxianghui*). For instance, Tan Chee-Beng (2007: 8) describes the Chinese of Yongchun origin in Malaysia. They see themselves different in relation to other Chinese they interact with. Among themselves they identify as Yongchun. In addition, they also have their own associations. Since 2006 I have met about ten Bretons, men and women, young, middle aged and retired persons. Most of them did not show stronger Breton identity than a French one.

Members of KerShanghai meet once a month for a lunch. There are sometimes programs of Breton culture in Shanghai. In this sense it is similar to Chinese *tongxianghui* which often organize their own cultural programs. According to the president, during Shanghai International Tourism Festival in 2008, some Breton musicians came to Shanghai. They had a show on East Nanjing Road. The

president described the situation recalling: “I could not imagine that I was dancing Breton dance with one Chinese on my left another on my right side and the Breton musicians. We don’t have to understand each other, but music brings us together.” She also tried to justify the Bretons were being cosmopolitan by dancing with the Chinese. Organized by the French Consulate, in the early December 2008, two Breton writers came to Shanghai and presented their books in the Breton restaurant, *la Crêperie*.

6.1.4 *L’Union des Français de l’Etranger* (The Union of French Abroad, UFE)

The situation for the UFE was similar to that of the association of Pudong. The woman who started the UFE in 2001 did not like very much the Cercle Francophone de Shanghai. She received many French in her home, as she did not have an outside office. She also organized activities like the Beaujolais wine tasting. When she organized activities, some French commercial centers and shops, such as Carrefour, supported her by supplying drinks for free. For one of the Beaujolais she held, Gubei Carrefour supermarket provided the wine needed and other shops gave her soft drinks.

UFE was established because its president did not think the Cercle Francophone de Shanghai worked well. In many cities outside France, there are UFE. Therefore it is like an independent association. It was classified by the French Consulate as a rightwing association but the president of the association did not seem to be happy with this classification. The founder had wanted to start a new association to call French people together and also help them. She eventually closed the society because the work took a tremendous amount of time. Basically during the three years of the organization functioned, she spent most of her time working at the activities, and had very little time for her family.

When the president decided to cease to handle the affairs of the association, there was nobody who wanted to continue her work. Furthermore, the geographical area that UFE covered was basically Puxi, which the Cercle Francophone also covers. Unlike the cessation of activities of the *Communauté Francophone de Pudong*, the termination of the UFE association did not receive attention from the Cercle Francophone of Shanghai. Members dissolved and made their own decisions of whether or not to join other associations.

6.1.5 Association Démocratique des Français à l' Etranger (French Democratic Association Abroad)

I tried to contact the person who was responsible for the Shanghai office of the French Democratic Association, but did not get any reply. The information below is from a French man who used to work in a government organization in Shanghai. French Democratic Association abroad is a kind of political party abroad. They represent the Left abroad in terms of politics and social life while the Union of French abroad represents the Right. They are involved in allocating State grants to French residents abroad. For example, they participate in the committee of school grants. They represent the French Assembly Abroad, which is the mouthpiece of French abroad, defending their right and interests, and the spokesman of the government, embassy and councils in the matter related to expatriation. They had an election in 2006 in Shanghai. During the election, they even provided a long list of Sarkozyste right. The China representative was Francis Nizet. From 2004 to 2007 the Democratic Association participated in the school grants committee in Shanghai, and UFE did not get involved until 2006.

In general, the French population in Shanghai belong to the Right (seventy percent of them voted for Sarkozy in 2007). Consequently, the Democratic Association is less influential than the UFE in Shanghai as it represents the Left.

6.1.6 *L'Alliance Française* (French Alliance)

French Alliance has two offices in Shanghai. One is at Wusong Road in Hongkou district, the other Wuyi road of Changning district. As a French cultural center, French Alliance is more important for non-French speakers as its aim is to promote French culture and teach the language of French. Most of the students are Chinese. It provides French courses throughout the year and they have a cinema club that shows a French movie every week. All the computers at French Alliance provide easy access to French websites and French universities. There are three TV sets which have the French TV5 channel. The one on the fifth floor is always on during office hours. This also allows easy access to French media.

The libraries own hundreds of books on France and China on various topics as well as more than a dozen French magazines ranging on topics from politics, fashion to philosophy. Many Chinese read and study in the library. A few French are also to be seen in the library to borrow books. Nonetheless it is usually the French teachers who frequent the libraries.

In addition, the fourth Thursday of each month the AF holds a seminar on philosophy, which is called l'Apéro-philo. Apéro is from the word "Apéritif", meaning appetizer before the meal. Here the appetizer is a philosophy discussion, usually a seminar comparing Chinese and French philosophies. During the seminar there are finger foods, water, soft drinks and Chinese or French wine provided. A French philosophy teacher who teaches in the French school leads the seminar to encourage the attendees to speak. He either compares Chinese and French philosophers or talk about some life philosophies. Sometimes the seminars are academic, sometimes it is just to help understand life better. About half of the people who attend the seminars were often the same, according to my experience of

attending seven. Sometimes half were Chinese and half were French while at other times there were more French than Chinese. More than ten French interviewed said they sometimes went to the AF for the Apéro-philo if the topic interested them, but I never saw them there. Among the French who went to the Apéro-philo there were quite a few students. Many of the French attendees asked question about the equivalent topics on China and the Chinese. This is different from Hong Kong. I have taken part in the activities organized by the French Alliance in Hong Kong a few times. Most of the participants were Hongkongese, frequently students of the AF. There were fewer participants in Hong Kong. The biggest difference is that the person who holds café-philo in Hong Kong is often not a philosophy teacher.

As a French cultural center, the French Alliance plays a key role in promoting French culture. When there is a French cultural activity, it is often one of the organizers along with the French Consulate and the Chamber of Commerce.

In addition, it is also a venue to meet people of different cultures, generally the Francophone. There is a small bulletin board for people looking for partners for language exchange, to find partners to share apartment, to hunt for jobs or to look for friends. Some companies looking for employees will send an e-mail to the AF asking them to post a “help-wanted” notice. From the activities it holds and from the bulletin board, we see that the Alliance helps not only to promote French culture—which is its goal set—but also to facilitate, to a certain extent, French integration. Since most of the people who go to French Alliance are Chinese and French, we can say French Alliance is a gate to Chinese community and culture for the French community. With the literature and magazines it has, French Alliance is also a tool from some French to connect to Frenchness. However, it does not help to sustain the whole French community.

6.1.7 *La Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie Française en Chine* (CCIFC, The Chamber of Commerce)

The CCIFC was set up in 1992 under the inspiration of leadership of French companies engaged in business in China. Currently, the main office of the CCIFC is in Beijing, with branches in Shanghai and Guangzhou. The CCIFC has also representative in Kunming, Shijiazhuang, Tianjin and Wuhan. It seeks to facilitate the business of the French companies and help the French finding jobs.

According to its website, the CCIFC strives to: foster the development of French companies operating in China; contribute to the development of constructive trade relations between France and China; provide operational support to French companies seeking to establish business in the Chinese market; facilitate the exchange of information and experiences among CCIFC membership; represent and defend the commercial interests of French companies; promote France's image in China; assist Chinese companies seeking to invest in France.

In support of French companies, the CCIFC holds business meetings for them, and in big French companies, organizes cultural programs for non-French employees. In addition their monthly publication of *Connexions* has articles about the Chinese economic situation and about French companies in China. It therefore provides good information for the French companies already operating in China or intending to develop business in China. Their publication also includes an annual directory that has information on most of the French companies located in China. One has to pay RMB 300 to become a member of the CCIFC.

In addition, at the end of each month the CCIFC organizes a social event for the French in one of the bars, so that members can become acquainted with each other and enlarge their social network. This is called *rencontre autour d'un verre* (meeting over a glass) designed to relax the members attending so they can exchange ideas in

an informal and friendly atmosphere (*La CCIFC vous propose ce moment de détente et d'échange dans une ambiance informelle et conviviale*). The activity, which starts at seven o'clock in the evening, costs 90 yuan entrance fee, which guarantees two drinks and some finger food. People who go there include managers, directors and common employees of companies, or people of different occupations and students. It is said to be an informal party, but people who go there are well dressed, men with shirt and tie and women in beautiful dresses are the normal attires for these get-togethers. Many students smartly dressed, carrying with them a resume and calling card, are often to be seen in the parties. They hope to meet somebody who will be interested in them and offer them a job or an opportunity for internship. A student, who often went to the party, explained why he was dressed formally, "I am hoping to find a job as there are many managers and directors of companies here." The majority of those in attendance were French and the activity is a good chance to get to meet Frenchmen of similar interests in a French atmosphere.

The first time I went to the gathering was in March 2006. It was held in Moca, an Italian bar restaurant with a fantastic balcony view, on the third floor of the Shanghai Art Museum. There were more than fifty persons. At every table there were a few persons talking together. People of different ages were to be found and everybody spoke in French.

Apart from this informal party, the CCIFC organizes a job briefing for French companies to present themselves in the French Chamber of Commerce office. People looking for work are welcome to attend these meetings and present their resume to the companies. Some people did find jobs at these meetings. Others who did not were often told that to increase the possibility of finding work they should go to more of the social activities to make friends and get to know more people. A young Frenchman

who had gone to the briefing twice without finding work, said he did not think the CCIFC was helpful. For these people the responses are depressing rather than exciting.

Another Economic organization, the *Jeune Chambre Economique de Shanghai (JCEF)* is part of the association of *La Jeune Chambre Internationale*. The members are basically young French who are serious about starting their business in China. I will not discuss this organization in this thesis, but the existence this association does reflect the fact that one of the main purposes and also the most important goal for some of the French coming to Shanghai is starting a business.

6.1.8 *Le Consulat Général de France à Shanghai* (The French Consulat)

The French Consulate acts as the branch of French Embassy in China and performs various administrative and governmental functions. Not every French person registers at the Consulate, as it is not compulsory. Some people do not register because they don't see the need for it but by being registered means one can quickly get assistance if problems arise. Such action can also save the Consulate much trouble. However, the Consulate as the image of France is not always embraced by the French living in Shanghai. A Frenchman who used to work in the Consulate said he was not happy with the Consulate because they were too bureaucratic and only worked for "their people". Two French residents complained that the behavior of the Consulate staff was not friendly and they did not feel welcome there. This may be related to bureaucratic ways of doing things employed by all government agencies. French bureaucracy is well known, of course, and the movie *L'Auberge Espagnole* by Cédric Klapisch treats with the subject and offers viewers a look of French bureaucracy.

As the highest representative of the French government in Shanghai the Consulate serves as the political center of the French community. In 2006 the French Consulate organized a series of activities to promote French culture. From April to June, there were 100 shows including performance and art exhibitions in 10 Chinese cities. Among these, 13 were in Shanghai. For example, a concert on March 19, presented three different groups of French artists. They played electronic music, rag, hip hop etc. The French fashion school (IFA) also presented a fashion show. In June there was a French opera called *Pêcheurs de Perles* (pearl divers). Sometimes these activities include Chinese artists or Chinese cultural performances. In the summer of 2006, the French Consulate and the Economic Committee arranged an internal concert at Shanghai Theater for French medical doctors and some other French groups in Shanghai. I was lucky to go as an informant gave me a ticket. The concert was mainly the performance of Chow Ching Lie, a famous French Chinese pianist and writer. Her autobiography *Le Palanquin des Larmes* (*Palanquin of Tears* in English, *Huajiao Lei* in Chinese) (1975) was transformed into a film. Chow was born in Shanghai, and later moved to France. According to Mr. Hudelot, who was in charge of the culture section in the Consulate, they hoped to invite a Chinese famous rock singer, Cui Jian, to perform with a French artist for Francophone week in 2007.

In Shanghai there is another activity called *La Semaine Française de Shanghai* (Shanghai French Week). It was originated in 2002 by the Economic Mission attached to the French Consulate but is now organized by a French company called Gibcom. The French Consulate and the Chamber of Commerce are co-partners. The French Week is held annually in October in the commercial center on the corner of Huaihai road and Yandang road. In 2006, during the French week, the commercial center Carrefour, Sphitel hotel, and French Fashion School—IFA (established in

2002) all made their presentations. During the whole week, different aspects of French culture were all presented: *baguette* (bread), *vin* (wine), *fromage* (cheese), *la mode* (fashion), *la peinture* (for instance impressionist painting), *la pétanque* (the boules, a kind of lawn of sand bowling), particularly popular in the villages of south France, was the only real example of popular culture).



Figure 6.1 the competition of the boules (la pétanque in French) during French Week in Oct. 2006

The boules competition is often sponsored by Richard's company in France. So was it in Shanghai in 2006. The field was filled with sand of at least 10cm thick, decorated in a French way just like in France, with advertisements of the company. More than 10 vases of flowers of lavender sent from France decorated the entrance of the field, coupled with two mechanic cicadas which imitated the sound once in a while. I was also asked to wear a T-shirt and hat with the name of Ricard. The French Council General and the Mayor of Luwan district of Shanghai played boules as a symbol of French culture (see Figure 6.2). (I was involved as a participant observer by helping a French woman with organizing the game of boules.) During French week, many people stopped by the boules stand. Some played, others merely

engaged in small talk and had a drink. Next to the stand was the French Sofitel Hyland Hotel where people could get food and beverage. According to GIBCOM, in 2006 about 200,000 people visited the events during French Week.



Figure 6.2 French Council General and the Mayor of Luwan District of Shanghai coming to play the boules during the French Week in 2006.

French Week is a way to make known and promote French products such as the cuisine, fashion, wines, cheese and French culture in general, spreading the image of France and French way of life. Thus the image of France and French culture is further recreated, stabilized by global commerce, and consumed by global consumers. In other words, French culture is packaged in the “cultural supermarket” (Mathews 2000). On the other hand, against the French fear of Americanization, globalization entails pluralism by furnishing opportunity to the spread of the radiance of French culture. The only difference is French government and companies really make efforts to promote French culture.

Another cultural program that French Consulate in Shanghai and China cooperate is *La Filière Francophone Chine* (French Stream China) in Shanghai

district. It was created in 1998 when Jacques Chirac was paying a presidential visit to Shanghai. Chirac and Jiang Zemin, Chinese president at the time, signed an agreement to start this project. This project has two objectives. First, it is to promote French teaching as a second language and help set up French courses in secondary schools as pilot projects under the Education Commission, as well as to propose a common teaching syllabus, offer qualified teachers, and regularly organize cultural activities on France and French culture. Second, it permits 50 Chinese high school students of science to do pre-university science study for universities in France. Today the project has 21 partners, among which there are 16 senior high schools, four junior high schools, and one primary school, including 2500 students and 25 teachers of French and Chinese. This project actually follows the spirit of French language and cultural policy. In 2006, the project also started to operate in Beijing. With the expansion of the project, not a small amount of Chinese are expected to be well informed of French culture and speak good French as well. For them French rather than English will be the second language. This will certainly help to improve the relationship between France and China and mutual understanding of the two nations, and bilateral cultural exchanges, too in the future.

The French government's efforts to promote France are also manifested in the number of consulates in China. Among all the countries that have consulates in China, France is the only one that has four - Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wuhan, and Chengdu, aside from the Embassy in Beijing with its consular service. In two interviews with the chief of the Cultural Section and vice consulate of the French Consulate in Shanghai, they confirmed that the number of consulates in China is one effort that the French government makes to promote French culture because every consulate has a cultural section. However, the establishment of the four consulates is

also related to the number of the French who work in the respective areas, which in fact provides a way for the French to be connected with their culture apart from the function of making it known among the Chinese. Compared to other consulates such as British, American or even Japanese, French Consulate is the one that really organizes so many cultural events with China, maybe also in other parts of the world. This again maximizes French government's efforts to spread the radiance of French culture.

6.1.9 The French School

The government-sponsored French School, combined with the German School, has two campuses. One is located in Qingpu, Huqingping. It provides the same curriculum as those in France so children may keep up with the schooling back in France once they return to the country. As mentioned in the second chapter, about 85 percent of the students in the French school were French and 80 percent were sponsored by the company of the parents.

There are many reasons why parents send children to French school and not to an English or Chinese one. For those whose children have already begun their studies in France, it is easier for them to continue to learn in their native language. Moreover, since most children will still be of school age when the family returns to France, they will be up-to-date on the studies if they continue to study under the French system while in Shanghai. Moreover, parents are satisfied that the French educational system is an excellent one and see no reason to change it. In addition, the French school in Shanghai is cheaper than the English one, and since the companies that employ the parents pay for the children's education, they would hesitate at paying a higher tuition. The home country system is still the center of the expatriates' life. School in other expatriate communities plays the same function of safeguarding the cultural integrity

of the expatriates and providing a sense of continuity in relation to home society (Cohen 1977: 45).

In some expatriate communal schools, local language or culture are not included in the curriculum as the parents do not see the need for it and even oppose it. For example, in the American community in Ankara, the parents thought it was a waste of time for their children to learn the Turkish language as they were going home soon (Wolf 1969: 157, cited in Cohen 1977: 45). In the French School in Shanghai Chinese language and English are taught, but only for three hours each week while in English school they have Chinese lesson every day. The children in French School are thus relatively constrained within French system and limited in contact with local Chinese culture.

Another reason for parents to choose a school is their expectations for the teachers. Some parents send their children to an international school after about a year in the French school because they thought that their children's teachers did not meet their standards. In March 2007, during my follow-up trip to Shanghai, I talked with two mothers about their children. One said she was thinking about sending her daughter to an English school because she thought her daughter's instructor was naive and inexperienced. The other woman said that she was happy with the instructor of her son, who was very nice and took good care of her "naughty son". Sometimes, the parent's decision to send a child to an international school is based largely on the age of the children. When the children are old enough to go for university, parents put the children in French School in order to prepare them for French system college entrance examinations. A mother said to me, "My son is preparing the *Bac* (the *Baccalaureat*, the last year of high school before going to university). He has to take many subjects. Usually if there are some subjects that the school here cannot offer,

they have to take correspondence or distant education course from France. But you have to pay.” If they do not take distant education, they can have a private teacher. In 2006, a boy I met at a neighborhood barbecue in Pudong told me his parents hired some teachers to come to the house to help him with the preparation for the *Bac*.

In addition to providing education for French children, the French School plays an important role in helping develop a link within the French community. A school is highly significant in community building because “parents share a common concern for the welfare and education of their children and are interested in the quality of the school staff. Interaction among parents at school meetings or events frequently spills over to the more general socialization and sharing that contribute to local community cohesion” (Davies and Herbert 1993). Outside of the curriculum, the School organizes activities which call upon all the families of the students. Parents get to know each other through the children and by joining the activities organized by the school. A mother said that she got to know many people through school activities and made good friends through her daughter. Another mother often invited the parents of other children and even the teachers of the school to home parties. All these evidentially tell of a community based on mutual recognition developed around the school¹⁸. However, this community is confined in Puxi, and Hongqiao and Huqingping in particular because these two areas are close to the French school. There is no French School in Pudong¹⁹ but many children in Pudong are not old enough for schooling. Even when these children reach school age, parents hesitate to send their children from the east to the French school located in the northwest. Therefore, the French living in Puxi do not share common interests regarding their children as those in Pudong. As

¹⁸ I acknowledge French Council General’s comment on the role of school after my talk at the French Alliance in Shanghai in March 2007.

¹⁹ A message I received from Shanghai in 2008 said now they are trying to start a French school in Pudong.

pointed out on several occasions, this diminishes mutual communication and forms a cleavage between Puxi and Pudong.

6.1.10 the Church

The French Republic is secular but government does not interfere in the daily religious practices of its citizens. Neither does the Church have strong power on the society as before the French Revolution. The French Catholic population in Shanghai, it used to have a French priest, as well as a Chinese one. In September 2008, a new priest named France arrived. During my talk with him, he said his trip to Shanghai was proposed and organized by an organization called *Missions Etrangeres de Paris*. That is a priest organization which has worked in Asia since the 17th century. After the opening up of Shanghai to foreign powers in the 1840s, many Chinese converted to Catholicism. Some who felt they had a vocation for the priesthood, got an opportunity to study religion in France, as the Catholic missionary cause in Chinese was controlled by French missionaries, after the Treaty of Tianjin signed in 1858 and the Beijing Treaty signed in 1860 (China's Catholic 2008).

Different from France, religion in China is political rather than private. The Chinese government usually controls religious practice beyond Buddhism. For example, foreign priests cannot work as a priest with a "priestly" visa. The government, however, does not seem to interfere the priests' activities in the church and actually designates a Chinese priest to be responsible for the French Catholic community. The Chinese priest, after his study of theology in France for four and half years, took official responsibility nine years ago. The frequency of the mass that the French catholic worshippers want has to be approved by the Chinese government. During the talk I had with him, he mentioned that now there are two French masses because there are not too many practitioners and some of them say they can also join

international masses in English or Chinese. Five persons I interviewed mentioned that they are very lucky to be able to have mass in the church in Shanghai because in Beijing the French Catholic community can only have the mass inside the French Embassy. Compared to Beijing and Shanghai, the French in Hong Kong are fortunate as they can go to French mass every week.

In the early 1990s when there was no French mass in the church, some Catholic French practiced with a Chinese priest at home. A now retired French man, called Herve de Bentzmann²⁰, who has lived with his wife in Shanghai for 18 years, said when they just arrived, they often had home mass with a late Chinese priest called Zhu Hongsheng (known as Vincent Chu for *Westerners*) (1916-1993). Father Zhu, who studied in France, was jailed by the Chinese government for 23 years during 1950s and 1960s.

In Shanghai, the Church as a social institution has a website and remains the center for the French Catholic community. The really traditional Catholics also go to English services when French masses are not held or those people, who know more Chinese than English, go to Chinese mass.

In addition to mass, religious activities among the French Catholic community include baptism, marriage, group prayer at home, scouts (as the French priest explained to me, "In America and the UK, Scouts is usually about nature, not religious, but the French mix it with nature and religion"), Catechism education groups for children and adults, group discussion among couples and other group discussions among company managers. According to the Chinese and French priests, only a small proportion of the community members have their children baptized in Shanghai; the others prefer to do that in France. The same thing applies to marriage.

²⁰ With Mr. Herve de Bentzmann's approval I am using his real name.

If the couple is French, the marriage is more likely to be held in France where the families of both can attend. The marriage in the church in Shanghai is often for mixed French and Chinese couples. Group prayer meeting includes traditional way of praying the rosary. There is another group activity called Retreat, which is held once a year. Usually a group of eight to ten people stay in the church for two days, with the presence of a priest. They study the bible and other scriptures and discuss theological questions. The Catholic theological education called catechism is organized once a week from October to April, especially for children who are preparing for their first Holy Communion.

Religion is an important part of culture or in other words for the believers, faith. Faith is knowledge and knowledge, like other forms of culture, have to be passed down to the next generation. The education of catechism—which means “short Book” in Greek - for the children is considered very important for families that practice religion. It is organized in the form of different age groups at home. Until 2008 about 250 children registered for home catechism. The education for older children of about 15 years old is called the chaplaincy. The woman who is responsible for welcoming the Catholic community, said the first thing she did when she and her family arrived in Shanghai nine years ago, was teach catechism to children. When they arrived in Shanghai, there were fewer French people. Therefore the children’s Catholic activities were organized with other nationalities. While talking with about 10 Catholic practitioners, I noticed they often brought up the word *racine*, “root” in English when talking about the role of religion in their lives. Beatrice said she taught the children about religion because she did not want her children to forget the roots of their culture as Chinese culture is completely different and in China, Christian culture is not common. In this case Catholic doctrine is translated to knowledge, culture and

power of life. It is further used to identify the French way of life for religion functions as a cultural identity. The number of children that register for catechism shows the importance of religion in their culture and identity. This is like the history that “in terms of socially significant cultural traits, religious affiliation was a more divisive factor than language” (Barreto 1998: 33). In the 19th century, religion, Catholicism versus Protestantism, alienated Germans from one another (ibid).

The importance of religion is also maximized in the interrelationship with family because the interrelationships between religion institutions and family are reciprocal (Thomas and Henry 1985, Thornton 1985). A French woman, Sandra, who lives in Hongqiao area, is responsible for a group of eight children of about 12 years of age. The children come twice a month for one and half hours each time. She teaches them the subjects of history of Catholicism, culture values, thoughtful reflection, etc. Sandra said she also did that when they were still in France. Below are two pictures (Figure 6.3 and 6.4) that she made and used to teach the children. In the picture we see three columns of Tobie, Jesus, *Nous* (We). Through the illustrations, she links Jesus, belief, life or life stage (such as getting married and having children), and family, all together. She also talks about the value of faith in God, courage and generosity. These children usually come together once a month. The people who organize the activities all do that voluntarily. What Sandra tries to teach the group of children actually translates into the concept that religion provides the symbolic legitimization for family patterns (Berger 1969), and the family is a requisite for a vigorous religious system because it produces members with religious values (see Pankhurst and Houseknecht 2000:7).

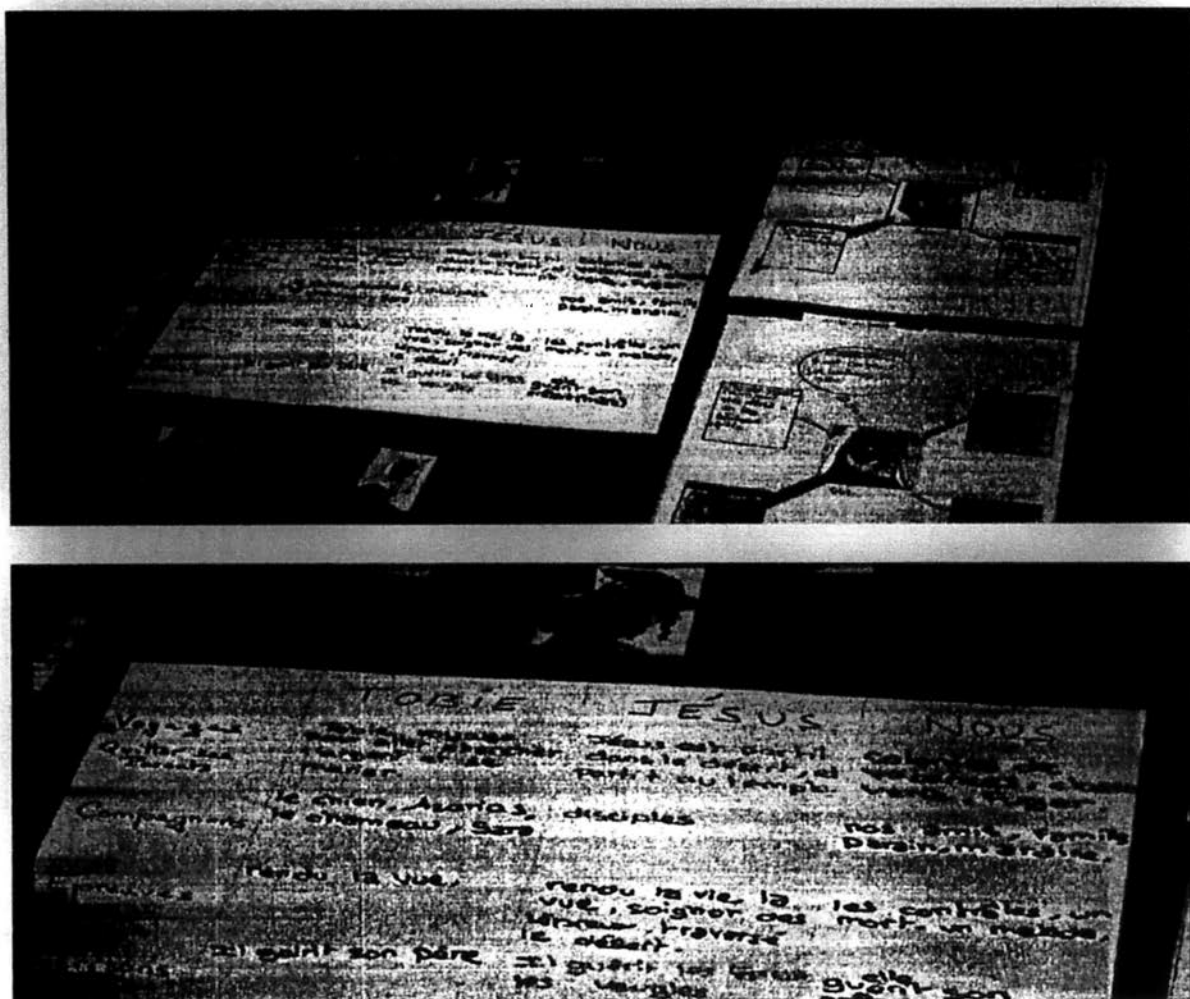


Figure 6.3 and 6.4 Teaching material of one of the groups of children's education of catechism

Some religious activities reflect the religious movement in the world. Scouting originated in the UK and became popular in the United States and, in fact, throughout the world. While initially a Christian doctrinal it is an informal education for the children often in the form of outdoor activities, such as camping, hiking, woodcraft, sports, etc. The French scouting movement in Shanghai is not completely the same as that found in most other places. In Shanghai, since the movement got its impetus from the Catholics, there is a mix of nature study with religious faith. There are three groups of scouts among the French Catholic community in Shanghai, according to the website of the Francophone Catholic community in Shanghai. One is *Meute SUF* (*Scout Unitaire de France*, France's Unified Scout in English) of boys from eight to twelve years old. One is called Scouts d'Europe (European Scouts) of boys from 11

to 17 years old. This group is more about the patrol skills. The *Louvettes* (*Scouts d'Europe*, European Scouts in English) is for the girls of eight to eleven years old.

Among the French Catholics in Shanghai, there exist two discussion groups. One is the *Equipe Notre-Dame* (Teams of Our Lady), the other is the *Groupe MCC* (*Movement Chretien des Cadres*, Christian Movement of Cadres). *Equipe Notre-Dame* is an international Catholic movement of conjugal spirituality. There are six couples on the team which come together once a month. Every time it lasts about two hours. The couples pray together and – as one woman expressed it, meet “to exchange their happiness and their sorrows, develop their conjugal spirituality and study the themes ranging from prayer to Gospel studies”. The woman who is responsible for the teams said they (she, her husband and their three children) have always been happy. For them family life is very important. In France they did not have a TV at home because they did not watch TV as they think time with the family is more important. Having come to Shanghai, they watch the French satellite TV5 sometimes because that is a way of connecting with France. The couple who are responsible had participated in the activity for six years before coming to China.

The MCC is a Catholic Church movement started about 100 years ago in France. Originally it was among engineers but today it is organized among leaders of companies. They come together to talk about religion, social and economic realities and share their Christian way of living. A manager who works for a French company started the MCC in Shanghai five years ago. In a phone interview I had with him, he said they have three groups, each with about a dozen persons, give or take one or two. Most of them are married. Usually they meet once a month at the organizer's home for about one and half hours. The person who is responsible for one group said he started to join MCC about two years ago. Since most are married, often come as a

couple when they meet. This is different from the way meetings are organized in France, where only the professional person attends the meeting. Before they begin their discussion, they pray. Their discussions are on a different subject each time they meet. For example, their talks may be about the world-wide financial crisis, unemployment or money matters. In terms of the subject of money they discuss it more in a philosophical way. For example, what can money bring us? What is the value of money? They also talk about family's problems and how to adapt to the life in China. David who is responsible for one team said, "We talk about family problem and life adaptation in China because we often work a lot in China. The socio-cultural environment here is very different from that in France so there are pressures from work and daily life. So we also discuss how to deal with these issues."

The Scouts, *Equipe de Notre Dame*, and the MCC mentioned above show that many French in Shanghai utilize their religion as a cultural resource for dealing with everyday problems which are not religious. As Beckford (1989) argues that religion, a privatized mode of communication, serves as a cultural resource to be directed with non religious problems (see also Beyer 1994). In regard with dealing pressure and life adaptation, MCC seems very interesting as they use the means of religious beliefs to deal with the pressures of life and work in the secular life. A study shows that hundreds of thousands of *expatriés* in Bruxelles suffer from pressures and social problems as they often tend to form superficial relations because of frequent mobility and language deficiency (Rivais 2007).

The Church also plays a role in the development of social life. It provides the faithful practitioners and their families with a community, with a social matrix within which they have an identity and a reputation. The above description tells us that religious practices are for their belief and culture. Additionally these practices offer

those involved a way to facilitate their life in Shanghai as they easily get to know other people and thus establish their own network. All the religious informants say they met their closest friends at church. For example, Beatrice, Marie, and Claire, mentioned above said the parish is a very important means for making friends. It should be noted, that people active in church organizations are frequently busy with other activities in secular groups, too. For example, Beatrice was helping the *Cercle Francophone* for three years before she took the welcoming task of the Catholic community.

In brief, although the population of French Catholic practitioners is only about 400 or 500 against the total French population of about 6000 in Shanghai, religious activities link this part of the population together. And this religious community is rather cohesive compared to the French community as a whole. According to the religious informants they also went to the Church every week in France. Benefiting from Shanghai's more open policy than Beijing, they still can continue to go to church to practice their faith. Of course, the French in Hong Kong are freer to act than those in Shanghai.

The religious community is like a big family for them. The search for friends, the need to have the children educated in Christian ways, and the desire to be part of the French Catholic community were mentioned by them. In France maybe men go to the church less frequently than women but in Shanghai going to the church has become part of the social life. As a wife mentioned, "My husband is happy to go to mass because he can meet other French people. At work he does not really have a chance to contact French people." The second time I went to the French mass, I saw a woman who was about four months pregnant helping to hand out the sheets with prayers and songs before the mass started. During the mass, another pregnant woman

was leading the chorus. During my first mass in Shanghai, a pregnant wife and her husband helped collect the money donation. They actually had just arrived in Shanghai in September 2008. They are also responsible for the *Equipe de Notre Dame*. To me, all this is a demonstration of the dynamics of the community. Without any doubt these pregnant women were happy to help the community even though their condition makes it inconvenient for them to move around. In other words, these French Catholics feel strong about the membership in the Catholic community.

6.2 Internal Differentiation between Different Social Organizations

From the above descriptions we see there are at least 10 main social institutions among French community in Shanghai. While all contribute to the building of the community, they have different functions. They can fall into four categories. First is the social and communal category. For instance, the Francophone Cercle of Shanghai points to the population that speaks French although aiming at helping Francophone expatriates to adapt and integrate into the life in Shanghai. Smaller than the Francophone Cercle, the Pudong Francophone Society tied to Pudong Francophone community helped to organize activities in Pudong to which the Francophone Cercle paid less attention. The Union of French abroad was also small while trying to help French expatriates in Shanghai as a whole. But these two organizations did not last long. KerShanghai also belongs to the communal association as it is a sub group of the French expatriates. Then comes the commercial institutions: the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Chamber of young entrepreneurs. They organize activities for the French who want to start business and look for jobs and socialize with business people.

Next is the educational institution—the French schools. French schools help to put the children of French families back to French culture. However, the schools play another important role in the community by organizing extra curriculum activities in which the parents are invited to participate. As a result these parents form a rather exclusive French community around the schools. In other words, French schools have an integrating role in building up the community.

Political category includes French Consulate and the French Democratic Association Abroad. They take care of the French expatriates' welfare and political interests and rights, and the Consulate is more like a political center for the French community. Opposite the political ones is the religious institution—the Church. As a sacred milieu, there are many activities organized around the Church. Socially, around the Church there is a close and cohesive French community. The communities built around these four categories are overlapped.

There is a phenomenon among the associations that often the establishment of one association comes out of the bad experience with another association. For example, the Pudong Francophone Association was set up because many of the Pudong residents complained of their experience with the Francophone Cercle. The same thing happened to the Union of French Abroad and KerShanghai. All this tell us the French community is diverse, dispersed and not cohesive as larger associations do not have the power to attract the people. As a result, these French are oriented to smaller groups.

From the above description we see there is no single organization that enjoins the whole French community. The Cercle Francophone, the Pudong Francophone Association, and the French school, are all secular organizations. They attract people in general. And the Cercle Francophone links the Francophone together but

the number of people who registered is not large at all. The Pudong Francophone Association worked for three years and the residents of Pudong claimed to like this association but it closed because not enough people were willing to work to maintain the organization or too enthusiastic about participating in the activities. The personnel who handled the affairs of the organization without remuneration were basically the women who did not officially work. As mentioned above, the Church as a clerical social institute forms another community which is more cohesive, more communal, and more fundamental to traditional French values. These institutions function like different links of the society, webbing the “role holders” under the structure of the institutions into a larger institution. In this way, the French community very much reflects the society back in France.

6.2.1 Organizational Participation

Globalization brings more choices, thus diversifies the community. For many people, this frequently causes organizational links to weaken. Having examined different organizations and activities, we see that the participants in different organizations are very different. The Cercle Francophone basically focuses on Puxi residents although Pudong residents have been part of their consideration since the termination of the Pudong Francophone Association. Residents of Pudong and Puxi seldom participate in the same activity, however, especially because of the physical distance between these two parts of the city. In many activities held in Puxi, I did not see more than 10 persons while some people took part in different activities two or three times within five months. In terms of frequency it is not a lot. The frequenters are the people who either speak only French or principally like meeting other French or Francophone people.

Some French said they did not join these organizations because they were not keen on meeting other French people. However, the truth is many people made some friends already, and they did not see the need to join the organization when they know how to live in the city. Their immediate network seems to be more important than the extended community. They turn to the organizations only when they need information and when they have nothing else to do. The organizations provide information for living in Shanghai, help to open the unfamiliar picture. In other words, the organizations are just like the handle of the drawer, which can be pulled when one wants to see inside. However, in a sense, these organizations help to create a French community when people join them for information and participate in the activities from time to time. This actually links people together and build up a community no matter whether this community is closely knit or rather thinly web.

The French community is thus created by all these small and big social organizations. Through the activities these institutes link the members together although there are many subgroups and sub-communities. Organizational social activities participants are usually married people rather than young graduates. The group of young singles does not frequent organizational activities, in part due to different interests, in part because they may not be able to afford them. That is to say, young people have a loose link with organizations.

To conclude, the French community in Shanghai is not cohesive as seen in the spotty attendance of organization activities. Nash (1970) did not find a cohesive American community in Ciudad Condal, Spain, either as the American expatriates just like the French expatriates in Shanghai were more interested in sub-group relations. According to him, the potential reasons for a lack of cohesive community include that most of the Americans were of lower social status, they were too

heterogeneous, not too severe anxiety caused by the new environment in Spain. I will argue for the French expatriates in Shanghai, the lack of integrated community has to do with their definition of friendship discussed in last chapter, Shanghai's vast geography, scattering of the community, and the location of the French schools.

6.3 Social Life and Institutions

6.3.1 Family Life

All members of the different institutions are counted individually instead of by family but when the activities and especially trips are organized once a year participants often go as a family. For example, the schools usually organize activities during the school year and invite the family to participate. Among all the institutions, the Church offers a better opportunity for family to do things together.

One of the obvious characters of the French families in Shanghai is that the weekend is often considered "family time," just as it is in France and most of Europe. During my fieldwork in 2006 I tried to arrange some interviews with family people on the weekend, but I never succeeded. Every time they explained to me they want to be with their family because they work long hours during the week. There is no doubt that the working spouses work a long time during the day. At night they may not be able to join the family for dinner. Furthermore, the working spouse often travels greatly. Therefore weekend becomes a precious time for the family. In November 2008, I was lucky to interview a couple on a Saturday. At the beginning the wife did not really want it to be on the weekend because she said she had to take care of their five children and she did not want to annoy her husband. She eventually agreed to welcome me at their home on Saturday because I would like to talk to her husband on French business and said the interview would not last longer than two hours. In addition weekend is

also the time for families to invite friends to dinner because that is the only time the working spouses are available.

6.3.2 Lifestyle of Young People

Most of the institutions mentioned above do not attract young people. Particularly the Cercle Francophone, I heard numerous comments from young people, and even some married people, that most of the members of the Cercle Francophone are those “*Taitais*” (wives of expatriates; *taitai* is wife in Mandarin, and the term connotes idle luxury and leisure) and the Cercle is for them. KerShanghai is a small association, and from the picture they put on their website, one can see members are young and single. There thus are few institutions that embrace many young members. Young singles tend to have a similar lifestyle because of their age, interests, and economic limits.

As discussed in Chapter Five, young French persons often show up at the same place, such as the same bars, the same shops, the same restaurants. One of the reasons is the websites and Shanghai guides mention that the French frequent these places. These bars serve as community centers for young French and frequenting the same places makes it easy to get to know other French. During the interview with Claude who is an artist, he said, “For example, at Yin and Yang, you can see most of the people are French, so I stopped going. If you meet the same people every time you go somewhere, you will feel that you don't have privacy.” Cloé told me, “All the young French go to the same bars, the same restaurants, and the same shops. It is easy to meet other French and you know everybody. The world is too small.”

Based on these mutual recognition or acquaintance, one can say that there is a “French connection” among the young people. It is not surprising that many young French know each other. In this modern world, the Internet and mobile phone provide

easy means to circulate news. For example, a party held in June 2006 at a Frenchman's place of about 100 square meters, attracted about 200 persons.

6.3.3 Gender and Community

Gender has been, rightly or wrongly, culturally associated with the meanings of public and private areas. Yeoh and Khoo (2000: 432) have noted among adaptive strategies, women stress more social ties and community work compared with men among business people abroad. In some societies women often have double roles. They work outside as men do, and still have to take care of the family and maintain family relations after work. We note that it is usually females who participated in communal activities. Obviously, meeting for young mothers are exclusively for women and 99 percent of those who attend morning cafe meetings are females. Chinese culture classes also attract only women, largely because of the hours they are held. Smith (1989) argues community is female because those who participate in the communal activities are usually female. The French community in Shanghai is no exception. During interviews, when being asked to talk about the community, a bigger proportion of men said they knew nothing about it. The Latinas Association mentioned above has also only women members although sometimes men also join some activities.

Among the communities of business professionals abroad, women, however, do not usually appear as the weaker gender although many of them have to give up their career to follow their husband for a foreign displacement. Previous studies have shown the wife also plays a determining role in the husband's career development. As Useem (1967:136-137) notes: "Missionary organizations may deselect a married man because his wife is not qualified for service, but the type of wife and her performance reflect directly on the husband's performance and less directly on the

organization's assessment of the husband." If these wives cannot respond to the requirements posed by a new environment, the overseas task of the husbands is terminated.

However, there is a *male community* or one of expatriate men, at least, that has no special organization to hold them together. When men go to work, they build a community around work since they spend most of their time at work. Furthermore, they travel often for business. When at home they often try to turn to the television, magazines, newspapers, and sometimes to family affairs. Nonetheless, this working community is informal rather than formally structured. When they join social activities, it is often some activities that take place in bars. During the summer there are often many married expatriate men in bars or eating-places because the family is in France for summer holidays. It is a way for them to enjoy the freedom of "*being single*." A few men mentioned that it is characteristic of married expatriate men to go to bars to meet girls during the summer when their families are away. Many people refer to this period as being '*célibataire*' (single, bachelor) instead of being 'alone' because when one is single, one has total liberty to do what one wishes, without responsibility. Although women did not want to talk about it, many worry about the family and the loyalty of the husband when he travels often. There are many stories about the break-up of families because of a Chinese female.

The wives do not have a working environment around which they can establish an informal network. Thus they need to build another environment by joining community activities. The majority of married women who follow their husbands to Shanghai do not work, or more correctly, have no regular employment. In order to enjoy life and profit from it, they participate in social activities or explore Shanghai and Chinese culture on their terms.

Studies show that it is usually women who keep relational links among kin and non-kin. For instance, a study of Mexican an elite family describes how important the wife is for the entrepreneur:

All close relatives are public relations agents of the entrepreneur, but his most dedicated publicity agent is his wife. She is in charge of hospitality for business relations and visiting business friends...She regularly visits with friends and relatives, purchasing appropriate gifts and making plans for attendance at important family rituals. (Lomnitz and Perez-Lizaur 1987: 118)

When coming to a new place, married women need to participate in social activities to rebuild the “basic social and community ties in which their lives were embedded” (Yeoh and Khoo 1998: 172). In their studies of expatriates in Singapore, children’s schools and Parents-Teachers associations provided the trailing spouses with the natural meeting ground for building up networks. Recreational clubs and other social institutions are another avenue to build up one’s social networks. For the French housewives, the strategies of establishing a social network are similar. In Shanghai the French school has a parents’ society that provides a place for the parents to meet. Mentioned above, Alice got to know one of her best friend through the parents’ society as they wanted to buy a cake for the teacher. There are also many recreational clubs in Shanghai although they are not French. However, some French women join these clubs and find their friends.

Conclusion

There are 10 French social institutions in Shanghai: the Cercle Francophone of Shanghai, the French Chamber of Commerce and Industry, French Alliance, French school, the Consulate in Shanghai, and KerShanghai, etc. They perform political, commercial, educational, and communal roles respectively. These institutions help the French expatriates to form formal and informal networks and shape the community as a consequence. Some are extensions of community networks—schools

and neighborhood. They provide a ready entry into the society, and sometimes introduction to work although the number of people registered with these organizations is far greater than the number who actually participates regularly. In other words, the French community is fragmented because none of the organizations can really bind the community together. As a whole, the French community is not integrated or cohesive. However, among the sub communities, the Catholic religious community is rather integrated. These Catholics are linked together through their faith and the religious activities in the church and outside. The one around the school is close because they share the same interests of the children. Nonetheless, it is only through these social organizations and the processes of socialization can a sense of French community have been established.

In the last chapter we examine the personal networks, and find out most of the French see more French than other nationalities. Thus the whole French community is of primary French networks and of weak institutional links. From the aspect of institutional networks discussed in this chapter, it will be biased to say the French are not at all cosmopolitan as some French join the Francophone Association which is a cosmopolitan society by having members of different nationalities. The existence of the Francophone Association indicates cultural pluralism in global cultural life. The central issue is those French who join the Francophone Association also have fellow French in their primary circle. Thus we can say globalization and the increasing cultural flows encourage cultural pluralism, but do not lead to cosmopolitanism.

Most of the participants in these social activities are female. There is also an informal men's community but men are less involved in regular institutions' social activities largely because of their work schedules. The nature of Shanghai's

geography prevents a strong cohesiveness within the French community, as does the location of the French school at Huqingping, far from the city center. Nevertheless, the school provides a center around which those individuals, or segments of the community with children, can form.

After examining personal network, institutional links, we will see how the French expatriates interact with other nationalities to see how they maintain cultural boundaries.

Chapter 7 Interaction between the French and Other Nationalities

Previous chapters have showed us personal networks, and the communal ties among the French in Shanghai. This chapter extends to the outer link of the French expatriates. Interaction with other nationalities is an important element of cosmopolitanism. Research into foreigners residing in China would be incomplete if it overlooked the aspect of the relationship of the foreign culture with the local Chinese culture. I hope to shed light on how the French interact with the Chinese inhabitants of a globalized Chinese city to better understand the social life of foreign community and globalization in China. Above all, examining the interactions between these two cultures permits us to have a better view of the French community in Shanghai.

This chapter mainly focuses on the interactions between the French and the Chinese. The interactions between the French and nationalities other than Chinese will make up an only small proportion of the chapter.

7.1 The Image of China and the Chinese

Images do not exist in a vacuum. Over the centuries there have been many contacts, ranging from missionary, military, business and exploration between China and the West. Their influence on Western perception of China depended on their intensity at the time. As Mackerras (1999:4) writes, "Over the centuries there has been a strong tendency for one country to dominate the West's perception of China. In the eighteenth century it was France, in the nineteenth Britain, and for most of the twentieth, unquestionably, it was the United States." In the eighteenth century France dominated the Western perception because of the activities of French Roman Catholic missionaries in China. In the nineteenth century, French Roman Catholic authority continued to be the controlling force among all foreign religious forces in China because of the Whampoa Treaty with France, which restored the Catholics the right

to construct churches and took back their church property, and the French gained the right to practice their religion (see Ch'en 1979). As Said (1979) writes in *Orientalism*, the Western narrative of the East is always informed by the reservoir of aesthetic, economic, sociological, historical, philological, and literary texts that are constitutive of and constituted by cultural codes. These historical forces influenced the text narratives. That is how Orientalism was formed.

The fascination with the Far East has intrigued the average French citizen since the 1890s. Because of the efforts of the Third Republic, the French public became increasingly aware of the reality of its nation's overseas empire through the printed media as well as the numerous expositions on the colonies (see Ha 2000, Schneider 1982). Additionally, the press also greatly contributed to bringing the colonized Other to the domestic market. The popular magazines at the time, including *L'Illustration*, *Journal Universel*, *Petit Journal* (Ha 2000), covered a variety of topics about the colonies, and had "numerous maps, photos of the natives, and drawings illustrating the lives of indigenous peoples, their customs and rituals, their houses and crucially, the presence of the French overseas" (Ha 2000:5).

The Mass media and travel writing greatly influence and construct the French image of China. As mentioned in Chapter 4, French mass media has great coverage on China's economy, in particular Shanghai. All this creates an exhilarating image of China as land of dreams, with abundant opportunities for making a fortune because of the fast economic growth. This is very similar to the colonial period when newspapers, particularly *Petit Journal*, carried news on Africa—Africa of Exploitation—with immense reservoirs of resources (Schneider 1982). *Tintin et Le Lotus Bleu* (*Tintin and the Blue Lotus*) (Herge 1936) is famous and popular cartoon book that influenced the French image of China as an exotic place. The series of Tintin stimulated interest in

China, and particularly in Shanghai and the economic prosperity of the city during the 1920s and 1930s when some parts were still international concessions.

The idea of the Other as exotic was closely tied to European imperialism. As Jean-Marc Moura points out in *Lire l'exotisme*, the exotic dream is profoundly influenced by the advance and the retreats of colonialism (Ha 2000: 7). Segalen (1978:81) also writes, "*Le colonial est exotique, mais l'exotisme dépasse puissamment le colonial*" (the colonial is exotic but exoticism goes far beyond the colonial). What Segalen tried to say is that the colonial is exotic, but the exoticism is more important than the colonial.

Text narratives of early French sinology and other Western literature have also contributed to the construction of intercultural images. The most famous early Western literature is probably *The Travels of Marco Polo*. There is a lot of literature on Beijing, such as *Une étrangère à Pékin* by Suzanne Bernard (1986), *René Leys* by Victor Segalen (1990), and *Le Vol du pigeon voyageur* by Christian Garcin (2002). This literature portrays Beijing as an "object of cultural segregation by power-forces filtered through a raft of repressive agents and conduits and a sphere that is antagonistic to intercultural association", and yet "produces European foreign bodies that feel impelled to enact that association" (Hughes 2007:10). They echo the Western perceptions of the absolute otherness of China, and conceive the country as both wholly seductive and distant. In their writings, Europeans also convey the message of the "(im) possibilities of intercultural dialogue" and they are the key conduits of the modern French vision of Sino-Western interaction (ibid: 91). The image of being the exotic, distant, and the (im) possibilities of intercultural dialogue is greatly expressed in the interactions the French expatriates have with the Chinese today. Actually, a few of my informants mentioned also that Chinese culture is

interesting and distant, “*Ça m'intéresse de comprendre la culture chinoise, mais quand même elle est éloigné.*”(I would like to understand Chinese Culture, but it is so distant.)

However, talking about China as a dream land, it is necessary to mention the recent book *Chinese Dreams* by Eric Hayot (2004). In the book Hayot writes how common stereotypes make China an ultimate, mysterious Other that fascinates and sustains continued social and literary imageries. He argues that Western curiosity and readiness to accept the fantasies of China are naïve and manufactured by a bundle of scholars, such as Ezra Pound, Bertolt Brecht, and the members of *Tel Quel*, the Parisian avant-garde journal that includes such writers as Julia Kristeva, Roland Barthes, and Philippe Sollers.

In addition to Tintin and the economic image, French concepts of China are also related to Chinese history. A few French mentioned they are impressed by the long history of Chinese culture. Chinese philosophy, Taoism, Confucianism, family values are topics the French like to talk about. This interest can probably be traced back to the influence of Western philosophers. In Germany, the famous Lutheran logician and mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) argued that China ought “to send missionaries to us to teach us the purpose and use of natural theology, in the same way as we send missionaries to them to instruct them in revealed theology” (Franke 1967: 62). The thinkers of the French Enlightenment, such as, Rousseau also discussed China. The most influential of those positive about China was Voltaire. He was struck by the secular nature of Confucianism and thought that China’s governance was based on morals and law, and the respect of children for their fathers (Voltaire 1963: 215-216). However, contemporary China made many French critical of Chinese. For example, in the minds of numerous French I met in Shanghai, the long

history of Chinese civilization should make China traditional, civilized, and harmonious. The Chinese should manifest respect for the old culture as it does for old persons. At the philosophy seminars held in the French Alliance (see Chapter Six), people often asked questions on Chinese culture and Chinese philosophy. With the sincerity and the conversations between the French and the Chinese at those seminars, I will say the seminars on philosophy are a very good example of French and Chinese intercultural dialogue.

Nonetheless, about twenty-five French interviewed, including young French, *expatriés*, and housewives found that China is nothing like what they imagined: “China has nothing traditional; instead, it is very modern. Everywhere are modern high buildings.” One cannot find a trace of history in this modern China. As they said, “China had a long history but China threw it away,” which is true. Some French were disappointed when they arrived in China, especially by Shanghai. The human values are different. They say, “Beggars are everywhere. Many of the disabled crawling on the street beg for money and food. The others just look so indifferent. Nobody helps if somebody who falls on the street.” People spit on the street, which French find not only difficult to accept but actually loathsome. People do not queue to wait for the bus or metro. There is no place that is not noisy in Shanghai. These are frequently heard complaints from the French. Luc said, “When I arrived in Shanghai I found the Chinese mentality is completely different. They don’t respect the elderly. My image of individuals is negative because they are very individualistic.” Stéphane said, “I don’t share the same cultural values with Chinese. For the Chinese, family is the most important. For the French it is friends.” This is like what Carroll (1988:85) says about the French conception of friendship that “friendships are parallel to family relationships, except that they are

bonds we choose and for which we assume full responsibility, perhaps even assuring these bonds priority over kinship ties. They can even serve as substitutes”.

The image the French have of the Shanghainese is no better. For example, they (the Shanghainese) are annoying and not very pleasant and they are as arrogant as the Parisians. Shanghai girls are fashionable but they are money-oriented. These are common French commentaries regarding the local inhabitants. Their general impression is that the Chinese are too individualistic, indifferent, and very egotistical and so family oriented that friendships, so important in France, is of little importance for Chinese. Nor can many French understand why many Chinese adore Mao Zedong even though they know Mao destroyed the historic past of the county and broke hundreds of thousands of families. They cannot understand why Chinese people simply accept everything rather than fight for their interests.

In other words, what the French see and hear about China and the Chinese in China is not at all as they thought it would be like from the things they had read and heard and certainly not at all like France and the life in France. Cohen (1977:15) argues that the strangeness of a foreign environment is the key element in foreign sojourners' experience and the main problem with which he and his community have to cope. As *strangeness* is one of the most frequently invoked concepts in studies of inter-group relations and trans-cultural experience, Cohen explains three dimensions of strangeness: Cognitive dimension: the host environment does not correspond to the stranger's usual way of thinking. This easily generates cultural shock or stranger anxiety; Normative dimension: strangers often find it difficult to accept the normative expectations of the hosts. Social dimension: connected to the stranger's remoteness, which explains the absence of readily available bases for social interaction. For example, when some French say the Chinese have a completely

different mentality and the Chinese are individualistic, they feel the cognitive strangeness, which further holds back many French from socially interacting with Chinese. What they hear and see is different from their imagination, which disappoints them and further hinders social interaction. The feeling of strangeness operates in two directions so that mutual strangeness holds back social interactions from both sides. Both French residents stereotypes of the Chinese and Chinese culture and the ways many French are disappointed by Chinese behavior show how cultures affect, confine and shape people's behavior.

The positive perspective of the French image of China, as most of the French interviewed put it, appears to be that China's economic power is undeniable and competitive. No country will be able to compete with it in the coming century. This is one of the main reasons that so many French come to work in China.

7.2 The Image of the French and French Culture

France and French culture often sound exotic to the Chinese. However, the first characteristic that the Chinese attribute to the French is that of "romanticism." It is the stereotype the Chinese have for the French and the first comment that they make upon learning that the person they have just met is French. "Oh, the French are very romantic." At least half of the French I met mentioned that to me, and they cannot understand why the Chinese say this and wonder whether it is from the textbooks. Nonetheless, many French do, in fact, believe they are very romantic and that many places in France are nice and romantic to live in. It soon becomes apparent, however, that the Chinese understanding of the word "romantic" is different from that of the French. A French man explained that "*Romantique c'est littéraire. Et on aime la femme. On prend bien sois d'elle. On adore la nature. Romantique c'est la passion, pas comme les Chinois pensent* (Romantic is related to literature. We love

our woman and we take good care of her. We enjoy nature. Romance is passion. It is not as the Chinese think.).

It is obvious that the term “romantic” does not carry the same meaning for the Chinese and the French. As the informant quoted above mentioned, “romantic” for the French is often related to historical literature in the sixteenth century, and the Enlightenment interpretations. It refers to someone whose sensibility, and passions are stronger than reason; thoughts and feelings that are imaginative but not very practical, and it is not about individual romance. “Romantic” (*langman* in Chinese) for the Chinese, on the other hand, can be positive and sometimes negative. On the positive side, it is aesthetic. Someone is *langman* can also be poetic, sentimental, and full of passion. The negative attitude refers to somebody who does not care about the customary constraint and readily and easily enters into a relationship with the opposite sex. The modern usage of *langman* is a translation from the English word “romance” or “love affair” rather than “romantic”. Some Chinese say the reason they think the French are romantic is because France and the French make them think of flowers, perfume, artistic lifestyle and the Eiffel Tour. This Chinese image of French romance is actually constructed by the mass media in this commercial era. Coincidentally, this is close to what French National Geography Committee consider that the French cultural export is about (CNFG 1992). French romance seems to be a symbol of exotic modernism, distinctive from Chinese “conservative traditions”. Therefore it easily generates imagination and adoration.

Chinese imagination of France can be also seen from shops on the street. In 2006, right in the center of Shanghai, on the street of Huaihai, there was a large, grand, modern, and chic Paris bridal photography studio called *bali hunsha* in Chinese. Every day Chinese couples come to have their photos taken in fashionable

Paris bridal dresses. In her research in Taiwan, Adrian (2003: 203, 183) says that the Taiwanese bridal photographs emulate romantic visual clichés found in movies and advertising photography, and images of romance are central in constructing *eliteness* in globalized Taiwan. Similar thing happened to the Hui women in Xi'an that they wanted to wear Western wedding gowns to demonstrate they were prosperous, cosmopolitan, and modern (Gillette 2000: 106). Driven by a similar desire, Shanghainese are purchasing "French romance" to show they are being modern, cosmopolitan and romantic. Chapter Three also mentioned the Chinese like French brands. It has become a fashion entailed by imagination, modernity, consumerism, and globalization.

The image of romance is further played with, used and reinforced by some French as "reinvented tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) in the way they utilize the Chinese stereotype of French as being romantic. Whether in jest or for self-serving motives, some like to say that the French are indeed romantic and they actually try to *sell* the image of romanticism. This was seen at the activities organized at the *Alliance Française* held on September 29, 2006. Before the concert someone read some letters about love and romance by famous French writers in order to stress the romantic image to make the French sound more exciting, attractive to others. Even in daily life a French man may joke about being romantic.

In addition to the image of being romantic, the French also like to stress being civilized in the sense of culture and education and, of course, of good humor. Here are some examples of personal advertisements made by Frenchmen at the website of <http://Shanghai.asiaxpat.com>: "Here is a French man, cute, fair haired, blue eyes, with good education... You know what happens to the girl that answers this ad, ...She gets kissed." "A nice French man in his early 30's, good looking, funny, patient, open

mindful and easy going, is willing to meet a nice, cultivated, very cute and open minded Japanese woman.” “I’m French, 29, so handsome Pearl tower fell in love with the Huangpu, so shy even dragons are impressed, so smart he can't find a mistress, so... so eventually?”

7.3 French and Chinese Interactions

Social space is often classified, which is accomplished through the creation of boundaries (Pellow 1996: 215). Pellow also argues if a cultural group is the category of social classification, then they will use their custom as the symbol of the boundaries. These “symbols may be cultural, social, ritual, linguistic and physical” (ibid). For example, during the semi-colonial period, the British in Shanghai kept boundaries from the Chinese society: “Distance was the credo inculcated into recruits—social distance, sexual distance, even distance from Chinese food, and the Chinese language” (Bickers 1999:78). For example, one consul was warned against sinophilia: “Don’t forget you are British” (ibid). The present situation in Shanghai is different although it shares some similarities.

7.3.1 Interactions and Language

Language plays an integrative role, for speaking the same language can bind people with shared understandings. Sometimes interactions between the French and the Chinese are through language learning. Language is an important means through which the French launch a conversation with the Chinese and learn about Chinese culture. Learning Chinese is one of the major efforts the French make to understand and interact with the Chinese. Daniel explained his reasons for learning Chinese:

I did not speak Chinese; the majority of the Chinese do not speak English. So we don’t speak a common language. Because of that we are very likely to put ourselves in a very uncomfortable world where we cannot understand each other. Everybody rests in his own niche without exploring each other. I cannot imagine living in a foreign country without speaking its language. By learning its language I show respect to my host country. In addition, a language is the

reflection of its culture, history, and the way people think. If I want to adapt myself to the society, I need to understand its culture and learning the language is indispensable for trying to understand. Language learning is thus closely related to adaptation.

Alice also said that her adaptation was related to her Chinese language ability. It took her a year to adapt to life in Shanghai because in the first year of her stay she did not speak any Chinese. These cases are indicators that learning Chinese is a way French expatriates adapt to the life in Shanghai as language is probably the most important aspect of culture. About fifty percent of the French housewives and young people interviewed post advertisements on websites or respond to ads looking for language partners.

It is the *expatriés* group that usually does not speak good Chinese. The reason many of them do not speak Chinese well, according to them is, basically, because Chinese is too difficult or they do not have time because they work too much. This is at least partly true. After four or five years in Shanghai they only knew some basic vocabulary for daily life such as, “I don’t want it (*buyao*),” “thank you (*xiexie*),” “turn left (*zuozhuan*),” “go straight” (*zhizou*),”eating (*chifan*),” etc. Most don’t have to speak Chinese for their job because they usually have Chinese assistants or Chinese clients who speak English or French or have a translator. In addition, as they have no intention to stay in Shanghai for a long time, most of them do not care so much about learning the language. Shanghai is just a temporary stop in their career. That is to say, they care more about the next stop of their career than about learning the local language.

Nonetheless, the number of French expatriates who learned Chinese is rather large. Most of the people I met had taken Chinese lessons. Some learned it at university, some at language school and some had teachers come to the house. More women and young people took lessons than men. This is because housewives have

more time than their husbands as they are not employed. Some French men speak good Chinese because they have or had a Chinese girlfriend or wife. Some young French really work hard to learn Chinese and place themselves in the Chinese environment. Daniel, cited above, is an example. Fredric, a lawyer about 35 years of age, has been in Shanghai four years and speaks very good Chinese. He could name and sing many Chinese revolutionary songs that praise the communist party and Mao Zedong, which is rare among foreigners. I actually overheard the French Council General speak very good Chinese during the French Week in Shanghai in 2006.

Steve, who frequented French cultural activities, likes talking about the differences of different parts of China. He often writes articles on the concession period and today's Shanghai on the Internet. Some French are very serious learners, studying Chinese everyday and preparing for the HSK (*Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi*, Chinese Test for foreigners), but it is impossible to know the exact number of French who take Chinese courses daily or those who take the HSK. A friend of Alice I met one day in my follow-up trip when I went with Alice to watch her husband's rehearsal of the opera with the troupe studied Chinese two hours daily in the second year of her stay in Shanghai. She learned all the grammar, proverbs (*chengyu*) and how to write the characters. She was preparing for the HSK the last time I saw her. In November 2008 I had lunch with two French women who take Chinese courses five days a week, three hours a day. One of them had already taken HSK, but did not get good grades. Both of them plan to take it again in 2009.

Before the 1930s, in cosmopolitan Shanghai very few foreigners learned Chinese as many of them wanted to keep their race superior. For example, "the French made little or no attempt to understand the Chinese. Few Frenchmen learned

the language or established meaningful relationships with individual Chinese” (Gamewell 1916: 386). The Vice-Consul of the American Consulate at the time said “his immediate superior opposed working too hard on the Chinese language, lest the foreign service officer succumb to the dreaded fate of ‘going native in his interests or sensibilities” (Wilkinson 2000:236). It was similar to British School that there was an “absence of education about China, the Chinese and their languages” (Bickers 1999: 96).

If adaptation were based only on language level, then many French could be said to have adapted to their life in Shanghai. However, it is impossible to get figures on how many French are learning Chinese, as there are many schools and not all go to school to learn the language. Of those I met, an estimated sixty percent or more have studied Chinese for a period of time. By putting oneself in language classes, these French expatriates demonstrate their willingness to understand Chinese language, culture and the people. This is an indicator of a kind of intellectual cosmopolitanism.

Nevertheless, as commented earlier, the wide socio-cultural distance and the fact that the two groups do not share many behavioral similarities, impedes more fluid social interaction or profound social interaction between the French and the Chinese. Partly the wide socio-cultural distance makes many French prefer learning about Chinese culture through literature and language rather than through more direct social interaction with the Chinese. What I found in Shanghai is many Chinese learning French did not really interact with the French because of the same reason. According to my language learning experience, I did not find many of my friends tried to interact with English speakers when we were learning English.

7.3.2 Interactions and Gender

An interesting phenomenon about bicultural interaction is the contact made by men who have or have had a Chinese girlfriend or wife. Whether the liaison between male and female occurs in China or in a foreign country, it is usually the Chinese female who integrates into the male's cultural milieu not a male. It is, of course, the same in Shanghai. A Frenchman with a Chinese partner, be she girlfriend or wife, does not integrate into Chinese social and cultural life. Rather, the woman adapts to the French social and cultural scene. It is the same when a Chinese family that emigrates to France or some other European or American country. It is the female who finds a male partner and lives a French life not French male whom becomes oriented toward the Chinese girlfriend or wife's family and relatives and adopt Chinese customs. The result is the same, and so is the gender. There are exceptions and having a Chinese partner offers the man more chances to interact with the Chinese and explore more about Chinese culture. When asked the nationality of "the ten persons they had the most contact with last week," Chinese were ranked third just after non-French Europeans (see Table 6.1).

However, according to the four couples I met, having a Chinese spouse does not guarantee more interactions with other Chinese. Two of the couples were between French women and Chinese men, the other two were French men and Chinese women. Only one French woman has more interactions with the Chinese. Her case is special as her husband only speaks Chinese. The other French woman said, "My husband is originally from Shanghai but I don't really have Shanghai friends as I find it difficult to communicate with them. You know Shanghai women have strong characters. We also have different interests but it is true many of our friends are mixed French and Chinese couples."

The other three couples interact more with the French. Jean, who came to Shanghai to establish his own company 14 years ago, said, "It is true my wife is Chinese, but that does not make me become Chinese or contact more Chinese. She is the one who becomes more French."

It is not uncommon for young, single French men to seek Chinese girlfriends shortly after they arrive in Shanghai. A French man who had been in Shanghai for some nine months, said he and most of his friends had Chinese girlfriends. Some had two or three different girlfriends in a single year and some changed girlfriends every two three months. Some French women wondered whether it is because French men found Chinese women exotic. One woman expressed her doubts: "I often wonder whether there is love between these Chinese women and Westerners when I see them together." Alice said to me, "Please ask those men who have a Chinese girlfriend whether they find Chinese women exotic. Fortunately my husband does not think Chinese women beautiful." However, only a few men mentioned that they thought Chinese women were exotic.

However, it is through these experiences that French men learn something of the Chinese. Some commented that Chinese women are too naive, immature and difficult to understand. Victor mentioned that Chinese women under 30 were not mature: "I don't feel it is difficult to get along with Chinese culture," and "I just feel it is difficult to get along with today's Chinese women. For me being 'open to the Western world' is not watching Hollywood movies or listening to bad pop music. I just need someone who has enough knowledge about the world, and knows what's happening in China. [It is] so difficult to get along with Chinese women." Later he explained more in French:

C'est difficile de s'entendre avec les Chinoises parce qu'on est quand même très différent. Alors je sais bien qu'il vaut mieux être différent que semblable, que

c'est enrichissant et tout et tout. Mais il y a quand même des difficultés de communication et de compréhension très forte au bout d'un moment. J'ai fait cette expérience avec ma première copine ici. (It is difficult to get along with Chinese women because we are too different. I know well that it is better to be different than to be similar and it is fulfilling, but there are always difficulties in communication and understanding. I have had this experience with my first girlfriend here.)

Jean-Yves said of his girlfriend - 22 years younger, "She is young and narrow minded. She believes everything she was told in school and I cannot say anything bad about China, otherwise she will get excited. That sometimes drives me crazy. It is difficult to communicate with her."

Although many mixed couples can be seen in the street, not many stay together a long time. As Victor put it: "Of course you see many mixed couples, but there are not so many in real life." According to the French Consulate, there were about a hundred marriages between the French and the Chinese in 2006. The Shanghai 2007 Statistical Yearbook lists 826 intermarriages between foreigners and Chinese in 1985, a figure which reached 2943 in 2006. From Table 7.1, we see that most of the international marriages involve Chinese women and foreign men. The average age of foreign husbands was 10.5 years older than the average age of Chinese wives, while Chinese husbands with foreign wives had an average age gap of only 0.9 years (Chen Bao 2003, cited in Farrer 2008). According to a survey by the Bureau of Civil Affairs, more and more mixed families were setting up homes in Shanghai rather than moving abroad (Lateline News 1997).

Table 7.1 Chinese-Foreign Marriages

	Couple	Chinese men	Chinese women
1985	826	91	733
2005	2407	372	2013
2006	2943	540	2403

Source: SMSB 2007: 41.

There has also been research on Chinese-Western intimacies that describes Chinese women's strategies for emigrating to foreign countries. For instance,

Constance Clark (Clark 2001) has done a study on international dating clubs in Shenzhen, and Nicole Constable (Constable 2003) has studied the correspondence relationships between Chinese women and Western men. Nevertheless, there are multiple reasons that so many foreigners go out with Chinese women. A search for a sexual partner is, of course a primary one and that is true for both the French males and Chinese females.

In addition, being with Chinese means fewer “cultural restraints” or regulations for foreigners. This makes it easier to find a partner. Here “cultural restraints” mean the standard within a culture, such as what is good, what is bad, and one has to have this or that in order to have a better opportunity within the culture. Some French men in Shanghai look for Chinese women because they cannot find a suitable French woman. Stéphane, a divorced Frenchman of 45 years of age explained that at a party he met a French woman who showed great interest to him. He also liked the woman, but he worried that he had to tell this woman from his own culture that he was divorced and had nothing of significance in France, which actually lowers his condition if their relation had been deeper. He certainly did not want to make himself look bad. However, he admitted he would like to find a French girlfriend for cultural conversations in the same language, which he said he really missed after nine years in China. Furthermore, it was difficult to find a suitable French girlfriend because he said that there were very few single young French women in Shanghai. A few French men speculated that French women who are still single may have higher expectations and demands, as a few French men put it. In other words, some French men look for Chinese women because the men’s opportunities are low on the local French marriage market. This is what James Farrer (2008:12) describes as “status bargains (or good deals) in which transnationally mobile people are

perceived to be taking advantage of variable standards of desirability and status.” That is to say, international marriages are often used to diminish status blemishes noticeable in one’s in-group but appealing to out-group members. For example, as Clark (2001) and Chen Bao (2003) have written, a previous divorce is considered a significant “blemish” on the Chinese marriage market but is rather unimportant for North Americans. Conversely, some French women look for non-Chinese men but cannot find one. However, the reason that French women give for seeking Westerners is because they believe that Chinese men are often likely to be dominant, which many French women cannot accept. All the reasons explained here actually are not confined to just the French, but apply to all the Western population in Shanghai.

There is another phenomenon that many men throughout the world—not only French men—find Chinese girlfriends who are more than 10 to 20 years younger. One day, during a dinner with Jean-Yves, he explained his experience to me:

Before coming to Shanghai a friend of mine told me in Shanghai he had a girlfriend who was 15 years younger than him. I found it difficult to believe. But he told me many Western men had much younger girlfriends in Shanghai. Now I am here. Without any expectation this also happened to me. My girlfriend is about 22 years younger than me. It’s funny. I did not know how this happened. But I can’t spend the rest of my life with her. I told her already I don’t share the same value with her.

In 2006, I also met his girlfriend who just finished her bachelor study in Shanghai.

Then is the motive of physical pleasure. Some women do not look for love, they just ask for physical pleasure and experience with foreign men. This is not different from Western men. For example, Chris who was married recalled his experiences. He came nearly every month to work in Shanghai. He said, “One day I was trying to change money in a bank, then one of the clerks asked me for my phone number. Later she called and said she just wanted to have sex, but she was

married.” His business partner, another global commuter whose wife and children were in France also had a Chinese girlfriend in Shanghai. Another two Frenchmen, one of whom was married, mentioned similar experiences. The other one—Denis said a Chinese woman who contacted him accepted it when he told her that he was married and he did not want any serious relationship. I guess seeking physical pleasure as part of human nature probably happens in many countries.

There are also economic reasons for Chinese women who seek liaison with foreign men. Finding a rich foreigner is not rare in Shanghai because there it is widely assumed that foreigners are rich. When I was doing fieldwork in Shanghai in 2006, a friend asked me whether I knew any foreigner who was single and rich because one of her Shanghai colleagues was looking for a rich foreigner to marry. Stephane had a few Chinese girlfriends, one of whom was Shanghainese. “Her parents asked me when I could earn more money because a billionaire was waiting for their daughter in Australia. I cannot imagine that her father said that to me.” They later broke up for various reasons, but her parents’ anxiousness to sell their daughter to the highest bidder was one of the reasons, as he said. However, it is difficult to tell whether the father of Stephane’s girlfriend was actually joking at the time. In some magazines there are also some personal ads which highlight which nationality that some Chinese women prefer (Willis and Yeoh 2002: 561).

Economic reason is often related to the fact that these women look for a passport and better life. The “majority of international marriage migrants are women, and most of these women move from poorer countries to wealthier ones” (Constable 2005: 4). Other studies have also showed international marriages as a pathway for women’s migration from developing Asian countries to the United States, Canada, Japan or other developed countries (Chao 2005, Oxfeld 2005, Schein

2005, and Suzuki 2005). In his study of international marriages in Shanghai, Farrer (2008: 10) says, "(The) gender imbalance in international marriages was taken (not only) as a sign of Chinese economic backwardness, but also the venality of Chinese women." However, we have to be aware that these studies are not an indicator that women from less developed countries and regions are desperate for a marriage with Western men. Most young, single women going out with French men (or Europeans in general) are of a lower status than the foreigners they date, at least economically. Nevertheless, it is common worldwide for women to move upward socially and economically through marriage even within their own country. A Shanghai woman finding a wealthy foreigner does not sound unnatural from this aspect. Moreover, in terms of cross-border marriages, Nicole Constable (ibid: 7) argues they "both reflect and are propelled by fantasies and imaginings about gender, sexuality, tradition, and modernity." It is the fantasies and imaginations of gender, sexuality, tradition, and modernity, as I mentioned above, that bring many Chinese women and French men together.

However, the fact that Shanghai women employed strategies of emigration through international marriage was interpreted by some as a sign of the failure of Chinese masculinity, and of Shanghainese masculinity in particular (cited in Farrer 2008). Of course, this depends on the definition of masculinity, but I recall the conversations I had with a few men, both French and Chinese when I was in the field in 2006. A few French men said, "I guess one of the reasons those Chinese women look for foreign partners because Chinese men are not good at sex. Several Chinese women mentioned that to me." This is probably stereotype and assumption, and we cannot prove it. The Chinese man I talked to explained it from another angle. He studied hotel management and had his internship in Switzerland for three years. In

2006 he worked for a famous French hotel in Shanghai. I asked him why he did not try to stay there. He said, "The only way to stay was to find a local woman to marry. But Western women don't usually like Chinese men. One of the reasons is physically we are weaker than Western men. Westerners usually have sex more frequently than Chinese. I do not think physically we can meet their standard." Therefore, it is problematic to say that just a few hundred international marriages in Shanghai indicate the failure of Chinese masculinity.

Another reason why Frenchmen may be attracted to local women is that many Frenchmen assume that Chinese women have "weaker personalities" than French women, that is, that French women demand time, devotion and loyalty. Many men like to be in control and feel comfortable when a woman is docile and just submits to their power. However, I suppose a woman would not expect her partner to be unfaithful or indifferent once she is engaged no matter what nationality she is. The concept of "weaker personality" of Chinese women is also the projection of traditional gender role in China, which can be different from contemporary time. Many Western men assume that the traditional character of Japanese and Korean women is also shared by Chinese women, which is not the truth. Scholars point out that East Asian women often seem to present an image of sensuality and desirable femininity (Koshy 2004).

James Farrer also argues that the international marriage between Chinese nationals and Western expatriates in Shanghai is a "joint venture" (Farrer 2008: 11). That is to say the marriage is like a joint venture for both partners who seek for benefits and social exchanges from the incorporation. The "intermarried couples benefit from each other's cultural, economic and social resources in negotiating the larger transnational terrain of migratory and transnational business opportunities"

(ibid: 26). Most of the French-Chinese couples I met in Shanghai had their own business, but I cannot confirm whether these marriages are like what Farrer said that they simply look for business opportunity rather than love and care by being together and whether business started before or after the marriage.

7.3.3 Interactions and the French Love of Chinese Culture

Love for Chinese culture can also be found among the French. The previous section of interaction and language mentioned some French really show great interests in learning Mandarin. A few French mentioned to me that their former president Chirac was crazy about Chinese culture. The Frenchman who had books everywhere in his flat also expressed his great interest in Chinese culture. He is very knowledgeable in Chinese history, poetry and painting. He can play jokes in Chinese, too. A French couple were reportedly lovers of Chinese culture. They are Annick de Kermadec and her husband Hervé de Bentzmann²¹ who live in the Grosvenor House of Jinjiang Hotel located on Mao Ming South Road during their stay in Shanghai. The day I went to their home, Mr. de Bentzmann showed me the magazine *Millionaire* (2006) in Chinese version that reported the story of the family, and made a copy for me. There were also a couple of reports on Annick on China Daily and the Shanghai Star.

Madame Annick de Kermadec, the director of BNP Paribas Shanghai branch, president of the Chambre of Commerce and Industry of France in China, speaks five languages—French, English, Chinese, Malaysian and German—is mixed French, with a mother descendent from the Manchurian royal family. In 1937, her father Jean-Michel Huon de Kermadec, who is also from a French noble family, came to study Chinese and Chinese literature and teach French in Saint Johns University in

²¹ I use their real name here because there were already a few reports on them in magazine and newspaper.

Shanghai. He loved Peking Opera, had great interest in Chinese culture, studied Yijing, prophets, Confucianism and Buddhism. He also wrote a series of books to introduce Chinese culture to Europe. A few years later, he went to Peking to learn Chinese. There he met her mother. Annick was born in Peking (see Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1 Annick with her parents in 1940s Beijing, source: China Daily <http://appl.chinadaily.com.cn/star/2002/0411/pr22-1.html>

Her family left China for Vietnam and eventually went back to France where Annick studied Chinese at the School of Oriental Studies and Asian Fine Art of the Institut d'Art. After getting married with Hervé de Bentzmann, they came to Shanghai in 1989 as Madame Annick de Kermadec-Bentzmann was sent to Shanghai by the bank BNP Paribas. Hervé fell in love with Shanghai. They are familiar with every road of Shanghai, where they collect classic furniture, court silk painting of Qing Dynasty, various silver thriller, tea pots with green jade spout, and iron made of black ceramic. Every week they go to the Catholic mass in St. Peter. They also made many Chinese friends, including the council of the Economic and Commercial Counselor's Office of the Embassy of China in France—Han Tiecheng and a famous TV anchorwoman—Jin Yuxi.

As Annick is responsible for BNP Paribas Shanghai Branch, she works to promote private banking in China. As the president of the French Chamber of

Commerce and Industry in China, she also helps the French enterprises in China and those that want to come to understand Chinese market and policies promote information exchanges.

In the life, they enjoy all kinds of cuisines, such as French, Italian, and Chinese ones. Both of them are members of *La Confrérie de la Chaîne des Rotisseurs de Shanghai* (Shanghai Gastronomic Association). The association, discussed in Chapter Three, dedicated to bringing together both professionals and non-professionals members who appreciate and share a mutual interest in cuisine, wine and fine dining, was established in 1997 in Shanghai by the general manager of a French hotel—Sofitel Hyland and the general manager of Hilton Shanghai. Hervé was in the board of the association. They love French Bordeaux Wine. They like the color of wine, its fragrance, but what is more important is to share with other people. Their dream is to stay in China to continue the dream of China of the family that has been in two centuries, but they are still not sure as Mr. de Bentzmann said.

7.3.4 Interactions: Crisis and Conflict

Interactions between married French men and Chinese women cause marital discord. There are many stories about the break-ups of families because of infidelity on the part of the husband. Some *expatrié* men like going out for drink to relax after a long day of work. Girls in bars, music, and alcohol all work together to rest their tired minds. However, this does not necessarily destroy a family. The real crisis generally comes from the long summer holiday. In summer, when the children are on vacation, wives sometimes return to France on holiday with the children. The husband, of course, has to remain alone in Shanghai to work, as at best, he enjoys no more than the traditional (and legal) a one-month holiday. As I pointed out in several parts of my thesis, going to bars is a normal cultural pastime for French men.

When they are alone, without family restraints, however, evenings have no “curfew.” That is to say, since no one is expecting them at home they frequently stay and chat with others in the same situation long into the night. Some men, of course, go to bars specifically in search of female companionship, others “just happen” to meet a woman. If the scene is repeated too often, ties of affection may develop between a married French man and a Chinese woman. If the wife discovers the affair when she returns to Shanghai with the children, divorce may be the result.

Stéphane, an informant whom I have already talked about, had tales regarding the extra-marital affairs in the expatriate community he knew of. He had been in Shanghai eight years and knew of several. A German Chinese woman, who works in a French company and has many French friends, also told similar stories. She added that some of the wives often expressed their contempt towards Chinese women. Similarly British women in Shanghai also take Chinese women as a threat to their existing relationships and marriages, and potential relations (see Willis and Yeoh 2002: 561).

When discussing marital problems, French men frequently comment that French women tend to have “strong characters.” It was never made quite clear what they meant by this but they also added that French women do not accept infidelity from their husbands. They are aggressive when they discover or even suspect infidelity. I was told of the case of a 63 year old husband who worked alone in Shanghai for about nine months. His wife, who did not like living in Shanghai, had not joined him initially, but one day she came without informing him. She managed to get the hotel receptionist to let her into the hotel room and hid herself just to see if her husband would bring a girl to his room. The husband, who came back alone, did not know his wife was hiding in the room. The wife eventually found out that her husband was

spending a great deal of money and they fought over where the money was going. Being determined to discover the truth, she demanded that the hotel print the entire list of the numbers her husband had dialed during his stay. Believing that her husband had slept with all the girls in Shanghai, she tried all the numbers to see how these people got to know her husband and whether these persons who were female had had sex with her husband. She also called me from France because my number was on the list as her husband called me once to arrange an interview. I knew the detail of the story also because a key informant who knew her husband well told me their stories. I was never told what else transpired but the final result was that they filed for divorce.

Another story was similar, briefly mentioned in Chapter 4, as the wife was initially unwilling to come to Shanghai with her husband. Six months later she changed her mind and came to Shanghai, only to find out that her husband had a Chinese mistress. After having a conversation about the situation the husband said he would stop seeing the woman. However, she again became suspicious when she noted that he never brought home the bank statements. Having looked for them everywhere at home, she eventually found the bank statements in the drawer of his office. Along with the statements there was the picture of his Chinese paramour. The bank statements showed that her husband spent a great amount of money. She believed her husband did not really stop seeing his Chinese girlfriend and was spending all the money on her. Although the husband did not admit it, the eventual result was they divorced.

The French Consulate often deals with cases like that. According to someone working at the Consulate, the wife usually complains that the husband has found a Chinese woman and no longer cares about her (his wife). In general, the Chinese

girlfriend is younger than the wife, and erroneously or not, the French believe that Chinese women are more malleable than French women²², as mentioned above.

Shanghai is not, of course, uniquely dangerous for expatriate families. France has a high divorce rate of one divorce out of three marriages. While physical brutality – either on the husband or the wife – is among the reasons given, infidelity is high on the list. Farrer in his study of Chinese youth culture in Shanghai argues that contemporary sexual culture in China is linked to “opening-up” policies. “Whereas the Western narrative of sexual revolution is a romantic saga of liberated desire, the Chinese narrative of sexual opening is an ironic melodrama of increasing temptation, sexualization of public life, commodification of sexuality, and Westernization of local sexual culture” (Farrer 2002:27). Pointing to Shanghai, Farrer characterizes contemporary Shanghai cultures as: “the big money, the strong woman, the foreigner, the fishing girl, the playboy, the little country sister, the bold girl, and the white collar” (ibid: 113). Seduced by material desire, influenced by the imagination and fantasy that were brought by Western media and the Internet, young people were emboldened to “fight” against the conventional conservative or “feudal” values. It is this bold behavior and uncharacteristic desire that make many Westerners consider Shanghai a very easy city in which to pick up girls. However, confusing self-identification mentioned in the chapter on network also contributes to the fact that some Chinese women hang out with Western men. Nic recalled the story of someone he knew:

He is a programmer. You know how programmers dress. They don't dress like other businessmen with suits and tie. Programmers spend most of their time in front of a computer. They very often just wear T-shirts. That is why it is not easy for programmers to find a girlfriend in many Western countries. He is American, of about 20 years old. You know in the West we start to have

²² Relations between older men and younger girls are less frowned upon and more common than in Western society. Differences may be as much as 30 or 40 years and while not necessarily common, neither is it rare to see men of 50 or 60, even 70, on occasions, with women in their 20's.

sex much earlier than Chinese. He had never got laid before coming to Shanghai. His first sex was with a Chinese girl in Shanghai. Someone like him could get a girl. It should be also easy for many other people to find girls in Shanghai.

On the other hand, it is not Shanghai that makes the married French or other Western men lose their mind or reason. It is the job of expatriation that poses danger to marriages. In Hong Kong similar thing happens, as May Holdsworth (2002: 209) writes: "Expatriation can sometimes put marriages under such strain that they break down, especially when husbands are able easily to find solace outside the home." Furthermore, compared to the 1970s, in the 1990s "the number of divorce petitions filed annually increased by many times" (ibid). However, I recall what a man said, "men often start to look for women when they are about 10 kilometers away from home." Businessmen having affairs or having a second wife (*baau yih naaih*) is also found in other Chinese cities (Tam 2005). That is to say, Shanghai is not so different from other cities, including French ones. Having affairs is just common among businessmen when they are away from their family.

7.4 Interactions between French and Other Nationalities

As mentioned in the Introduction, the French I met and interviewed in Shanghai did not really find too negative attitude towards Americans although when talking about the differences between the French and Americans, quite a few French mentioned that Americans were "ignorant" or "cultureless" and knew nothing except about the US and don't know, for example, where *la Seine* is. They even don't know about their own country. A French friend who studied his MBA in the US for a year said, "The Americans are so ignorant, particularly Bush." A photographer from Paris said, "The Americans are so ignorant. I was so disappointed that an American woman I met in New York does not know where *la Seine* is." We do not know how many French people know about American geography or if they know where the

Potomac River is. Guillom who worked in a governmental organization once mentioned, "Last night I met an American in the restaurant. He asked me why French people did not agree with the war in Iraq. He thinks that the Americans are usually right." The truth is all individuals usually think they are right. Andrea and her husband who was sent to America to work for a year said, "The Americans just don't have culture." Amanda mentioned something similar:

Oh, the Americans are awful. A few years ago I met an American sociology professor. She came to Shanghai to do a research on foreign brands in China. I was shocked that she said Chinese do not have culture and they do not know any brand. Later when she told me it was difficult to complete her research, I was not surprised at all because she is so ignorant about China.

All the anecdotes above demonstrate a common perception of culture among the French. This culture refers to common knowledge of one's own country such as geography, the world's geography, politics, history, and democracy. Based on this perception, one could be cultureless or ignorant if he or she does not have this knowledge. Victor mentioned earlier under the section of Interactions and Gender in this chapter also said the same thing. He commented about Chinese women and saying that a global and knowledgeable Chinese should have enough knowledge about the world and at least about China and what is happening in China. What these French said also indicates that they possess the attitude of cosmopolitan openness by aiming at knowledge of the places beyond their own.

The perceptions we have of other nations are usually culturally loaded and stereotypical. The comment some French make on the Americans is heavily loaded with their perception of education, culture and civilization. Admittedly the French cover a broad subject in their education. In 2006 a French man of about 45 years old I met who had majored in mechanics at university could talk about culture and the arts non-stop for two to three hours. But the mutual perceptions between French and

Americans actually are related to the national education in these two countries and the difference over international relations and economics, etc. The French are proud of their long history, literature, and philosophy, and national culture as a whole. The French “expressed their resistance (to Americanization) as a contest over safeguarding *civilization*” (Kuisel 1993: 235). In addition, “the problem with Americanization of the language was that it produced an uniformization of culture, whereas the French are in favor of diversity and plurality” (Ager 1999: 108). Whether the French are against a uniformization of culture and for cultural diversity is not very clear, but it is certain that they have their own point-of-view on universalism, which is believed to be religious, linguistic, and ethical (see Schor 2001:46). Even today, “French national identity remains bound up –at least in official discourse, but also in ongoing intellectual debates—with universal human rights, of which France considers itself the inalienable trustee” (ibid).

Regarding the cultural interaction between the French and the Americans and English, it certainly happens, particularly among the young generation at a superficial level as that with the Chinese. French housewives do not seem to get along with Anglophones, either but this will be discussed in the following section. In other words, the French, the Anglophones, the Chinese, all form their separate social groups. Other business expatriates groups are also noted to form their own social groups in Shanghai. In their study of Singaporean and British expatriates in Shanghai, Katie Willis and Brenda Yeoh (2002: 560) find, “As part of the ‘expatriate community’ Britons and Singaporeans often share a position within the Chinese cities where they are located, but beyond the simple expatriate/local division it is clear that in many cases Singaporean and Britons occupy different social spheres”.

Cultural differences are clarified and sometimes exaggerated during interactions. Jolie says, "I have some American friends whom I got to know when I was studying. When I go out with them, we don't go to the same places where I go with my French friends. The Americans like to enjoy beer and they often get drunk. The French like drinking but very often we like to drink, talk, and dance." Beatrice talks about her experience with English and Americans as her children go to English school: "Through the contacts I realize we are very different. The Anglophones are easy-going. It is easy for them to make friends. For example they often approach someone and say hello then they can make a friend. We French don't usually do this. We are more conservative. In addition, the ways we teach children are very different." In the matter of inviting friends, she says, "The Americans like to have a barbecue when they invite friends to dinner. We enjoy the dishes more on the table. This is also because the French are proud of their cuisine. In America there is no real cuisine." Of course not all Americans prefer having barbecue than eating on the table with their guests. But what Beatrice said exaggerated the difference. Based on all the reasons she mentioned, she does not have good Anglophone friends. The way of educating children is also mentioned by another French woman. The way she explained it is very interesting: "Four times five equals how much? If the student says 15, the teachers in English school will say 'close' while the teachers in French school will say 'no', and ask again how much. You see the difference." What she says also reflects a French stereotype of seeking precision and conciseness and that the concern in American education for promoting "self-esteem" and not being negative.

If the French are not too inclusive in terms of community, they are not exceptional. When talking about being closed or open to other nationalities, about 10 French women say the Americans are worse: "The Americans are worse. They just

live in the compounds around the American school. Inside the compound there are only Americans!" However, three of them point out probably all the nationalities tend to stay among themselves. They mention in their compound, which is located in Pudong, "Every day in the court yard, you can see different groups. We French are one group. The Chinese have their own group. The Germans form their separate cluster. Language is an issue, but it is not the only reason that we form separate groups because some of them can speak French." This shows there is no real international community that integrates the foreign communities in Shanghai. In other words, globalization has brought in these ethnic flows from different parts of the world to Shanghai, but does not lead to a cosmopolitan community which incorporates these multicultures when focusing on engaging with multicultural experience. Nahs (1970) also found "Little America" where most of the American expatriates live in Spain, separate from other expatriates.

The exclusivity of different national group is not different from the situation of cosmopolitan Shanghai in semicolonial period from 1840s to 1940s, during which there were superficial interactions between some national groups but they remained distinctive in their own community in the cosmopolitan Shanghai at the time. Shortly after World War I, an American journalist J. B. Powell (1945: 55) noted that

It was interesting, at noontime, to see the British and German businessmen passing each other on the Bund without a nod of recognition, each headed for his club for luncheon, where the chief subject of discussion was the war. Each club had a large mounted map of the Western front, but the thumb tacks were on opposite sides of the line.

At the time, the British, the French, the American, the Russian, the German, and the Japanese were the most conspicuous among the foreign presence, among which first came the British. The British were the most influential and special case in Shanghai. The concepts of race and nationality were important in their social interactions with

other groups. For example, Bickers (1999:72) writes that "...after about 1917-18 Britons also began to define themselves against another group in Shanghai, and the treaty ports generally: the White Russians" who were the examples of poor White as most of them were refugees and they value "distance from other national groups, loyalty to the local community, the firm, to the British enterprise in China, and to the 'rae'" (ibid: 87). British alliance, the Americans built a "moderately successful, loosely knit but self-consciously American community" (Wilkinson 2000:231). "They were fairly cosmopolitan toward the Europeans of Shanghai; less so toward the Chinese, but with a well developed sense of their own identity. Before World War I, the Germans had built up their "intense and thoroughly organized community life, with their school (the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Schule)...their associations for engineers (*Chinesischer Verband deutscher Ingenieure*) and physicians (*Deutsche Arztfirma*)" (ibid: 212). Starting from 1933, "the German community rediscovered a coherent community life. Never before had the Germans been able to assert their national identity with such assurance, in the knowledge that they had the unconditional support of their government" (2000: 227). The Russian, many of whom were high class of White Russians came to Shanghai to seek for refuge because of the Revolution back in Russia. These people did not have money in Shanghai at the beginning. Many Russian women became prostitutes in order to make a living (see Wang 1993, Ristaino 2000, Sergeant 1990). Russians found themselves "excluded from close association with other Western communities, owing to their poverty and the social elitism so effectively evinced particularly by the British" (Ristaino 1999:196). As a result, they looked inward to nourish and preserve their own cultural heritage through their various organizations.

Thus we can see the force that plays behind social interactions between different social groups is the power of the state, social class and cultural identities. Due to their proper reason, different nationalities easily formed their own groups and communities. Globalization makes the city—Shanghai cosmopolitan, but could not and cannot create a cosmopolitan community that could embrace different nationalities.

7.5 Symbolic and Cultural Boundaries and Lifestyle

Boundary is an essential concept in ethnic studies and otherness epitomizes the we-they of ethnicity (Cohen 1974). Grillo (1974: 159) observes that ethnicity, “defined by reference to an idea of common origin, ancestry, and cultural heritage”, forms a classificatory system that facilitates the organization of people in social situations. Such systems are “more than intellectual systems since they carry implications about the codes of behavior appropriate for particular relationship” (ibid: 175). These codes include solidarity, respect, avoidance, deference, hostility, and so on. They set rules for behaviors which create boundaries: what is acceptable (in) and what is unacceptable (out) (Pellow 1996: 217).

The differences in culture are one of the reasons that the social interactions between the French and other nationalities are limited. Some French say they did not have social contact with the Chinese because the Chinese are simply too different. As a French woman who moved to Hong Kong after three years in Shanghai said, “They are just too different; it is not that I did not try to communicate with them. I just never thought about going to have social contact with them.” This is very similar to what happened to the wife of an American Vice-Consul who lived in Shanghai in the first half of the 20th century: “Caroline Service recalled that she really had no Chinese friends at all, but that she had really taken no notice of that

fact in the 1930s” (Service 1977: 146, cited in Wilkinson 2000: 236). Stephanie mentioned that Chinese is a difficult language to learn although she tried (see above). Since she found it difficult to understand the Chinese, she and her family planned to move to Hong Kong where they at least can speak English. An informant, who used to have language exchange with a Chinese woman, mentioned sometimes it was the Chinese who did not want to contact them:

We met and had coffee about once a week for a few months during my Chinese study. She was also studying something. Afterwards, she did not contact me. I tried a few times to contact her, but she did not really reply. I got a feeling that she only wanted to use me for which I do not know. That was why she stopped contacting me when she thought my function had finished. Sometimes I also got a feeling that the Chinese are not interested in us. They are materialistic. One day I went to a dinner in a restaurant with many people. There was a Chinese woman. The first thing she asked about us was about the post of our husbands. I was very surprised. It seems we are only the wife of Manager blabla. We are human beings first but obviously for the Chinese woman what matters is the function of our husband.

Cultural difference sometimes seems too large to be accepted by the French. When French women are together, they talk and gossip, sometimes talking about their experiences with the Chinese. They found it difficult to understand why the Chinese act the way they do. Someone would invariably reply, *Ce sont les Chinois.*” (That is the way of the Chinese). A cultural boundary is thus drawn unconsciously—the French and the Chinese are not the same. This is as Barth (1969: 132) says, “Ethnic identities function as categories of inclusion/exclusion and interaction.”

Furthermore, quite a few French claim that they live a life that is richer in social activities in Shanghai. This is partially because most French people earn much more than the Chinese of the same age. This enables them to live a relatively carefree life as the cost of living in Shanghai is much lower than that in many Western cities. Many of the younger French upon hearing of my research in Shanghai said:

The French stay among themselves. They do not go out with the Chinese. The Chinese usually eat on time. They have dinner at about five or six in the afternoon. When they go to bed at about 11 p.m., we start our nightlife. We like having parties, but not the Chinese. You see we cannot go out together. Then we like going to bars, but that is too expensive for the Chinese. They may go one or two times. But that is it. They don't earn as much as us.

The truth is that people in one group earn less than those in another, but does not necessarily prevent them from enjoying their preferred social activities just as much or even more. In terms of nightlife, most of the Chinese live sharply differently from many of the French. The reality is that usually only the young French and those *expatriés* who are single or alone in Shanghai go to bars or have parties so often *expatriés* with family in Shanghai are less seen in bars. As a matter of fact, many French just do not like nightlife. About half of my informants, that is about 30, do not usually go to bars. Furthermore, Chinese enjoy other kinds of social activities, such as going to karaoke. Nevertheless, other Westerners also have a "rich night life", but the French do not seem to have profound interaction with them, either. In this sense, having "nightlife" is exaggerated as a way to draw a boundary line and a translation of identity of difference.

Similarly, in the colonial period, in the 1930s Shanghai, colonial elites strove to mark and keep the boundaries of a colonized population, to prevent their men from "going native," to curb a proliferating mixed-race population that compromised their claims to superiority and thus the legitimacy white rule although the white men could indulge in their sexual fantasies (see Stoler 1991, Ballhatchet 1980). As Segalen (Segalen 1990, cited in Ha 2000: 25) writes:

L'exotisme n'est donc pas la compréhension parfaite d'un hors soi-même qu'on étreindrait en soi, mais la perception aiguë et immédiate d'une incompréhensibilité éternelle. Partons donc de cet aveu d'impénétrabilité. Ne nous flattons pas d'assimiler les moeurs, les races, les nations, les autres, mais au contraire éjouissons (sic) nous de ne le pouvoir jamais; nous réservant ainsi la perdurabilité du plaisir de sentir le Divers. (Exoticism is therefore not the perfect comprehension of an outside that one would want to incorporate within

oneself, but the acute and immediate awareness of an eternal incomprehensibility. Let us not pride ourselves on assimilating customs, races, nations and others. On the contrary, let us rejoice that we can never do so, in the way we can preserve the durability of the pleasure to feel the Other.)

In other words, the quest for the exotic broadens the gap of separation from the Other. Furthermore, members of the colonizer nations, for instance Great Britain, France, also avoided excessive intimacy despite the fact that they had social intercourse. During the “golden period” of the 1920s and 1930s when Shanghai was a prosperous Asian center, foreigners conserved the behavioral characteristics formed in the country of their origin and cultural development. The French, just like other foreign nationalities, lived a life separate from the Chinese. The French remained French just as other nationalities remained culturally independent, with only occasional social contacts among the different nationalities and even less with the Chinese population. As Gaston Donnet (1902:158-159) writes,

Mais ce qui frappe le plus, c'est que le caractère de la race s'y conserve intact. Ces gens-la se touchent, se pénètrent et jamais ne se fondent. L'Allemand reste Allemand, le Russe reste Russe, l'Anglais reste Anglais, garde ses habitudes anglaises, ses goûts anglais, son club, son bar où l'on consomme toujours debout, toujours pressé, l'éternel whisky-soda. Le Français aussi reste Français, un peu bavard et bon enfant. (But what strikes us most is that how intact different peoples keep their characteristics. These peoples have contacts, and yet they never mix with each other. They each keep their own national cultural identity. The German remains German, the Russian remains Russian, the English, English. He keeps his English habits, English tastes, his club, and the bar where he stands, always rushed, drinking the eternal whisky soda. The Frenchman remains French, too, a little chatty and a good guy.) (Quoted in Brossollet 1999: 21)

Lifestyle as a marker of social class also accounts for the limited interactions between the French and the Chinese. Most of French expatriates in Shanghai, particularly the *expatriés*, belong to the upper middle class. They have bigger homes, enjoy more economic benefits-such as a much higher salary than most of the Chinese, and they have different interests. The Chinese who the French expatriates get to contact with are usually people of lower class, such as *ayi* and drivers. With

these people it is difficult to have real interesting interactions because of the differences in education. A couple of French informants mentioned the issue of class. Beatrice said, "It is very difficult to make Chinese friends. This is more a class issue. The people we talk to most are *ayi* and drivers, but we don't have interests in common. For the rich Chinese, they are not interested in us." The truth is that China and France are both class societies. The rich Chinese ignore the French largely because most of them are not comfortable in French. This is similar to the time of late 19th and first half of 20th century in Shanghai. For example, most of the Chinese the British came into contact with were "lower-class—servants, clerks, rickshaw men and coolies" (Sewell 1938, cited in Bickers 1999: 97). In short, differences in class and class cultures limit the interactions between the French expatriates and Chinese.

Another reason that the French expatriates have limited interaction with the Chinese is a result of their lifestyle of frequent mobility. In particular, it is true for the group who move every two or three years. They also have superficial relationships with their circle of acquaintances because every time they depart they suffer greatly because of the attachment to each other. They have difficulties in building good relations beyond the family. As mentioned in the last chapter, the same problem also exists among thousands of expatriates in Bruxelles (Rivais 2007). Actually it is a general expatriate problem.

An aspect of different lifestyle is manifested in inviting friends to dinner. A dozen of French said that in Shanghai the Chinese receive friends in a different way from the French. Mr. Benzemann said, "We have known a couple of Chinese friends for more than 18 years. Over our 18 years in Shanghai, they have only invited us to their home for dinner once! You may say they have a smaller house, but now they have a bigger house, they still do not invite us. Usually they like going

to a restaurant.” A few other French mentioned the same thing, as did a friend in Hong Kong. She told me that she felt frustrated trying to make Chinese friends because the French custom is to invite friends to the house for dinner as they think home is the welcoming place to receive guests. The Hongkongese usually invite friends to have dinner in restaurants.

However, regarding the way of inviting friends to dinner, the Chinese do not understand the French gesture and the French do not understand the Chinese gesture. For Western Europeans, inviting someone to the home for dinner is a sign of “intimacy” or at least a desire to demonstrate authentic appreciation of the guests whom you are inviting into the intimacy of your house. Inviting people out to eat in restaurant shows you want to express appreciation but not so much of intimacy that you want to draw a line in regard to how close you want to be. Moreover, it is also a display of wealth that the Chinese want to express. That is one of the reasons why Chinese dinners are also expressed by the amount of different courses served. They also usually order more than they can eat just to show their hospitality and the wealth. An invitation out is a way of demonstrating not only your own social & economic status but also that you are accepting your friends as having the same socio-economic status. As for Chinese in other parts inviting friends to dinner in their home, one reason is that their friendships are so long and deep that they do not have to “show off.” In addition, for Chinese, meal at home is intimate and reserved for close friends.

Appreciating art is another aspect of the boundary. According to Seb who worked in a Chinese gallery, he did not often see Chinese at the openings of gallery exhibitions. Since he frequents openings he concludes that the absence of Chinese viewers is an indication that they do not care about art. The French are proud of

France because it is a country famous for its many schools of fine art. They particularly take pride in the Louvre where world famous arts pieces are concentrated. Many of the French expatriates interviewed mentioned that they often visit museums and galleries when friends come from France, showing their appreciation of art. The frequency that the French visit galleries and museums varies according to individuals, but there are also many French who seldom go or not at all. Most of the French interviewed visit the galleries once a month. Francis said he visited the openings and museums more often than in France because the entrance fee of museums in France was expensive. Another French man sometimes visited galleries as many as two or three times a week, which was exceptional. Some informants say that they do not attend because the arts in Shanghai cannot be considered *haute culture*, that is, of high quality. In addition, they claim they do not visit the museums because the exhibitions are always the same. In France, I was told, the display changes frequently and in Paris there is an exhibition opening every day.

A group of doctors who came to visit Shanghai in November of 2006 said most of them visit museums and galleries about two or three times a year. Bourdieu (1990:273) writes that, in France not everybody frequents art museums or galleries although many French are proud of France as a center of the arts. Art appreciation is also a symbol of social class. Therefore the frequency of going to art exhibition varies by class. The same can be said of the Chinese. The above examples indicate the difference in attending and visiting arts exhibition among the French expatriates. Nevertheless some French still use art to distinguish themselves from Chinese.

During the process of cultural globalization, people often employ the discourse of culture and difference. Being creative, appreciating art or high culture, different lifestyles and difficulty in doing business with the Chinese, were the points French

reiterated to verify that the two peoples were “different”. These aspects have actually become symbolic and cultural boundaries between the French and Chinese. One only realizes his or her cultural differences from social interactions and “ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked difference in behavior” (Barth 1969: 15). Difference and identity are actually often linked together. In the famous chapter of *Logic*, Hegel talks on how to cope with some troublesome categories like those of Identity and Difference (Hegel 1969, cited in Jameson 1998: 75-76). They are an inseparable Opposition, but always have to be linked together. “You begin with Identity, only to find that it is always defined in terms of its Difference with something else; you turn to Difference and find out that any thoughts about that involve thoughts about the ‘identity’ of this particular category” (Jameson 1998: 75-76). But these two categories actually “are not in opposition, but rather, in some other sense, one and the same as each other” (ibid: 76). From her study on the comparison of French and American upper middle class, Michele Lamont (1995) argues that identity is intangibly linked to notions of morality, culture, socioeconomic status, race, and nation. From the social interactions between French and other nationalities we see notions of culture and socio-economic status are also used as national identity boundaries. The limited social interactions between the French and the Chinese also tell that in the process of intercultural interactions, cultural analysis is still grounded at national level, to a large extent. Their limited interaction expresses that different nationalities, as culturally distinctive groups, may be pronounced. In the semicolonial period, there was sheer exclusion, discussed earlier, from the foreigners and the Chinese in Shanghai (Bickers 1999: 87).

Additionally, one's intercultural interaction is related to other factors such as international experience, his or her cultural background, etc. In his studies on expatriates in India, Waxin (2004) finds that personal motivation, cultural distance, international experiences, the capacity for openness, the length of time spent in India, and intercultural training all have different effects on the adjustment of expatriates (see Table 7.2). For example, "cultural distance"—that is, behavioral anomalies seem to have a direct link to the interaction adjustment. That is to say, if the two cultures are more widely different, there will be fewer interactions. Or in other words, culture of origin is influential to one's intercultural interaction. Waxin (2004: 74) explains that it is because "perception and apprehension of time and its consequences are culture bound." That explains why the French report that the Chinese with whom they are friends or go out with are those who have lived abroad for a period of time or who have married French. They stress that because of different cultural values, it is not easy to communicate with Chinese who have never been abroad as these Chinese may not be familiar with French culture. Waxin also said length of time did not have positive effect on all the expatriates in his sample. Summary of the results: the significant antecedents of interaction adjustment in the different samples. In the table, the column of "Global" means the sample without considering culture of origin:

Antecedents/samples	Global	France	Germany	Scandinavia	Korea
Supervisory social support	+	+	-	-	+
Co workers social support	-	-	+	-	+
Organizational dissimilarity	-	-	-	+	-
Intercultural training	+	+	+	-	-
International experience	-	-	-	-	+
Willingness to communicate	+	-	+	+	+
Social orientation	+	+	-	+	-
Openness capacity	+	+	+	+	+
Stress resistance	-	+	-	-	+
Partner social support	+	+	+	+	-
Time spent in India	-	+	-	-	-

Table 7.2 The culture of origin has a direct effect on expatriates' interaction adjustment and a moderating effect on its antecedents). +: Positive significant effect on interaction adjustment. -: No effect. Source: Waxin (2004: 73).

What I find on the French in Shanghai is slightly different from Waxin's findings on the French in India. Seen from the table above, in India, supervisory social support, intercultural training, social orientation, openness capacity, stress resistance, partner social support, and length of stay all contribute to the French cultural adjustment and interactions. In Shanghai, staying longer does not necessarily entail more interactions with the local. For instance, Alice and her husband have stayed in Shanghai for nine years, but they do not have more interactions with the local and other nationalities. Instead they become more aware that they are different. Intercultural training probably influence the French cultural interactions, but I do not have enough data to prove this as only Stéphane mentioned to me the company gave him cultural training on the Chinese and Chinese culture before coming to Shanghai. During his stay in China, he had much interaction with the Chinese. He also had great international experience as he had been to more than twenty countries. The center of the issue is his primary circle of network was

French if we do not talk about his Chinese girlfriend. Openness capacity can be a factor for the French in Shanghai. For example, Elodie did not like anything Chinese, nor food, nor music, or books. By that she did not show any openness towards Chinese culture. The partner social support plays a key role in Shanghai, which is mainly seen from French-Chinese couples. What Waxin did not discuss is the marital status. Many married French (not including mixed French/Chinese couples) with a family in Shanghai tend to have less interaction with the Chinese. However, I will argue age and life cycle status also play a substantial role in intercultural actions. Young single people are curious about the Other and more likely to interact with other cultures with the time in their control. Once people get married, they often fall into the cultural paces with the family without consciousness. For instance, we notice in Shanghai some young singles and married people who do not have family with them, tend to have similar degrees of interaction with the Chinese. Jean-Claude, an expatriate of 50 years of age commented on some young French:

You said he is international. I guess he must be young and he may have just been to two or three countries. That is why he tends to be more international. For me, I don't need to be like that. I am very French. I have worked in not less than seven countries. There is one thing to remember. After you have been to many other countries, you just want to go back as French. I have Chinese friends with whom I have been nice. I join them in some activities, but I go out more often with other Frenchmen. But Stéphane is sometimes like Chinese now. He has left France for too long and he has no significant link with France. He has been to more than 20 countries, and now he misses French things.

Along these boundary-constructing processes, there was a sign of strong identity and nationalism related to sports during the Football World Cup of 2006. I have already recounted my embarrassing experience of telling my boss that the French team did not play well. Two days later he replied "You are not nice to the French. You are dumb. I don't want to continue working with you." His strong reaction was completely unexpected. I explained to him that I meant some French players

seemed to be showing off instead of cooperating with other team members. Then he laughed, but still insisted I was not being nice to the French nation as a whole. Another time, in a crowded party in a restaurant bar, there were probably 100 young French watching the soccer match. Some Frenchmen were in blue jerseys with the numbers 14, 20 or 10. I talked to one who had the number of 14 on his shirt, "So you like Henry. Do you think France will win?" He replied, "Are you trying to provoke me?" These indicate how the sentiment of nationalism is manifested through football or sports in general and provides an effective way to express and defend nationalism among all nations. Hobsbawm (1990: 143) reasons it as:

What has made sports so uniquely effective a medium for inculcating national feelings, ... is the ease with which even the least political or public individuals can identify with the nation, as symbolized by young persons excelling at what practically every one wants to be good at, or at least all males, at one time in life.

Certainly the French are not the only nation that expresses nationalism via sports. The Chinese, Americans, and all other nations are fanatics about their sports heroes.

When one distinguishes "us" from "them", it implies a "restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest" (ibid). This is how we can understand how limited the interaction is between the French and other nationalities, particularly the Chinese. Social interactions construct French/Chinese categories, as Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1993: 371) write: "[C]ross-cultural interaction reminds members of various nations of the differences between one set of cultural views and another, and this seems to lead to a slight intensification of cultural traits, perhaps to protect and confirm these and so maintain identity."

Aside from these cultural and symbolic boundaries manifested through social interactions, the social economic characteristics of Shanghai make it easy for

foreigners to avoid social contacts with the Chinese. This is because global cities are centers of culture and economics, where other cultural products are not difficult to find. Thus one can just live his or her own cultural life. This can be said of Hong Kong, Singapore, and even Paris.

7.6 The Significance of National Cultural Identity and Cosmopolitan Culture

Having mentioned of interactions between the French and other nationalities, (including the Chinese), we must point out that during social interaction cultural identity is enhanced. What lies behind limited contact is the lack of a common language and the significance of national cultural identity.

According to my observations, at least half of the French expatriates I met in Shanghai do not really socialize with English speakers although most of them speak English. I have already recounted the café meeting hosted by an Italian Francophone, which was hardly a success. The language barrier is an important impediment to social interaction and the French are not the only ones who have this difficulty. The British, in fact, are considered to have even greater difficulty overcoming language barrier (see King *et al.* 1998: 105, O'Reilly 2000: 241). Many people have difficulties expressing themselves in a foreign language. It is extremely difficult to communicate when people do not speak the same language impeding profound interactions. While the ability to speak English is important for the French to achieve certain ends, the inability to speak it excludes many French from participating in cultural and social communication.

Apart from the language barrier, the consciousness of cultural difference is another hindrance to interaction with people of other cultures. Being aware of different cultural difference often leads to separate closed cultural groups. Many groups, such as the French, are said to be "*fermé*" (closed), although they are not alone. From the

case discussed in Chapter Six, we see that an English cultural circle and Francophone circle failed to mix.

When talking about the fact that many French are considered *fermé* (closed), a French woman who had stayed in Madrid for seven years recalled what she experienced in Spanish society in Shanghai:

The Spanish are worse. I tried to join the Spanish society with the intention of learning more about the culture, maintaining the language, and extending my network. They organize a monthly luncheon so I wrote to ask whether I could join them. I was told I could, but at the first lunch, one of the members said the society is only for the Spanish so I was not welcome. Later I found a Latin society and they were much nicer.

Language is not the reason that this French woman was rejected because she spoke Spanish well. Therefore we see that there were cultural elements at work as a requirement for being acceptable to. According to a German-Chinese who works in a French company in Shanghai, some of her French friends do not like to mix with non-French. In other terms, it is primordialism that counts. The increasing interactions due to transnationalism and globalization do seem to blur cultural boundaries, but they do not make all of us identical. Instead it sometimes reinforces the differences and thus strengthens national cultural identity.

This proves that Sklair's (2001) concept of transnational capitalist class is problematic. In his study of transnational professionals, Sklair argues that a transnational capitalist class is forming and consists of different groups, "executives and their local affiliates, globalizing bureaucrats and politicians, globalizing professionals, and merchants and media" (ibid: 17). The members of this group share similar lifestyles, particularly patterns of higher education and consumption of luxury goods and services. They tend to "project images of themselves as citizens of the world as well as of their places of birth" (ibid: 21). Thus this transnational capitalist class is defined by lifestyle and consumption. This definition is a good way to

express the rise of mobile professionals, but it is problematic because these different professionals actually are very different even within the same professions, where we see a great variation among individuals because of ethnicity, religion, and nationality, etc. Sklair includes national bureaucrats, who don't necessarily feel or identify themselves as global although they are involved in international work. This argument stresses homogenization but overlooks the differences among transnational business people. The transnational professionals are highly mobile and often exclude themselves from the local life. Furthermore, this transnational class identity cannot be achieved by sacrificing their ethnic identity.

Pierre (2004) argues, in his studies on international workers in *Alpha*, a large French multinational, that ethnic identity is essential and international employees find it very hard to sacrifice their national and ethnic identities and socialize in the context of a global culture. An international cultural environment has to be achieved by setting aside national identities, such as the language and network, etc. As discussed in the introduction, Ribeiro (1995: 340) found Italian and French managers often perceived each other in terms of their nationalities and that socialization between them was limited. In fact, Ribeiro found that Italians, French, and Germans tended to remain in their own closed groups. Thus, in commercial business settings, expatriates are likely to form their own separate groups according to the nationality.

As discussed in Chapters Four and Five, for many among the groups of young graduate, housewives, and expatriates, the inner circle of their network is basically confined to the French. The group of French who had a non-French partner, socialized more with non-French. For some young graduates, particularly those who can speak more than two languages well, their network is spread among

different nationalities. But their best friends were also French. Long-time residents have known many different nationalities but most of them have their own French group. In other words, they know plenty of people in Shanghai, but do not socialize so much with other nationalities. They keep to their French community rather than integrate into an international community even though the French community in Shanghai is very fragmented. The reasons for the French attitudes are multiple. One is the language barrier. Even though they can speak English, it is still easier to communicate in French. Then there are cultural differences that are often subtle and symbolic. When asked to talk about other nationalities, they often turn to cultural differences which are, in fact, manifested in social interactions. As Fredrik Barth (1969) writes, identity is relational; we see and build our different identities through the relations and interactions with others. That is to say, cultural differences and boundaries are perceived and maintained through social relations and interactions. Among the French interviewed, there are some who do feel more global than others and these are usually people who travel frequently. It included young people and expatriates of a certain age who have been sent to several countries. However, the inner circle of their networks is still basically French.

Globalization is a process that produces differences and reinforces the differences at the same time it fosters certain forms of homogeneity. It is an “untotalizable totality which intensifies binary relations between its parts—mostly nations, but also regions and groups, which, however, continue to articulate themselves on the model of ‘national identities’ (rather than in terms of social classes, for example)” (Jameson 1998: xii). Through her studies of Japanese art photography, Julia Adeney Thomas (2001: 145) also made the point that “the global is neither as systemic nor as homogenized as studies of other commodities might lead

us to believe.” As the world has not yet become homogenized, there always exists a culture that is taking a stronger position. Therefore, a cultural war of hegemony has not stopped, yet.

The ability to speak English plays an important role in indicating one’s status. It is no different among the French. The ability to speak English is required for French *expatriés* to be sent to Shanghai. In other words, the capacity of speaking English is an eminent condition to reach a higher social position. Additionally, speaking English has become a way for many French to distinguish themselves from those who only speak French. Wagner (1998) writes that being international has become another status marker among the French middle class in France. That is to say being international or global is also a marker for most of the French expatriates in Shanghai, who are part of the middle class.

“Language is often chosen as a group identifier where there exists a rival elite who speaks another language” (Barreto 1998:38-39). English becomes a cosmopolitan symbol for the French. As mentioned earlier in the thesis, in the 18th century, French and knowledge of French culture were cosmopolitan symbols for the English nobles. Today, the situation is reversed. Some French who speak English are critical of those who cannot, saying they are closed-minded and only insist on using French because of the obvious reason that they cannot speak English. “The French like to stay among themselves. They are closed. Some don’t speak English, such as Therese. She only goes out with French.” Linguistic differences are often translated into social ones (Barreto 1998:50). “In Pudong we are more open-minded. Unlike in Puxi, we speak English and Chinese. And we can have the first aid class in English.” A French woman said, “We decided to let our little son (adopted child of Asian origin) go to English school and at home we speak English with him. We have

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already got two lovely French kids. Now we want him to speak English.” In this sense, speaking English is taken as a measure of being open-minded or being cosmopolitan as elites will appropriate language as a marker of group identity in order to prevent the use of alternative symbols to identify their group—substitute symbols that could subsequently undermine their position (Weinstein 1983: 67, cited in Barreto 1998: 38). As Leach (1954: 289) suggested that “in situations where there is an open choice as to whether an individual, or a group of individuals should use one language rather than another, language must be regarded as a status symbol.” French speaking English and improving English in Shanghai confirm the high status of English as being cosmopolitan for certain groups rather than just national, local or provincial.

In regard with cosmopolitan culture, speaking English has become part of it. Previous chapters have discussed cosmopolitan culture from the French expatriates sojourning lifestyle. Therefore so far a French cosmopolitan culture is one that includes English speaking, appreciating Asian art crafts and arts from other cultures, adapting practical, non-decorative Chinese items (let’s put this into exotic category) into life environment, reading French literature, including those on China and other Asian countries, incorporating Asian cultural elements into couture, listening to French music, enjoying French food and eating from time to time Chinese food, and learning Mandarin.

7.8 French Influence on the Chinese

French influence on the Chinese can be seen on the Chinese love of French brands and French language. French brands are briefly discussed before. Here I will talk about the great interest of French language among some old Chinese. At Guang Ming senior high school of Shanghai, there are a small group of retired people

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(average age of 74) meet every other week at the school to speak French. It is the French corner (*le coin des Chinois Francophones* in French) (Roucoux 2006), created in 1985 by Gao Qian who earned his law degree from Aurore University in 1947. They have met at this French corner for more than 20 years. The reason is not to forget the language they speak and like.

The history of the people who meet at the French corner has to trace back to the 1940s and the semi-colonial period. In 1886, French concession council created municipal French-Chinese school, which existed until 1949. Some children of Chinese petite bourgeoisie also studied in the school before. The son of the famous gangster Du Yuesheng who did not speak a single French word but had a good relation with the French municipal officers also studied in that school. The school was one of the French efforts to make adaptation to the French administration and also to create future elites who could reconcile with them. After the school came *l'université Aurore* (Aurore University) created by French jesuites in 1903, where today Shanghai No.2 Medicine University and Jiaotong University are located. It had four departments of literature, philosophy, mathematics, natural science. The degree was recognized by both Chinese and French government. The influence of Aurore University can be found in some alumni associations.

Today because of the cooperation between Shanghai and France in various aspects, including arts, education, science, technology, and culture, French classes among Chinese universities are booming these years. Shanghai universities also have exchange programs with French universities. In Shanghai I met several Chinese students who had been in an exchange program in France and French exchange students in Shanghai. In Chapter 4, I mentioned there were about 3,000 French

students in Shanghai estimated by the Consulate. For a Chinese city, 3,000 French students is not a small number.

French Consulate has organized several master class of French culture in Shanghai area. The attendants are mainly universities teachers and some students who have already known some French culture.

Conclusion

Many French housewives and young people are learning Chinese in Shanghai or reading about the people and the culture. This is evidence that these French are sincerely interested in the host country, and display intellectual cosmopolitanism. Despite the fact that some French women are really making efforts to learn Chinese language, still, socio-cultural interaction remains limited, in part because of inhibitions, in part because of the difficulty of communication and in part because of cultural distance that keeps the two cultures separated. Difference in class and class cultures is another inhibition. Many young French mark and stress symbolic and cultural boundaries that exist between themselves and the Chinese. In addition gated residency and a series of foreign products make it less difficult for the French to live their own lives without mixing with the Chinese. The Chinese who socially interact with French are usually Western educated/experienced. A small proportion of French, basically the long-time residents adapt more to the local life in Shanghai and have more social contact with the Chinese.

In addition, we also see most of the French expatriates maintain their cultural boundaries in the social interaction with other nationalities. During the social interactions they often translate the invisible cultural difference into identity. In this sense, globalization has strengthened cultural identities. On the other hand, by often

turning to cultural difference and marking cultural and symbolic boundaries, the French expatriates are not being cosmopolitan.

So far, the French expatriates have shown cosmopolitan openness in arts appreciation, consuming some cultural products, learning Mandarin, speaking English, some entertainment activities such as watching movies. That, as a result created a French cosmopolitan culture although there is no cosmopolitan international community in Shanghai in spite of the cosmopolitan nature of the city. Other than that, French expatriates are not showing cosmopolitan aspect as they mainly see other French fellows in Shanghai, keep close links with friends and family in France, and also have up-to-date knowledge of France. At the same time, this is not different from the French and other Western colonizers during the period from 1840s to 1940s. This leads to the question that whether cosmopolitanism is really utopian ideology. I will discuss this in the conclusion.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This thesis has examined the social life and social interactions of the French community in a global city outside their home country. French expatriates came to Shanghai as a result of job opportunity, expansion of capitalism, bilateral political relations between France and China. This research gives an ethnography of the French social life in Shanghai through examining business, lifestyle, social interaction as well as personal, transnational and institutional networks. Most earlier studies on mobile business professionals focus more on adaptation, bi-national cultural interactions or the transnational connections with their homeland. The current global business environment is more complicated when more than two national groups are found in one place and transnational connections are just part of the total picture of globalization. This thesis describes to what degree these business people are becoming cosmopolitan or retreating to their own cultural niche while working and living in Shanghai.

This thesis is in fact a study of the cultural consequence of globalization. It studies expatriates or skilled transnational workers and provides an in-depth analysis of their local and global network. As a result of globalization, expatriates often move around the world for business. Transnational professionals are well educated, earn good salaries and are distinguished by their mobility across borders. Studies on these specialists in question can also help us to see the cultural consequence of globalization and transnationalism.

This research follows cultural imperialism in the new world-system by examining the French who see the world from their own point of view of universalism. The intensive globalization, expansion of capitalism, and the spread of various cultural products, in which Anglo-American culture is eminent, have brought

about the argument that there is a great influence from Anglo-American culture on other business professionals, and even that the world has become homogenous, Westernized, or Americanized. The gap I identified in Chapter Two in regards with earlier studies on globalization and cultural imperialism were their failure to discern the heterogeneity among the West by using a broad Westernization discourse, and thus the failure to include a French cultural imperialism in the analysis of cultural imperialism. I argue there is still a cultural hegemony in the current global era while we also see the pluralism of culture. In the introduction I proposed that French expatriates working in Shanghai continue to demonstrate that they are, first and foremost, French. In this concluding chapter, I argue that French expatriates have demonstrated cosmopolitanism in aesthetic and intellectual aspects, and non cosmopolitan in terms of networks. Nevertheless Anglo-American culture has undoubtedly been part of the cosmopolitan culture formed among the French expatriates in Shanghai as English is the operating language in French enterprises.

This thesis is also a contribution as a study of a foreign community in contemporary China. There have been some studies on foreign communities in pre-Mao China, However, there has not been any study on the foreign population in this era of globalization. The rapid growth of foreign populations and communities is a consequence of globalization, therefore examining a current French community can be helpful in understanding what is happening during the interaction between a foreign population and Chinese and the social life of the foreign population in China. In other words, this research contributes to the anthropological study of a foreign community in China and the French abroad by linking together cosmopolitanism, globalization, and transnationalism.

Globalization, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are interrelated. Globalization is a phenomenon in economics, politics, and culture across the globe as a whole. Modern technology makes it easy to travel across borders. Increasingly intensive globalization speeds up transnational flows. In other words, the intensity of globalization entails transnationalism. This is not to say transnationalism is a recent or new process, since when people started to migrate as part of the process of globalization, transnational activities already took place.

However, globalization and transnationalism do not necessarily lead to cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism has long been valued as an ideal, utopian, moral and humanitarian cultural perspective. It has to be fostered and cultivated. We have seen the French expatriates in Shanghai as typical transnational people: They speak two or even maybe three languages, have homes in China and France, and make a living through continuous regular contact across French and Chinese borders. They have shown aesthetic and intellectual cosmopolitanism and a closeness in terms of networks as they often translate cultural difference into identity. Thus cosmopolitanism rests on aesthetic and intellectual level, and impractical in terms of social interaction or social networks, or when engaging in multicultural experience. It is in this way, this cosmopolitanism is not so different from exoticism mentioned by Segalen (1978), discussed in Chapter 1: appreciating other cultures, but keeping a distance from them. This is not cosmopolitanism of the highest level: embracing the Other. Therefore, mobility and economic power do not necessarily lead to cosmopolitanism. Nevertheless, globalization and transnationalism generate and increase the spread of cultures and their products, globalization and transnationalism bring in multiculturalism and pluralism, and thus create a cosmopolitan society. When

multiculturalism and pluralism become a cultural tradition, cosmopolitanism is then likely to be fostered.

Below I shall provide further analyses and reflections on globalization, cosmopolitan culture, cosmopolitanism and cultural identity in relation to the historical and symbolic meanings of culture and cultural difference in global cities.

Globalization and Americanization

An argument of this study is that the French have their universalism to deal with the world. French government and the people celebrate their glories and their *haute culture*.

Chapter 3 has shown us the diversity of restaurants—Japanese, French, American, Korean, Thai, Spanish, so on and so forth in Shanghai although there are more American restaurants than French ones. In addition, French brands enjoy a great popularity among the Chinese. These have demonstrated part of the French business in Shanghai represents the image of French image of *haute culture*. Nevertheless, Anglo-American culture asserts a stronger influence in Shanghai as English has become the operational language among French enterprises and the French learn and improve their English rather than Chinese. In other words, French expatriates have to adopt English for their business and social life in Shanghai.

Globalization is multidimensional and interconnected. The fear of Westernization or Americanization is unnecessary. The spread of Anglo-American culture is only a fraction of the whole picture of global flows. The real picture is that globalization produces new reality of cultural complexity. Wilson (1998: 355) says that globalization generates new forms of “reflexivity, altered forms of citizenship, amplified *mélanges*, and ties to transnational culture, and thus provoking *an aesthetic*

of openness (original italic) toward otherness that is not just the chance for commodification, spectatorship, and colonization.”

Nonetheless, the strong American economic, political, military, and cultural influence around the world has made France and its people undergo a crisis of identity. In order not to lose too much, the French government organizes various activities to promote the radiance of French culture. For example, in Shanghai there is a French Week every year. In other words, French cultural products have also taken a share in the market, including Chinese market, with the effort of the French government. However, on the world stage, we have to be aware of the competition of national political, economic and cultural powers behind the phenomenon of the spread of cultural products. Compared to the French government, American government does not have to work so hard to promote American cultural products now. Therefore, as I argued in Chapter 2, the history of globalization is also a narrative of power.

Expatriates and Cosmopolitanism

This study shows that the French expatriates in Shanghai try to be cosmopolitan, but end up being as provincial in spite of the fact that they have shown some cosmopolitan traits just as the expatriates in Singapore (Thompson and Tambyah 1999). I view cosmopolitanism as multi-aspects instead of a single feature, and I consider globalization and expansion of capitalism can generate cosmopolitanism to a certain extent. French expatriates in Shanghai have demonstrated different facets of cosmopolitanism. To see whether a cultural group is cosmopolitan or not, we can examine their pop culture, entertainment activities, lifestyle, and network, etc.

A cosmopolitan is open to multicultural experience. Cosmopolitan characteristics involve mobility, travelling, tolerance of the Other, crossing the invisible borders and boundaries and unconditionally embracing otherness. In addition, a cosmopolitan is first a local. Here I will re-state my definition and understanding of cosmopolitan and cosmopolitanism. In Chapter 1 and 2, I argued that to be open to multiple cultural experience means accepting the existence of the Other, incorporating the difference into practice instead of translating the difference into identity. Additionally, this cosmopolitan openness also means crossing the invisible borders and boundaries and unconditionally embracing otherness. However, embracing otherness does not mean losing one's home culture and becoming Americanized or Japanized, etc. In other words, cosmopolitanism is not a euphemism for cultural homogenization. At the same time, being open to multicultural experience does not mean to detach oneself from one's own cultural sentiments. Thus cosmopolitan culture is a process open to multicultural experiences, not "overly" dependant on one's formative cultural affiliations, and cultural merging or a hybridity of cultures (also see Beck 2002).

Globalization has witnessed pluralism with the rapid spread of English language and American mass culture and that of other cultural products from the East to the West and other parts of the world. By accepting this American mass culture and switching to English other cultural groups seem to become cosmopolitan by opening to other culture while the world is becoming less plural and more homogenized. Thus it does not seem to be cosmopolitan. Examining how the French, a nation that still enjoys the memory of being able to impose its own culture on a large portion of the world, deals with current global Anglo-American forces, sheds light on the whole nature of territorial and/or cultural domination of globalization. In other words, globalization, as Beck (2002) argues, is a process of cosmopolitanization.

I have pointed out the complexity of globalization above. In terms of the cultural influence of globalization, what we see is a complex picture. It seems too simple to use black or white to point to the reality as there is merging and in between. Globalization has facilitated cosmopolitan traits although it does not necessarily lead to cosmopolitanism. In the introduction, I proposed that French expatriates working in Shanghai continue to demonstrate that they are, first and foremost, French. In this concluding chapter, I argue that despite maintaining many of the patterns of behavior they were enculturated with, the majority of the French expatriates adopt certain other cultural elements into their life. Thus globalization brings in changes to culture, and makes it possible to continue cultural traditions. Frequently my informants would comment on whether their behavior in Shanghai emulated or reflected French homeland culture or whether it was modified by the contact with and adaptation to Chinese culture, to a globalized culture or to the specific environment of Shanghai. It was obvious that there were elements of all of these plus influences from individual sources and conditions. In addition, there is a precondition, that is the French expatriates in Shanghai, as a group of the global expatriates, most of them are speaking two languages (French and English), having homes in two countries (China and France), continuously travelling between France and China. In other words, part of the French population in Shanghai already demonstrates mobility, which is a cosmopolitan characteristic. However, mobility is only a feature of cosmopolitanism, it is not the precondition. By displaying a cosmopolitan trait, the French are not necessarily cosmopolitan as cosmopolitanism has to involve multiple cultural experiences.

A Cosmopolitan Culture

As argued in the Introduction, this thesis examines whether the French expatriates are cosmopolitan and what we can see from this characteristic and from the culture forming among them. As mentioned above and throughout the thesis, many of the French residing in Shanghai—not only the more representative mature members of the society but even some of the young people – appear to demonstrate cosmopolitan traits. The cosmopolitan culture forming among the French refers to the cultural *mélange* that incorporates French ways of behavior, a mobile lifestyle, a mixture of home culture, host culture, and Asian cultures, interests in literature on other cultures, or interests in the aesthetic of exoticism and romanticism of distant culture, the usage of English in business, and English learning. This cosmopolitan culture is actually maximized in entertainment and arts. Again, I do not think most of the French expatriates are cosmopolitan although most of them demonstrate one or two cosmopolitan traits. These French, however, are all constrained and enabled by the cultural customs, economic, and political policies not only of the French state but of their experience in China. These cultural customs and policies are constantly exerting their influence in the lives of all the French in Shanghai, thereby rendering the process—whether intra cultural or intercultural—historically contingent.

Nonetheless, the cosmopolitan culture formed among the French expatriates tells us what a globalized cultural life is. It is a culture complexity characterized as consumption of foreign (such as Hollywood movies) and exotic cultural products, romanticism of the Other which is often referred to as distant, mobility, English learning and speaking in business or cross-cultural interaction, frequent travelling between France and China, non-stop communication between France and Shanghai, and other cultural behaviors rooted in one's home culture, which means following

French cultural behavior in this case. As Smith (1995: 23) says that all cultures and their imagery are historically specific, this cosmopolitan culture forming among French expatriates is rooted in the imagination of French history and specification (Catholic tradition, literature appreciation, and cultural lifestyle, etc.). Therefore a nostalgic past with French cultural traditions and nostalgic for exoticism, and modern and post modern features—technical, scientific discourse compose together a French cosmopolitan culture. Compared to the cosmopolitan culture in the colonialization period discussed by Field (1971: 368), benefited from the “vast networks of telecommunications, with great advances in sophisticated information technology” (Smith 1995: 17), and the highly circulative flows, the new one is more consumption oriented, more mobile, and thus more a mass culture rather than a high one.

On the other hand, Anglo-American lifestyle is an important part of this cosmopolitan culture as English is the main cross-cultural language and the language of business. We also see French luxury brands consumed among the Chinese and the French although it can be sometimes fake products. While seeing a diversity of world cuisine in Shanghai, we notice the top three are Japanese, American and French. Thus a globalized cultural life appeal to the power and prestige of the “great metropolitan power centers and cultures of the contemporary world, the new cultural empires of modernity” (ibid: 19). That is to say power politics and cultural hegemony are permeated into contemporary cosmopolitan culture. An ideal cosmopolitan culture or cosmopolitanism for post-modernism is thus not realistic. One thing I need to clarify here is I agree with Anthony Smith on many aspects of new cultural imperialism and the origins of culture as I quote him here, but I do not take a cosmopolitan culture as a unified universal culture as he does.

I believe the evidence supports that the original culture of different cultural groups is strengthened in the process of globalization. Cultural identity and history are important in influencing the action of mobile professionals and in processes of class-making and self-making among business people.

Globalization and Transnational Connections: Reinforcements of the Consciousness of Cultural Identity and Cosmopolitanism

A processual approach to globalization offers a promising angle to look at the changing picture of globalization, culture and cosmopolitanism. Viewing culture as a changing process through open-ended cultural interactions enables us to understand how different cultural groups come to view themselves as different from other cultural groups. Additionally, viewing culture as a changing process makes us aware of the dynamics of culture and more open to other cultural experiences and thanks to globalization and transnationalism. Cultures often absorb other cultural elements and make them their own, thus cultures are becoming hybrid by mixing different cultures together.

Interactions between different cultural groups can lead to cultural adaptation, cultural homogenization and heterogenization at the same time (Friedman 1994). From the French in Shanghai, we see more of the reinforcements of their French cultural identity. As I noted in the chapter on the interactions between French and non-French, more often than not, when talking about the Chinese, the French claim that they are different from the Chinese. This can happen to any national group during social and cultural interaction with other groups. Globalization draws these French into China, but offers them another chance to recognize their differences through interaction with the local population. This is to say even during the increasing intensive cultural globalization process, the discourse of culture and difference is often employed and articulated.

For the French residing in Shanghai, naturally, given the foreign environment in which they live, they are compelled to adapt to changes in Shanghai. For some groups of them, being separated from their culture of origin appears to strengthen their desire to remain as French as possible. The fact to bear in mind is that the French in Shanghai live a different life from those in France. They may keep many French habits but environment is a key element for shaping culture and the French in Shanghai lack a French environment. In Shanghai they come in contact with different things, different smells, different sights, and different people. Some of these are incorporated into the French life in Shanghai. Many people read about Chinese culture and literature but it is quite another thing to be in constant contact with Chinese culture. Those who only read about another culture tend to interpret and perceive of the foreign culture according to their own culture. The differences may seem less unique than they really are or, in contrast, may seem more different.

In this thesis we also discussed how French businessmen and the Chinese suppliers often do not understand each other. Who is right? Who is wrong? Both and no one, which is a way of saying that there is frequently a deep gap between cultures that is sometimes difficult to bridge. This may lead both parties to take refuge in their culture of origin and to reinforce their allegiance to their native culture. In other words, their French identity does not seem to be shaken.

Additionally, given modern transportation and modern technology, globalization makes transnational connections easy to construct and to maintain. Flows of commodities and information enable us to enjoy our home products while abroad, to keep up with what is happening back home and to catch the news of our friends and family who we left for somewhere else. Different groups of French residing in Shanghai more or less keep links with their family and friends back home.

The Internet makes it easy to read their preferred newspaper or to telephone inexpensively or make immediate Internet contact.

The variations of the transnational contacts due to different factors show that the French community in Shanghai is not homogenized but, instead, reflects the French population. Transnational exchanges among expatriate families are shaped considerably by the presence of children, where the next stop is and when it will be, and by the possibility of returning to France. The *expatrié* families that can foresee that their next stop may not have French schooling available may have to send their children to an English school. *Expatriés* are likely to have more transnational exchanges than those of the locally hired. In addition, given their high status and higher income, the *expatrié* group can more frequently consume French products and have more access to French cultural means. All this makes it possible to preserve their Frenchness.

Thus we see, in this case, French transnationalism does not involve the weakening of their French identity. French transnationalism occurs in a population of *expatriates* instead of *immigrants*. Almost all the expatriates anticipate returning to the country of origin for cultural reasons, personal comfort, and perhaps, for economic reasons. The latter, on the other hand, come from a population group of emigrants that seek a better life in the place to which they emigrate. Immigrants usually gain a preference and an attachment for the place that they emigrate to. However, they do not leave the social network they have established at their place of origin. Furthermore they utilise it as a capital for other interests, such as business. The French expatriates do not take China as "their country." They can be attached to China because they have lived here, but it is impossible to make them feel Chinese as most of them do not intend to spend all their life in China.

Foreign Community Study in China

China has attracted many multinational corporations and skilled foreign workers due to its cheap labor force. Shanghai, as the economic center of China, naturally attracts many multinational corporations. In other words, globalization brings many more foreign flows to Shanghai as more and more foreign factories are located or relocated in the Shanghai region. Consequently the development of domestic and international economy attracts many foreigners, including the French people and especially the young French to come to Shanghai.

The presence of numerous foreigners and foreign cultures creates a need for things they were familiar with before coming to Shanghai. As a result, a complete array of foreign consumer products is available in Shanghai. It is not difficult for the foreigners to live a Western life separate from the Chinese if they want.

Most of the French *expatriés* and their families live in compounds walled with guards at the gate, in other words, "gated communities". Closed compounds in Shanghai are generally in newly developed areas such as Hongqiao and Pudong where most French *expatriés* reside. Gated residency inhibits social interactions between the French and the Chinese, except those that also live in the gated community. Because of rapid economic development, the "gated residence" has become more popular in Shanghai. In many of China's large cities and in Beijing there are gated communities embracing populations with a heavy concentration of foreign nationals who are predominantly from a single country such as Korea and Japan.

Nevertheless, as I have already shown, the gated community is nothing new, not even a product of globalization. Up to now, in China there have been *danwei* residential buildings, and some villages of a single surname which are similar to

gated communities. No matter in what period, these gated communities all share something, the prevention of intrusion by “others”.

By examining the French expatriates’ social life and their multi-cultural interaction in Shanghai, this thesis reveals the social cultural life of a foreign community, in other words, their lifestyle in today’s Shanghai, or China writ large. In addition, by studying foreign presence in Shanghai, this study demonstrates the dialectic of cultural interaction between foreigners and the Chinese and their cultural influence on the Chinese.

The findings show the French *expatriés* live a French life to a large extent in Shanghai. They watch French TV5, read French media on the Internet, socialize more with other fellow French, have some superficial interaction with other nationalities, and organize French cultural activities among themselves. Bars and restaurants are highly valued by young groups and many business professionals. These are places that allow them to meet each other informally, with introductions generally resulting from “friend of friend” and workplace interaction. The bars favored by the French seem to be those under French management and/or ownership. As we have already written earlier, globalization has brought to Shanghai, foreign restaurants, bars shops and products, etc, providing the foreign residents with another connection to their familiar cultural environment.

In terms of the influence foreign communities have on Chinese, the presence of large number of foreign restaurants such as French, Japanese and American, world luxury brands, the increasing number of multinational corporations, etc. have all made its mark on Chinese life. This is different from that in the 19th and early 20th century when major Chinese port cities were forced to open to Western powers. The foreign presence at that time was not accepted; it was considered as foreign

intrusion under unequal treaties (Murphey 1977: 228). The Chinese also resisted Western technology, methods, and ideas in spite of the popularity of foreign cuisine among the Chinese in Shanghai.

Culture Consumption and Cosmopolitanism

When re-examining the cosmopolitanism formed among French expatriates, we can see a link to the consumption of cultural products such as Asian antiques, art crafts, Chinese materials which are not used for decoration, cultural elements of Asian ethnicities in couture which is a universal trend. Plus watching Asian movies, they are all exotic cultural products for the French. However, we also note in personal network and during cultural interactions the French are not displaying a cosmopolitan openness.

The research is finished, but a question arises from this thesis. We have seen a complicated picture the French expatriates present in Shanghai. They are pre-selected and are willing to go abroad, as opposed to the provincial types who stay home. Most of the French interviewed continue close relations with home and friends in France and mostly meeting with other French people. In Shanghai their English improves; some of them are learning new ways of understanding the world (Chinese and Anglo ideas) by devoting substantial effort to learn Chinese language and read books about Chinese culture. In their houses we see different paintings from Chinese painters, Chinese cloth or some other materials which are not used for decoration, and other Asian furniture. The women entrepreneurs design clothes with Asian elements. In addition, many of them watch Asian movies. In other words, we see the influence of English among the French expatriates, a cosmopolitan culture with melange of different cultures, cosmopolitan aspects in arts and provincial aspect in their network. Thus we can have a cosmopolitan culture based on commodities, including cultural

commodity consumption, but it is unlikely to be cosmopolitan in terms of world view and engaging in multicultural experience. Is it because art has no boundaries that we can all share and embrace the beauty from different cultures? Or is cosmopolitanism really utopian that we cannot see it in practice? We will need to see what the increasing intense globalization can bring us. This will be for the future research to find out.

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Appendix 1 Profiles of the interviewees (all names are pseudonyms)

1. Alice, 43 years of age, *expatrié* wife, 2.5 years in Shanghai, two children going to French school.
2. Amanda, in her forties, 14 years in Shanghai, having her own company, speaking good Chinese, husband Chinese, 2 children going to English school.
3. Andrea, in late thirties, Philippe's wife, 5 kids, 5 years in Shanghai, lived in the US for a year before coming to Shanghai.
4. Anne, 45 years old, husband is *expatrié* working in an American company, 2 years in Shanghai.
5. Antoine, 28 years old, French Chinese, VIE, single, 1 year in Shanghai.
6. Beatrice, 38 years, wife of Nico, 4 children, 9 years in Shanghai, speaking good English and little Chinese.
7. Bernard, 53 years old, 4 years in Shanghai, *expatrié*, representative in China of a French corporation.
8. Bruno, 64 years old, divorced, 2 years in Shanghai, teaching French privately, speaking French, very little English, and a few phrases of Chinese.
9. Camille, 45 years of age, *expatrié* wife, 2 years in Shanghai, two children going to French school.
10. Catherine, 28 years old, single, 1 year in Shanghai, studied botany in France, working in a French company.
11. Chris, 38 years old, married, global commuter, started a company with another Frenchman in Shanghai, existed for 3 years.
12. Christéle, about 38 years old, 2 years in Shanghai, husband is *expatrié*.
13. Christéle's husband, 42 years old, 2 years in Shanghai, *expatrié*, working in a French company.
14. Christian, 35 years old, 5 years in Shanghai, having his own company, wife Chinese.
15. Christophe, 40 years old, a DJ in a French bar, 3 years in Shanghai.
16. Claire, 33 years old, 9 months in Shanghai. 3 kids, pregnant.
17. Claude, 35 years old, 2 years in Shanghai, artist, speaking French, English and Spanish.
18. Cloé, about 28 years old, 2 years in Shanghai, studied business before, also speaking some Chinese.
19. Coral, 36 years old, 3 years in Shanghai, *expatrié* wife, worked part-time, speak French, English, and some Chinese, having a baby.
20. Daniel, 27 years old, single, 2 years in Shanghai, working in a French company, VIE, speaking French, English and good Chinese.
21. David, 31 years old, single, 2 years in Shanghai, IT manager of a French company, speaking French, English and good Chinese.
22. Denis, 34 years old, married, teaching French in Shanghai, speaking French and English, 3 years in Shanghai.
23. Eddy, 30 years old, single, 3 years in Shanghai, manager of a French shop.
24. Elodie, in late thirties, 5 years in Shanghai, 3 children going to French school, architect before, husband works in a French company.
25. Elodie C, 27 years old, single, 2 years in Shanghai, started a company with Gorge, speaking French and English, does not like anything Chinese.
26. Emile, 27 years old, single, 2 years in Shanghai, studied Asian culture and politics before, working in a French company.
27. Emmanuel, 35 years old, single, 3 years in Shanghai, a section manager of a French company.

28. Etienne, 34 years old, 5 years in Shanghai, husband is Chinese (Shanghainese), 3 kids.
29. Etienne, 27 years, Creative Director in an events organizing company. 2 years in Shanghai.
30. Fabian D. 32 years old, working in a French company, 1 year in Shanghai.
31. Francis, 37 years of age, single, *expatrié*, a department manager, working in a French company, 1 year in Shanghai.
32. François, Claire's husband, 34 years, *expatrié*. working in a French company, 9 months in Shanghai.
33. Françoise, 42 years old, married, *expatriée*, working in a French company, 5 years in Shanghai.
34. Fredric, 35 years old, single, a lawyer, speaking French, English, and good Chinese, 4 years in Shanghai.
35. Gabriel M., retired, French priest, arrived in October 2008.
36. Gael, 28 years old, single, 2 years in Shanghai, working in a service company.
37. Gorge, 27 years old, single, started a trading company with Elodie C, 2 years in Shanghai.
38. Henri, 28 years old, *expatrié*, Chinese French, working in a French company, a division manager, 1 year in Shanghai.
39. Goldmann, 65 years, married, retired, 18 years in China.
40. Jacque B, 37 years old, single, working in a French company, 2 years in Shanghai, speaking French, English and good Chinese.
41. Jean, in his forties, 14 yrs in Shanghai, executive director of a French company, wife is Chinese, with 2 children.
42. Jean-Claude, 52 years old, married, *expatrié*, working in a Swiss company, 2 years in Shanghai.
43. Jean-Charles D, 50 years old, artist, 2 years in Shanghai.
44. Jean-Yves, 45 years old, a graph designer and teacher, 4 years in Shanghai
45. Jolie, 25 years old, working in a Belgian company, 4 years in Shanghai.
46. Laurent, 50 years old, *expatrié*, working in a French company, 2 years in Shanghai.
47. Lola, 50 years old, artist, teaching in Shanghai, Spanish French, 3 years in Shanghai.
48. Luc, 38 years old, 5 years in Shanghai, having his own company, wife is Chinese, 2 children.
49. Luis, married, 63 years old, working for a Swiss company, 9 months in Shanghai.
50. Marie, 32 years old, 2 and half years in Shanghai, 3 children.
51. Matieu, 29 year old, 2 years in Shanghai, teaching in Shanghai, having a baby with his French girlfriend.
52. Matt, 28 years, manager of a French restaurant, has a son (about a year old), girlfriend is British, 5 years in Shanghai.
53. Michael, 44 years of age, married, 3 years in Shanghai, *expatrié*, working in a French company.
54. Nic, about 29 years old, working in a French company, *expatrié*. 1 year in Shanghai.
55. Nico, 45 years of age, married, *expatrié*, Manager of a French company of clothes, 9 years in Shanghai.
56. Olivier, 44 years old, married, 2 years in Shanghai, *expatrié*, working in a French company.
57. Pascale, 45 years old, married, 2.5 years in Shanghai, *expatrié*, working in a French company.

58. Paul, 44 years old, married, 1 year in Shanghai, started his own company of plastics.
59. Penny, 35 years old, married, 2 years in Shanghai, French Chinese, husband is *expatrié*, 2 children going to French school.
60. Philippe, in early forties, married, *expatrié*, 5 years