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THE FRENCH IN LONDON

ON-LAND AND ON-LINE:

AN ETHNOSEMIOTIC ANALYSIS

by

Saskia V. S. Huc-Hepher

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
University of Westminster's requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis challenges traditional international migration studies which focus on macro-level drivers or the end-point of the migration trajectory, and instead investigates the subtle forces within the “third-space” (Ingram & Abrahams, 2016:140, citing Bhabha, 1994), which here encompasses both the physical and virtual transnational environments inhabited by the French community in London. By combining innovative digital methods with ethnographically oriented data collection techniques, such as immersion, in-depth interviews and focus groups, the thesis reveals the inherently “messy” sociocultural complexities of being an EU migrant in London at the beginning of the 21st century.

Taking Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus (1972 [2000]; 1994; 1996; 2005) as its principal theoretical underpinning and drawing on his ethnographic and sociological works, the study scrutinises the narratives of a diverse group of French Londoners between 2010 and 2015. The overarching research question posed is how, holistically, participants experience France-London mobility, and spans three main areas: 1) France, or the originary social field; 2) the London home/habitus; and 3) the on-line French “diasberspace”. Beginning with the first of these, the thesis seeks to ascertain, through Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic violence (1993; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), which social forces lie hidden beneath the veneer of reasoned migration decision-making and serve as tacit, yet potent, mobility drivers.

Secondly, based on the hypothesis that habitus overlaps with the definition of “home” in English, the thesis asks how home is (re)constructed by the London-French research participants within the diasporic field. By sub-dividing the conception into its component parts of habitat (spatial mapping and material culture), habits (quotidian practices) and habituation (unsuspecting attitudinal change), questions pertaining to how, where and the extent to which participants identify with London as “home”, or conversely remain embedded in the “homeland”, are addressed. In addition, the thesis investigates the reasons behind the privileged position occupied by the French community in the London social space. It therefore draws connections between past and present forms and functionalities of symbolic/cultural capital (Bourdieu, (1979a, 1980b), together with linguistic capital/habitus (Bourdieu, 1982 [2001]), examining the differing symbolic value of embodied and articulated language in France and London.

Finally, recognising that migration today involves less acute separation from the homeland than in previous generations due to the virtual proximity afforded by the Internet, this third part of the thesis assesses how home, belonging, identity, positioning and symbolic

violence are depicted in the on-line “diasberspace”. In order to provide a stable analytical platform conducive to iterative consultation, the author has curated a Special Collection of community Web resources in the UK Web Archive, laying the foundations for a theory of selective thematic Web archiving. An innovative “ethnosemiotic” paradigm, combining Bourdieu’s ethnographic principles and the multimodal social semiotic approach advocated by Gunther Kress (2010), is thus given practical application. Furthermore, the ensuing fine-grained reading of the London-French digital objects serves as a convincing on-line/on-land triangulation mechanism for the doctoral research project as a whole, and contributes to the rich, multi-layered analysis of London’s contemporary French population.

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

*Dedicated to the memory of Sinead Wall,
colleague, friend and inspiration*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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THESIS AS PROCESS: AIMS, AUDIENCE AND ORIGINALITY

At the outset, the purpose of this doctoral project was to investigate the French presence in London on the basis of first-hand evidence obtained from interviews, immersion in the community and familial observation. The immersive process itself, however, coupled with coincidental exposure to the work of the UK Web Archive team at the British Library, highlighted the additional need to address the community's on-line presence. In an age where individuals spend increasing amounts of time in the intangible space of the Internet (Miller, 2012), which challenges their very mobility and residency in a singular time-space (Ingram & Abrahams, 2016; Sprio, 2013), recognition of the centrality of the on-line experience caused the initial project to develop from its ethnographic origins into an ethnosemiotic undertaking. Thus, through an organic process of epistemological evolution (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:199), my research focus has travelled from the material world to the on-line environments of the London French and, accordingly, from the ethnographic to the multimodal social semiotic.

This processual transformation arguably mirrors the mobility and experiential evolution undergone by the London-French migrants constituting my research object. Moreover, in the same way that their act of migration challenges and "interrupts" their habitus (Ingram & Abrahams, 2016:148), so the lengthy process of researching and writing this thesis has transformed not only my scholarly activity but my own habitus. As I have moved from the standard empirical framework of interview-based research to the practice-based investigative process of curating the London French Special Collection (LFSC) in the UK Web Archive, my academic outlook and positioning has evolved (Ingram & Abrahams, 2016), my habitus subtly transformed. Likewise, the propensity of the "nationally and culturally bounded" (Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016:88) originary habitus of my research participants to undergo change due to their immersion in an unfamiliar migratory field and the processes at play when such changes occur constitute one of the central themes of this thesis. Acting as a unifying theoretical thread throughout the research process and the thesis as product, therefore, is the notion of habitus itself. Whether in order to understand the underlying migration motivations of my research participants in the context of the originary field, to gain insights into their lived experience – on-land and on-line – in the migratory field, to shed light on the cultural dynamics operating in and between both French and London spaces, or as a mechanism for theorising the process of Web curation, *habitus*, itself intertwined with concepts of home, identity and culture, has proven a highly apposite theoretical tool.

In processual terms, conducting the field, desk and Web research for this project and

analysing the rich data collected has enabled an interdisciplinary understanding of the London-French migratory experience. The aims of this study are consequently multiple, as is its target audience. Yet habitus remains a singular, unifying concept. Firstly, my research is designed to reveal how London-French migrants negotiate their transnational mobility through the prism of habitus, beginning at the beginning of their own trajectories, that is, with an examination of migration “push” factors in the, often overlooked, homeland (Kelly & Lusia, 2006). Secondly, it aims to assess how their current habitus is (re)configured in the migration setting and how cultural forces influence it. Thirdly, it is designed to test the hypothesis that curating a “micro archive” (Brügger, 2005:10) of London-French Web objects provides a rich and valid set of digital resources offering more nuanced insights into the community. Finally, it intends to demonstrate the dynamics of on-land and on-line life (Miller, 2012), with the dispositions and practices of the former reflected in the latter, and vice-versa, thereby transcending artificial on-land/on-line distinctions and confirming the relational constructs running through both Bourdieusian (1994) and Kressian thought (2010).

The multiplicity of my research objectives in turn increases the diversity of its scholarly audiences, being of potential interest to academics in the fields of Cultural, Migration and French Studies, to ethnographers and semioticians, as well as to specialists in the Digital Humanities and Web archivists. Whilst this interdisciplinarity could be perceived to dilute the specialist reach of the study, I would argue that, on the contrary, it is that which increases the scope of its impact and constitutes its relevance at a time when multidisciplinary research is institutionally encouraged, if not universally favoured. Indeed, it could be argued that it is precisely the cross-disciplinary nature of my research that represents its fundamental originality. However, that would be to underplay its empirical, theoretical and methodological innovation. The empirical value of the research lies principally in the originality of the research object itself. In both mediated and academic discourses, migration from relatively affluent EU-member States, such as France, Germany and Italy, is eclipsed by concerns over less “welcome” migratory flows (Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016). As a result, French migrants have tended to escape scholarly attention, particularly those who do not fall into the “highly-skilled” migration bracket. This doctoral research therefore fills a gap in terms of its empirical focus in addition to its methodology, for none of the few studies which examine the contemporary French presence (discussed in Chapter 1) takes a predominantly ethnographic approach, nor do they combine on-land with on-line data analysis. Similarly, integrating the practice of Web curation at the core of the ethnographic undertaking represents an innovative and unique methodological feature of this

study, offering a new route into understanding the cultural dynamics of the London-French migratory experience. Web archiving remains distinctly under-theorised (O'Hara & Hall, 2012), so by constructing an ethnosemiotic rationale for selective themed Web archiving, my thesis offers the field a novel methodological and conceptual framework on which to build. Therefore, in the same way that the conceptual deconstruction of Bourdieu's habitus theory, together with its application to the field of migration and its combination with social semiotics, makes a valuable contribution to the sociological canon, so the epistemological impact of the Web-archival component of my research is considerable.

THESIS AS PRODUCT: STRUCTURE AND IMPACT

The following thesis is structured in a manner which echoes both the methodological route described above, taking the reader on a journey from the on-land data analysis to the on-line, and the geographical mobility of the migrant community under scrutiny, commencing with their pre-migration habitus/field experiences and ending with digitised representations of their encounters with, and interactions within, the migratory space. Prior to that substantive content of the thesis, Chapter 1 provides a critical overview of relevant literature, moving from (the few) studies which focus exclusively on the French population in the UK, to publications on (digital) ethnography more generally, concluding with a review of studies which adopt an ethnosemiotic paradigm. Along the way, it addresses works on the concepts and applications of Bourdieusian and Kressian theory constitutive of the ethnosemiotic underpinning of the thesis. Subsequently, Chapter 2 embraces Bourdieu's call for a "reflexive anthropology" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2004; Deer, 2012). It therefore details the methods deployed over the course my research and considers their ethical implications.

According to Burke (2016:8), field and capital are often overlooked in contemporary Bourdieusian research, with habitus being considered in isolation. This is at odds with Bourdieu's three-stage field analysis paradigm (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992; Grenfell, 2012), as well as with his repeated underscoring of the dynamic nature of lived experience, realities necessarily fashioned by the interplay between external/objective field/social structures and internal(ised)/subjective habitus. Thus, in Chapter 3, attention is placed on the educational, professional and social fields of origin, in search of the push factors, conceptualised as acts of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1993; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Landry, 2006; Schubert, 2012) which implicitly underlie a number of mobility decisions. The ethnographic aspirations of this thesis necessarily foreground habitus, as established above, and individual, subjective voices and opinions; consequently, in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the

migration experience at habitus level is the focus, where Bourdieu's original construct is subdivided into its component parts of habitat, habituation and habits. The deconstruction of the concept serves to facilitate the analysis, but does not intend to cast doubt over their inherent interrelatedness, as articulated repeatedly in Bourdieu's œuvre, particularly in relation to habitus-field dynamics (e.g. Bourdieu, 1994; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

My commitment to apprehending habitus within the structural framework of the field is further demonstrated in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. A historic underpinning throws into relief contemporary symbolic meanings in Chapter 7, where the distinctiveness of French cultural capital in the migratory field is examined in the first half (7.1) and where, in the second half (7.2), challenges posed by clashes between the embodied (primarily linguistic) habitus and external(ising) field structures are considered as contributing factors to a distinguishing, even alienating, hysteresis effect (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]; Hardy, 2012) or cleft habitus (Bourdieu, 2004; Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016). From Chapter 8 onwards, the focus of the thesis shifts to *on-line* London-French capital, beginning with the construction of the LFSC as a legitimate methodological and analytical resource, and where an ethnosemiotic theory of selective Web archiving is established, again operationalising Bourdieu's theories of habitus and field. In Chapter 9, cultural and semiotic capital dynamics in the field of education are evoked, and symbolic violence re-emerges as a powerful social force, garnered empirically from the on-land and on-line data in the same way that it arises ontologically in individual migrants' lived experience. Finally, in Chapter 10, the thesis is taken full circle and expressly reassesses London-French habitus, this time in the context of on-line representations within the framework of two innovative Web-based case-studies. The first of these focuses on a single community blog, assessing the extent to which a multimodal reading can provide profound socio-cultural meanings pertaining to belonging, identity and community practices, on-line and on-land. The second takes a multi-archival, cross-temporal approach, in order to establish, again through granular multimodal analysis, whether saved versions of "identical" Web material are subject to change according to the archive and the point at which they are captured, and whether this comparative approach is a viable means of assessing habitus transformation over time.

The structural overview provided above defines the thesis as epistemological product. Yet, in view of its practice-based Web archival methods, it can also be defined in terms of its concomitant incarnation as ontological product; that is, as an on-line collection whose impact transcends that of the thesis alone. The Special Collection of London-French Web resources I curated as an integral component of the doctoral project not only serves as a stable analytical platform for the accomplishment of my ethnosemiotic research objectives,

but, more significantly, constitutes an open-access, multi-user, interactive display mechanism for the on-line representations of this minority community. The ontological impact of the Collection thus makes an unparalleled and lasting contribution to the French community, together with the wider on-line and academic communities, providing them with a rich record of an otherwise fragile and ephemeral digital presence, which in turn makes a valuable contribution to the digital history of the future. In the words of France's Deputy Consul General in London, Eric Bayer, "The indexing of London-French websites by an organisation such as the British Library is both a precious mine of information and a worldwide first".¹ Consequently, beyond its scope as a scholarly contribution to the multiple disciplines it traverses, the ultimate product of this process of doctoral research is the on-line corpus itself, offering varied end-users a unique perspective on an often "invisible" (Erel, 2010; Kelly, 2013; McDowell, 2009; Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016) minority community, who themselves represent one element of the overall socio-cultural make-up of 21st-century Britain. This is of renewed significance at a time when Britain finds itself on the threshold of one of the most fundamental changes to its constitution for generations, and, more importantly, one which risks altering the composition of its migrant populations definitively.²

1 Original: "Le référencement des sites français de Londres par un organisme tel que la British Library est à la fois une mine précieuse d'informations et une première dans le monde". Quoted from email correspondence with Huc-Hepher, dated 15 July 2015. NB: All translations throughout this thesis are from Huc-Hepher, a qualified translator, even when published versions of French works exist.

2 On June 23 2016, the British electorate voted in favour of leaving the European Union – by a small 3.8% majority of the 72.2% who voted. The implications of this result for the French community in London are profound and, as yet, not fully known. The fact that EU migrants – even those having resided in the UK for over 15 years – were denied a vote (*as were* those British citizens who had lived outside the UK in EU Member States for over 15 years) has led to a tangible sense of frustration on their part and, more significantly, to a change in their sense of belonging to the adopted "home", simultaneously throwing their identity into flux. Indeed, one of my research participants felt compelled to apply for British citizenship prior to the EU referendum purely in order to guarantee her a democratic voice. Shortly after the "Brexit" vote, another informant reported feeling, for the first time in her 25-year migratory experience, unwelcome in London, while another said he had recently been called a "foreign c**t" by a stranger in the street. A fourth stated that she no longer felt at ease speaking French in London's public spaces, while a final participant admitted she was seriously considering moving back to France. Evidently, these recent testimonies cast a shadow over the findings of this doctoral research, calling into question their relevance and continued validity in the new socio-political landscape. Nevertheless, the current unease experienced among the French in London does not, by the same token, erase their primary motivations for choosing London as their place of residency, nor does it undermine the sentiments of security and belonging they experienced prior to the EU referendum. Rather, it serves to underscore them, reminding the reader why London has been the choice of long-term abode for so many EU migrants hitherto, and validating the thesis further as a unique

PROBLEMATISING TERMINOLOGY: A LEXICAL PREAMBLE

Before proceeding to the body of the thesis as a scholarly product, as set out above, it is important to mention briefly several terminological choices, themselves indicative of the precise concepts they represent. The terms include, but are not restricted to, the following fundamental lexical and conceptual items: migrant; community; Francophone; “host”/receiving society; on-line/on-land; and curation.

- **Migrant**

This term has been favoured over alternatives, such as “immigrant”, “emigrant” or “expatriates” for three principal reasons. Firstly, each alternative carries with it connotations which were not intended here. For instance, as several of my research participants maintain, and as emphasised through widespread mediated discourses, the terms “immigrant” and “immigration” are today indelibly linked to conceptions of immigrant populations as “Other” and often representative of a negative threat, neither of which tally with the French presence. Moreover, “immigration” is often conceptualised in quantitative terms, as in the case of government targets or “net” figures, which diverts attention from my qualitative focus and places it on the movement of people as an abstract phenomenon, rather than apprehending them as individuals with singular life trajectories and outlooks (Mazzara, 2015). Secondly, the majority of my research participants did not self-identify with any of the above terms: “expatriate” was thought to embody the stereotypical South Kensington elite, or the Inter-Corporate Transferee (ICTs) (Koser, 2007:18), to which their socio-professional profiles did not correspond, whereas the term “immigrant” was associated with large movements of people, forced into exile through poverty or large-scale persecution. Again, not typical of the French case in London.³ Thirdly, the terms “migration” and “migrant”, in their foregrounding of the mobility *per se*, as opposed to the temporal and geographical fixedness of “emigration” and “immigration”, are the lexical items favoured in contemporary scholarly discourse. Therefore, serving to situate this thesis in its academic context and to respect, to a certain extent,⁴ the “self-sense” (Christou, 2002) of the research participants themselves,

record of the here-and-now of a particular community at a time when its future was not in the precarious position in which it finds itself today.

3 Although there are two unexpected exceptions to the lack of self-identification with the term “immigrant”, as shall be discussed later in the thesis.

4 It is worth noting that the terms “migrant” and “migration” were nonetheless rejected by a number of respondents, most of whom related more readily to the terms “European” or “Londoner”. Similarly, some experts working with dedicated NGOs reject the term

“migrant” and “migration” are the terms favoured throughout the thesis.

- **Community**

The second problematic term during my research has been “community”. It is a term used widely in ethnography and elsewhere to refer to a defined group of people, or sub-culture, united through commonalities of place, heritage, ethnicity, practice, etc. Additionally, “community” is a concept-term applied frequently to the “webs of personal relationships” (Kozinets, 2010:9, citing Rheingold, 1993:3) found on the Internet. Yet, as my research has uncovered, it is a concept with which very few participants self-identify. Similar to “immigrants”, the “community” is often said to represent “other people”, usually associated with the South Kensington post-code, rather than the London French more generally. Indeed, this population is so diverse in its composition that reducing it to the absolute terms of a single community does such complexity an injustice. The term “community” therefore has top-down connotations, deployed in institutional, political and, again, in mediated discourses as a convenient categorisation mechanism, irrespective of any genuine allegiances or collective identity on the ground. Furthermore, in the case of the French, the term “community” carries the negative weight of “communitarianism” (Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013), which contradicts the national citizenship and Republican “fraternité” to which all self-professed members of French society should aspire. Despite these manifold caveats, and with mindful reticence, the term “community” is nevertheless employed throughout this thesis, for, as shall be argued, it is indeed through their group practices and shared cultural heritage that the French “community” in London finds its applicability as a collective framing device.

- **Francophone**

The diversity of the French “community” in London, mentioned above, leads onto the term “Francophone”. In its most literal form, this term should be unproblematic, the two morphemes referring simply to French (Franco) speakers (phone). However, as Kelly (2005) contends, the underlying meanings of the term go far deeper, recalling France’s colonial past and, in a fittingly reductionist manner, encompassing any individual living in France’s former colonies and territories. This consequently denies them a national identity of their own and extends post-colonial power dynamics into the present day and beyond. When

“migrant”, deeming it to be irrevocably linked to “illegal”, and therefore serving to reinforce negative stereotypes. The latter prefer the term “people”, although for the purpose of this study, “French people” was considered too general and open to misinterpretation.

alluding to speakers of French who are not necessarily French citizens, but whom self-identify as French and therefore feature in this study, a conscious effort has been made to refer to individual cultural heritage, rather than the blanket term “Francophone”. There are, however, rare exceptions to this rule in the following thesis, for instance, when alluding to the students at a school where individualised origins would be too cumbersome or elusive to enumerate.

- **“Host”/receiving society**

Various terms are used to refer to the migratory setting, with “host” and receiving societies being arguably most widely so. Once again, *a priori*, such words are straightforward, but upon reflection, have sub-surface meanings which belie them. Taking first “receiving” society, it is problematic as it implies the simultaneous existence of a “sending” society, thereby connoting a sense of concord and reciprocity, together with top-down, societal-level decision-making, as opposed to individuated choice and self-motivation. Also, in keeping with “host” society, it suggests some degree of provision on the part of the structures of the migration destination, which, in the case of the French in London and arguably the majority of migrants, is entirely lacking. Instead, migrants tend to have to navigate their new environment unassisted by official support networks, mobility being a lesson in independent living in and of itself. The term “host” goes further than “receiving” in this regard, implying additionally that the migrants, if not invited, are nonetheless welcome, which, as the anti-migration discourse dominating the 2016 EU referendum bears witness, is evidently not the case in Britain as a whole. Both terms could also be seen to place the migrants in positions of subservience in relation to the “host”/receiving society, with the former entirely *dependent* on the hospitality of the latter, rather than agentively asserting their positions as autonomous movers and, more importantly, as active contributors *to* the “host” society. Generally, therefore, alternatives such as “diasporic field” or “migratory setting” have been favoured in this thesis, not least because the former has the added benefit of cohering with the concept-terms coined by Bourdieu and adopted throughout the study. When “host” has been employed, the inverted commas have been consistently retained in acknowledgement of the caveats highlighted above.

- **On-line/on-land**

Typically, when counterbalancing the “on-line”, language-users refer to the physical world as “off-line”. Indeed, most of the relevant literature cited in this thesis makes such a linguistic distinction (Adami & Kress, 2010; Hine, 2015; Kozinets, 2010; Miller & Slater, 2000, etc.).

However, my reservations regarding the term “off-line” remain fundamental, given its inherently auxiliary relationship to the “on-line”. It implies that the Internet precedes physicality, when clearly, the twenty-year-old phenomenon, which today seems so much “a part of us” and purportedly no longer “a transcendent cyberspatial site of experience” (Hine, 2015:14), is nevertheless *preceded* by millennia of material history. Thus, notwithstanding the succinctness of the “online-offline” dichotomy, both the reductionism of its mutual exclusivity and the implicit precedence of virtuality over materiality, render it inappropriate for adoption here. To fill the void left by this terminological exclusion, I have coined the equally concise neologism “on-land”. The phonological and semantic balance provided by the juxtaposition of “on-line” with “on-land” – both terms being equally alliterative and positively connotative in their deployment of “on”, as opposed to the standard “on”/“off” – is thought to capture the intrinsic dynamics of the relationship between physical and virtual worlds, and award them equal status, rather than foregrounding the Internet. Finally, the coinage subtly alludes to the existing dualism of contemporary telephonic communication, with the “on-line” evoking our growing use of mobile technologies to access the Internet in increasingly diverse physical surroundings,⁵ i.e. through smartphones, and the “on-land” suggesting the alternative to mobile telephony, namely through a physical “*land*-line”. The terms “on-line” and “on-land” will consequently be used systematically throughout the thesis.

- **Curation**

Finally, it is necessary to clarify my application and understanding of the term “curation” within the context of this thesis. Traditionally, curation has referred to the practice of selecting and arranging works for public display in physical museums and galleries; whereas my use of the term applies to the activity of selecting and, arguably, arranging on-line artefacts for public access in the UK Web Archive. The implications are therefore somewhat different, though the points of convergence undeniable. Just as the traditional curator is regularly faced with multiple technical and permissions-based obstacles, so my on-line curation work was confronted with similar challenges. Likewise, in the same way that traditional curators must consider the broader social, political and ethical aspects connected

5 For example, Transport for London (TfL) have recently entered into a number of partnerships with mobile telecommunications operators in order to provide passengers with unlimited WiFi access throughout the London Underground transport network. Likewise, a new generation of waterproof smartphones has recently been launched to enable underwater Internet access. Former physical limitations posed by the technological devices and infrastructure themselves are today, therefore, giving way to new on-land environments to access the on-line world.

to the act of collecting, categorising and exhibiting material, so my curation of the London French Special Collection brought with it similar challenges related to authorship, audience, access, naming, framing and so on (as discussed in detail in Chapter 8). While some may consider thematic selective Web archiving to have more in common with *editing* a collection of written *texts* than curating a visual display, owing to the intrinsic multimodality of on-line resources and their ontological ambivalence, resisting definition as either text or space (Kozinets, 2010:141),⁶ and to the increasingly creative art of selection in a digital era typified by excess (Bhaskar, 2016), the activity is judged to match the practice of curation more satisfactorily than editing. Moreover, “curation” is the term ordinarily used in the specialised field of selective Web archiving, hence the standardised acronym WCT (Web Curator Tool) for the software deployed when constructing a collection of Web objects, and hence the nascence of such courses as the Digital Curation MA at King’s College London. Bearing these multiple factors in mind, the term “curation” was consequently considered the most apposite to employ.

IN DEFENCE OF “ETHNO-SEMIOTIC” TERMINOLOGY

The final terminological matter worthy of mention, significant, again, by virtue of its interrelationship with concepts, is my reliance on Bourdieusian and Kressian terms. This can be easily explained by the fact that Bourdieu’s concepts and terms are the theoretical bedrock of this doctoral research, both as process and product, and the ethnosemiotic paradigm, designed to address its fundamental interdisciplinarity, unites the socio-semiotic ideas of Gunther Kress with the socio-ethnographic theories of Pierre Bourdieu. Although some (Pink, 2011) have expressed concerns over the potential incompatibility of the two terminological-conceptual toolkits (discussed in Chapter 1), my research aims to prove, *a contrario*, that the ethnosemiotic model is a valid one. This is brought to bear precisely through the harmonious simultaneity of Bourdieusian and Kressian terms adopted throughout the thesis.

To conclude, it is important to state that the originality and richness of this thesis is found in its holistic apprehension of migration. Unlike the majority of migration studies which focus either on its causes in the “sending” nation, or on its “effects” in the “receiving” one, often in politico-economic frames, this multidisciplinary, in-depth study addresses the phenomenon not only as the continuum outlined above (Kelly & Lusic, 2006), but also as a multidimensional cultural complex. By looking at the dynamics of the migration experience

6 This notion will be problematised in greater in detail in Chapter 2.

from French field push factors to London-French habitus, together with the various cultural and symbolic capital conversions in between, from the perspective of migrants themselves and their positioning in the host population, in addition to their presence on-line, a unique holistic appreciation of the migration experience is provided.

CHAPTER 1
LITERATURE REVIEW

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INTRODUCTION

Having set out the specific aims and terms of this thesis in the preceding general Introduction, I now situate my study within the broader context of enquiry. The ethnosemiotic approach developed as the theoretical and methodological framework effectively requires that four sets of literature be consulted. Consequently, the following literature review is divided into four distinct, yet ultimately interconnected, parts: London-French community literature; ethnography literature, social semiotics and, finally, ethnosemiotics literature. Given the paucity of scholarly writing on French migration to the UK, lay literature and comparative works on EU mobility more generally have also been consulted and awarded brief acknowledgement.

While there has been much scholarly interest in migration over the last two decades, with the rise of dedicated research centres, journals and myriad publications (Koser, 2007:25), resulting in the birth of a discipline (Garelli & Tazzioli, 2013), *ethnographic* research on intra-*European* migration remains a relatively under-developed field. There are nevertheless several notable exceptions to this trend, such as the work of Adrian Favell, Paul Basu, Simon Coleman and Russell King. Migration research which examines the phenomenon through the prism of material culture is rarer still (Basu and Coleman, 2008), with Basu (2007; 2011; 2012, etc.), Miller (Miller and Slater, 2000; Miller, 2005; 2010; 2012, etc.), Petridou (2001), Mata Codesal (2008) among several others, such as Noble (2013) and Longhurst et al. (2009), constituting a small number of additional exceptions to the rule. Intra-European research with a particular material-culture focus, which combines ethnographic and semiotic approaches, however, is almost non-existent; and *ethnosemiotic* research on the *French* community in *London* is, hitherto, without precedent. A primary focus of this literature review, therefore, is on those few works that have studied France-London mobility, irrespective of disciplinary perspective and theoretical underpinning (or lack thereof), and those that have adopted an ethnosemiotic framework, albeit in relation to phenomena unconnected to migration, together with works by Bourdieu and Kress relevant to the theoretical and methodological framework of the thesis.

French researchers, Joëlle Le Marec and Igor Babou (Le Marec et al., 2003; Babou & Le Marec, 2004) have applied Peircean semiotic categories in their work on media. However, theirs is not a *social* semiotic approach, such as that initiated by Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress and Teo van Leeuwen (Hodge & Kress, 1988; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2005; Kress, 2010). It draws instead on a strict, objectivised reading of Peirce and, as such, disregards advances made in the English School, applied here. The

C.U.B.E. Research Centre for Ethnosemiotics at the University of Bologna promised further ethnosemiotic research and outputs in its promotion of “ethnosemiotic analysis of human behaviours, concepts and practices”⁷, but the related website has since become obsolete. Likewise, the informal reflections on ethnosemiotic theories articulated by Arturo Escandón (no date), Associate Professor at Nanzan University, Japan, in his blog, appear not have borne scholarly fruit, as his blog has not been updated since 2013. The most active centre for social semiotic research remains UCL’s *MODE – Multimodal Methodologies for Researching Digital Data and Environments* research centre,⁸ which provides evidence of growing interest in the theoretical union between ethnography with multimodal social semiotics, most notably the works of Jeff Bezemer, Mryhh Domingo, Carey Jewitt, Gunther Kress and Sarah Price who have published in the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* (Bezemer, et al., 2014) and in a collective work on linguistic ethnography (Bezemer, 2015) among others. Further ethnosemiotic research has been undertaken at Cardiff and Loughborough Universities; similarly, Fiske has published several works which foreground an ethnosemiotic approach (e.g. 1990a; 1990b), although, unlike the ethnosemiotic approaches mentioned above, his is not of the *social* semiotics school and thus of no great relevance to this literature review.

1.1 - LONDON FRENCH COMMUNITY LITERATURE

1.1.1 FRENCH COMMUNITY ON-LINE

Until relatively recently, the French community was not acknowledged as a minority community in London’s media and political discourses. Similarly – or subsequently – very little scholarly literature on this minority population exists. Indeed, social geographer, William Berthomière, following a survey of the French on-line diasporic presence (2012), confirms the lack of recognition of the existence of a French diaspora in the title alone.⁹ He draws attention to the “non-histoire” of French emigration (2012:1), its historical invisibility, whilst juxtaposing it with current attempts by the French administrative powers to impose an institutional sense of belonging on the French population living abroad through their introduction of an “expatriate category” and forthcoming election of Deputies to represent the “French Abroad” at the National Assembly. By mapping Internet sites intended for French diasporic usage on the worldwide Web, Berthomière demonstrates through a variety

7 Source: <http://www.b2match.eu/health2011/participants/77> [accessed 27/03/2012].

8 Available here: <http://mode.ioe.ac.uk/> [accessed 04/08/2015].

9 The title is “‘A French What?’ A la recherche d’une diaspora française”.

of digital visualisation tools those sites most visited and the links between them, hence mapping out diasporic on-line networks, concluding that the notion of a French diaspora is a top-down construct, through the significant presence of institutional and political sites, together with those managed by official associations. This top-down notion of community is one which concurs with my own research findings as regards participants' lack of self-identification with the "French community" label.

Arguing that the French political authorities perceive the large numbers of French expatriate schoolchildren to be both an investment (2012:9) and a resource for the future in order to make expatriates "ambassadors of France" (2012:12) and thereby globally extend French socio-economic and political networks, Berthomière substantiates this top-down process. However, his focus on "official" websites in the <.fr> domain only, means that his study effectively ignores – or "non-records" – the multiple (and often "bottom-up") Web resources used by the French diaspora (e.g. <.uk> or <.com> domains). This effectively renders Berthomière's study top-down in itself. Likewise, the quantitative treatment of site linkages, at the expense of site content, makes for arguably "thin" data, with an emphasis on objective patterns and causal relationships, rather than on the subjective insights and meanings sought in this qualitative thesis. It offers, nonetheless, original *field* data pertinent to the contextualisation of *habitus* findings emanating from this study, and is valuable through its very uniqueness in its examination of on-line representations of the French diaspora.

1.1.2 FRENCH COMMUNITY ON-LAND

The absence of academic literature on French diasporic on-line communities is positive from a research originality perspective. There are nevertheless several studies which examine the *on-land* French community presence in London and present a compelling backdrop for this thesis, most recently, the work of Mulholland and Ryan (Mulholland & Ryan, 2013a, 2013b; Ryan & Mulholland, 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Ryan et al., 2014), and Kelly and Cornick (Kelly & Cornick, 2013; Kelly, 2016). Their work nevertheless differs from mine in its limitation to historic French migrants or the highly-skilled, which overlooks the "more complex and messy middle-ground" (Scott, 2006:1107). Conversely, Block's (2006) and Favell's (2008a) volumes are both of particular relevance, given their ethnographic approach and focus on a socio-economically broader sample of London-French migrants.

Block draws on two theoretical migration paradigms originally conceived by Papastergiadis (2000), the first of which is the "the voluntarist push-pull" model, which "sees rational choice and individual agency as the driving forces behind migration" (Block, 2006:8). However, this Cartesian model is somewhat over-simplistic, with a multiplicity of

push-pull factors and tacit symbolic forces specific to individual life trajectories constituting equally compelling migration incentives for my research participants (Carlson, 2011). Favell (2008a) also alludes to the pragmatism of the decision, as foregrounded by the European Commission, whereby “increasing economic incentives to move (for professional and career reasons) should first lead “rational” middle class Europeans to move abroad” (2008a:62). However, both homogenising definitions, which reduce the complexity of migration into a reductive agentive process, are later challenged in both works for their inapplicability to the multifaceted human motivations of the individuals interviewed in the fields of both studies. Indeed, according to Block (2006:10), Papastergiadis acknowledges the limitations of the model, recognising that migration flows do not always follow the most logical patterns, that if poverty is the ultimate “push” factor, blanket migration should occur in all the deprived regions of the planet, and, of particular pertinence here, that the voluntarist push-pull model does not account for the departure of residents from economically *sound* nations, such as France and Germany (King et al., 2014).

The second paradigm referred to by Papastergiadis and cited by Block (2008:10-11) is a Marxist-inspired “structuralist centre-periphery model” which, as the name suggests, involves a low-cost, migrant workforce on the outskirts of the capitalist world fuelling the unskilled labour markets of those countries in a dominant, central position, thereby compounding global and social inequalities. Again, this is not a model readily applicable to the population under scrutiny and is one that removes all agency and micro-level forces (explored by Murphy-Lejeune (2002) and Carlson (2011) in their studies on European student mobility) from the process in its sole dependence on macro structural forces. To counter these shortfalls, Block subsequently draws on a theory of migration that comprises three levels, adapted from constructs originally formulated by Faist (2000), and Castles and Miller (2003). The first level of migration is the micro level and concerns individuals’ values, desires and expectations. The second, meso level considers collective networks and social ties, while the third relates to “macro-level opportunity structures” (Block, 2006:13). This model has the advantage of bypassing the traditional, deterministic, binary “push-pull” construct, allowing for a more realistic, protean composite which better matches the experience of my research participants. That said, it could be argued that all three levels of desire in this paradigm potentially fit *within* the push-pull model: e.g. the push of unfulfilled individual expectations, the push or pull of affective relationships, and the pull of a buoyant economy.

1.1.3 SETTLEMENT AND TRANSNATIONALISM

Block and Favell both consider the concepts of settlement and transnationalism to frame their empirical studies. Transnationalism is described by Block (citing David Harvey, 1989) as “time-space compression” (2006:16) and evokes the de-nationalising effects of globalisation on contemporary lived experience. Transnationalism and settlement are useful frameworks when considering the notion of habitus, as the former helps to explain the hybridity of the French case, and the latter plays a key role in understanding positioning in, and relationships to, both the diasporic and originary fields. For Favell, settlement is a complex process, rarely the result of a rational, detached and entirely agentic decision. Rather, it grows from a sense of being sufficiently at ease in the city of residence, or “of not belonging yet feeling at home, [in] a place of comfortable anonymity” (2008a:37), and sufficiently ill at ease in the country of origin “I consider myself not to fit in [...] I’m lost in their conversations as well” (2008a:9-10). Both these sentiments echo those of my research participants, most of whom planned only a short stay of a year or two, but have since organically settled into the migratory field. Favell describes a slow, almost default, realisation that settlement is the best “move”, resembling in this respect the slowness and imperceptibility of habitus transformation observed among my informants, often initiated by the rooting effect of childbearing. He posits that the rational process of weighing up the pros and cons of settlement or return is dependent to some extent on material considerations, with the high cost of housing in London serving as a push factor (not a viewpoint made explicit among my participants, although some did acknowledge and regret the better quality of life in France). These manifold considerations embedded in the chronic settlement-mobility dilemma with which many intra-European migrants are faced after a five-to-six-year spell in the adopted culture contrast Block’s somewhat two-dimensional account of settlement, more or less restricted to assimilation-versus-multiculturalism dialectics, arguably outdated in migration studies literature (Schmitter Heisler, 2008) and glossing over the intricacies highlighted by Favell. The inadequacy of the second model nevertheless leads Block to conclude that, irrespective of the political discourses over migrants’ need to either adopt “host” culture mores or instead retain their original identities, cultures and languages, a phenomenon of transnationalism has emerged from the contemporary context whereby technology has made the world smaller and faster than ever before (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008:18). Transnationalism, and this increasingly compressed transnational time-space, thus serves to bridge the gap between national (and cultural) borders, as well as between the immigrant vs. expat divide, which could be understood as a micro-level embodiment of the broader minority community vs. diaspora divide. That is, transnationalism is a construct that

accommodates both the adoption of social and cultural practices of the country of residence and the maintenance of “simultaneous social, political and economic ties with” (Block, 2006:19) the country of origin, together with the collective (re)affirmation of the cultural and linguistic heritage of the homeland and an ever-constant prospect of return. As shall be seen in the habitus chapters of this thesis (4–6 and 10), the concept of transnationalism also serves to underpin the complex relationship to, and interpretation of, “home” among my participants.¹⁰

Further relevant concepts examined by Block are “culture”, “multiculturalism”, “community” and “identity”. As the notion of culture is essential to this thesis, Block’s emphasis on the inherent ambivalence of the word is particularly pertinent. On the one hand, the term “culture” encompasses ideas of cultivation, or civilisation, manifested through “refinement, the high arts and an overall good sense of what is aesthetically correct” (Block, 2006:21), i.e. “Culture with a capital ‘C’” (Poirier, 2006a:38), often referred to by Bourdieu in his discussion of cultural capital and socio-economic distinction (1979a; 1979b; 1984; 2005, etc.). On the other, is the anthropologically-sourced notion “of that complex whole which includes, knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society” (Tyler, 1874:1, cited in Bennett, 1998:93, recited in Block, 2006:22), i.e. “culture with a small ‘c’”. Similarly, Wallace (2016), citing Carter (2003), sub-divides Bourdieu’s concept of “high-brow” cultural capital into “dominant and non-dominant cultural capital” (2016:40), the latter acting at the level of the sub-community rather than society as a whole. Block subsequently refutes the hermetic conceptualisation of culture defined by Baumann (1999:26, cited by Block 2006: 23), even in its anthropological form, arguing instead for a more malleable understanding that sees culture as a dynamic, self-renewing process, in constant and spontaneous flux. It is this fluid notion of culture which is applied here, encompassing as it does notions of “small-c culture” and “big-C Culture”, and allowing for the cultural capital dynamics of the French population in relation to the originary and migratory fields.

1.1.4 MULTICULTURALISM AND COMMUNITY

From the notion of culture stems that of multiculturalism. Block defines multiculturalism according to two diametrically opposed models: one is a social constructivist “deliberative democratic model” (Block, 2006:24), whereby “human actions and relations may be

10 It is not, however, a term without its own limitations, most notably its semantic connection to the abstract construct of the nation State, which, as shall be seen later in the thesis, does not tally with the more localised, carnal understandings of belonging expressed by my interviewees.

accounted for in different ways by different participants and observers” (2006:23), and typically in opposition; the other is a multiculturalists’ model that has a tendency “to reify cultures” (2006:24). The latter also results in what Benhabib terms “mosaic multiculturalism” (2002, cited in Block, 2006:24), a compartmentalised version that sees the juxtaposition of separate, delimited, cultural groups into the formation of a composite whole, akin to the “enclavism” referred to by Mulholland and Ryan (2011:4) or the “communitarianism” evoked frequently in political and media discourses – generally pejoratively – in France (Huc-Hepher and Drake, 2013), yet all interlocking into a relatively cohesive multicultural entity. Benhabib’s “mosaic multiculturalism” is a useful construct with respect to migrant communities in London for it lends itself to the ethnically diverse, socio-economically interwoven and comparatively harmonious (from the viewpoint of my research participants in relation to Paris, for example) British Capital chosen as the preferred migratory destination.

A priori, Block’s interpretation of multiculturalism, which integrates “poststructuralist, processural”, “deliberative democratic” and “dynamic” elements (2006:24), as well as his transnational approach to migration, are considered more pertinent to this thesis than the notion of “diaspora” in its strictest sense, defined by Koser as “large-scale involuntary displacements and an inability to return home, coupled with a great yearning to do so” (2007:25). However, given that today’s understanding of “diaspora” is far more flexible than in its original sense, being loosely applied to “ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin” (Sheffer, 1986:3, quoted by Koser, 2007:25-6), the diasporic and the transnational are, as Block maintains, closely related. Therefore, despite the historic implications associated with the the former,¹¹ both the transnational and diasporic will be used here, owing to the strong ties my participants maintain with France and French culture, and the new ambiguous space inhabited. This does not, however, imply return migration, which, though in keeping with some of the aspirations expressed, in addition to that evidenced by Favell (2008a) and Ryan & Mulholland (2011; 2013), is not a universal desire. Indeed, King et al.’s (2014) and Mueller’s (2013) studies revealed widespread ambiguity and indecision regarding return.

The discussion of multiculturalism is logically succeeded by the notion of community. Again, Block usefully subdivides the concept-term into two semantic forms; the first refers to an essentialist view of community, borne of statistical classification, in which any collective ostensibly “bound together by a common and shared set of beliefs, values,

11 That is, Jewish, African and Armenian mass displacements (Koser, 2007:25).

practices, language [crucially] and artefacts” (Block, 2006:25), together with a common set of legal, political and commercial rights, is considered a single community. However, this is again a top-down categorisation, which does not necessarily lend itself to the lived experience and self-referential understandings of community experienced and expressed by my participants. The second definition of community Block provides contrasts the first in its rejection of the demographic, top-down, objective qualification, but still fails, it seems, to grasp the full complexity of the concept and the practice. This definition hangs on the metaphorical potential of the term, meaning that any individual (irrespective of their cultural origin, affiliation or heritage) who identifies with a collective, and feels a sense of belonging to that body and believes “in their acceptance by that collective” (ibid.) systematically becomes part of that community. Notwithstanding the acknowledgement that other communities can exist beyond crude, ethnoculturally constructed ones, and the more appropriate placing of the subject at the centre of the concept, it remains an oversimplification. It sees the need for moving from the individual to the collective as the manifestation of humanity’s dissatisfaction “in the face of feelings of emptiness and isolation in the late modern age” (Block, 2006:25) and corresponds adequately to the new, loose forms of community which have developed in on-line contexts (Casilli, 2010:58). However, it fails to take into account the possible multiplicities of community belonging, the conceptually hazy edges, as well as the potential for individuals not only to negotiate several community identifications, but to negate a sense of community altogether, as a rationalised assertion of their own freedom, regardless of how they may be categorised externally. This is a point made convincingly by King et al. in respect of German graduates in London, and one which was reiterated by my participants. Further, as Favell suggests (2008a:11), one’s very rejection of belonging to a community – arguably through the act of migration itself and of subsequently disassociation from the heritage community on arrival in the migratory field – may bring with it an empowering sense of liberation, freeing individuals from the symbolic constraints imposed on them by community membership, it “could even hold the key to the deepest freedom of all: freedom of your *self*.” (Favell, 2008a:11).

1.1.5 IDENTITY

The question of identity, implicit throughout this thesis as a facet of belonging and socio-cultural positioning, aptly brings the community debate from the meso level to the micro. It is also an essential concept in the works of Block (2006), Favell (2008a) and, to a lesser degree perhaps, Mulholland & Ryan (2011), as it is individuals’ distinct identities that unite to form communities, cultures, habituses and, ultimately, national populations. For Lawler,

like habitus, identity “hinges on an apparently paradoxical combination of sameness and difference” (2008:2), sameness in relation to our very person over the duration of our lifetimes – itself highly disputable in the context of transnational identities – and sameness in respect of the commonality of our general defining features shared with other common identities, such as female, French, etc. (Lawler, 2008:2; Elliot, 2008:30-37; Lee, 2009:6-12). Lawler, like Block, draws attention to the “identification” aspect of identity, “in an attempt to capture the processual angle” (Block, 2006:29), reinforcing the idea that identities are not fixed and not monochrome. She argues that instead of seeing different forms of identity in one being as “multiple identities in an ‘additive’ way” (Lawler, 2008:3), they should be conceived of “as interactive and mutually constitutive” (ibid.), just as Bourdieu conceives of habitus as dynamic and self-generative (2005). However, Lawler also states – somewhat self-contradictorily – that necessarily multiple identities “may be in tension” (ibid.). Lawler is not alone in proposing an incompatibility of certain identities embodied in one individual; the discourse on this subject is peppered with terms which connote negativity and tension. Although Block explicitly dismisses “essentialized notions of identity” (2006:28), in favour of a dynamic, post-structuralist conception where identity is described as process not product (2006:29), he simultaneously refers to migrants’ self-hood as “*destabilised*” and explains how they are required to “enter a period of *struggle* to reach a balance” (2006:27), needing to engage in a “*negotiation of difference*” (2006:28, my italics in each case) with themselves, which implicitly suggests an essentialised and systematically negatively-charged migrant identity. In a similar vein, Mulholland & Ryan refer to “identity *slippage*” (2011:5, my italics), a recognised term, but one which arguably conveys a somewhat negative deliquescence.¹² This idea of tension, of having to re-evaluate one’s identity in the fragmented or “doubly absent” (Sayad, 1999) context of migration, where individuals need to negotiate dual linguistic and cultural identities, is often cited in the literature, but in the case of my participants, often less of a negative force than portrayed therein, as Mata Codesal confirms in her reference to “transnational groups, [for whom] this fragmentation can also become the raw material for the construction of rich, elaborated, complex lives” (2008:15).

In contrast, Favell’s findings regarding identity are far more positive, particularly in his discussion of integration and freedom among the highly-skilled “Eurostars”. This is demonstrated by his positively nuanced language: e.g. the “*denationalised* freedom” which enables “free-moving” intra-EU migrants “to *benefit* from this distance [...] be *self-critical*, and to *play around* with ascriptive national identities that hitherto might have felt fixed and stamped for life” (2008a:9; my italics). The multiplicity of identities he evokes is often

12 In keeping with Jean-Paul Sartre’s “nauseating” usage (*La Nausée*, 1938).

dominated by an association with the idealism of the European project (2008a:103), merged with a sense of national affiliation (2008a:101) and, almost unanimously, a feeling of belonging to the *cities* of residence (2008a:103), all of which are evidenced in the empirical data collected for this thesis.¹³ Like Favell, Heller (2006) portrays an ethnocultural mix in a positive light, referring to migration historically as symbolising the “*freedom to escape* the constraints of an old way of life and to *construct* a new one, an *interest in crossing* boundaries between life-worlds [...] and the *ability to create* new identities” (2006:3; my italics). Although this quotation depicts the sentiment of the first French settlers in Canada, it could equally have been written by Favell with respect to his young, successful “*Eurostars*” at the turn of the 21st century. The language is comparably optimistic, with the emphasis on “building”, “competence”, “bridging” and, again, “freedom”, all of which escape hackneyed nationalised constructions (Favell, 2008b). Heller also conceptualises French-English bilingualism as an *asset* “in the globe-trotting hyper-modern world”, foregrounding the enhanced “value of French as a form of linguistic capital” (2006:15), a Bourdieusian construct which will be revisited in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

As evidenced in the literature above, the concepts of identity, community, multiculturalism, transnationalism and settlement are all complex and multiform, involving an appreciation of the intrinsic cultural dynamics at work and recognition of individual subjectivities. The abstract notions discussed hitherto, of unequivocal relevance to this study, shall now give way to a review of a small number of studies singularly dedicated to the French in London.

1.1.6 SMALL-SCALE LONDON FRENCH STUDIES

Tzeng’s (2012) paper offers an objective perspective on the economic and employment drivers among young, educated, middle-class London-French migrants, relevant to the habitus/field dynamics of my participants. Consistent with migration studies literature, Tzeng distinguishes between *self-initiated expatriates* and *company assigned expatriates* (Banai & Harry 2004; Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010; Jokinen et al. 2008; Stahl et al. 2002;

13 One exception to the positively-embodied multi-layered migrant identity evoked by Favell is noted, however, in relation to the participants’ self-identification as “migrants” (2008a:101), which left them at best “confused” and at worst offended. It is significant that an almost identical reaction was encountered in the interviews for this study, which could – through the Latin *idem* route of identity (Lawler, 2008:2) – be suggestive of a *common* intra-EU migrant identity, or of membership to a shared cultural community. Indeed, Sprio, 2013, remarked a similar phenomenon among Italian immigrants in the UK, who more readily identified with other immigrant groups, such as their Asian neighbours, than the “host” society.

Vance 2005; all cited by Tzeng, 2012:120), referred to elsewhere as inter-corporate transferees, or ICTs (Koser, 2007:18). English language acquisition (as contended by Ledain, 2010) and London's social openness and global positioning are cited as powerful mobility "pull" factors. Tzeng asserts that the Capital's economic success is linked to its imported workforce, London employers being keen to recruit West European migrants, as doing so superficially fulfils their "diversity-in-the-workplace" objective, while ensuring an over-qualified staff.¹⁴ Tertiary sector companies (such as Prêt à Manger UK) and the import-export trade are identified as most favourable to French staff, the latter finding "it easier to hire native French speakers with strong business English skills than British employees with sufficient French language skills" (2012:124). The France-UK unemployment differential is also posited as a key driver, combined with France's bureaucratic, socially-structured working environment (ibid.), which contrasts London's perceived flexible, dynamic one (an observation reiterated by King et al., 2014, in relation to Italian graduates in London). Likewise, and in keeping with most of the other works reviewed, Tzeng underlines the French appreciation for London's acceptance of difference, where, according to one of Tzeng's informants, "you still have room to be different. Being different here is not a handicap [...] you've got people of all colors [...] and they're represented everywhere in society, which is less the case in France" (2012:123). While a passing observation in Tzeng's paper, this is an important point which shall be explored in detail in Chapter 3, within the conceptual framework of Bourdieu's "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu et al., 1993; Schubert, 2012) functioning as an implicit migration push factor.

Regarding settlement or return, Tzeng asserts that the average sojourn of London-French migrants is 1-5 years, bar a small minority who settle in London as a result of new family ties. If not, the return "pull" of the purportedly superior State welfare system in France, notably education, health, pensions and housing serve to crystallise the return migration decision (2012:124). However, no concrete evidence is cited to substantiate these claims and they were not cited by any of my participants or those of comparative studies,¹⁵ the validity of which must therefore be questioned. It seems that affective and/or pre-reflexive habits and habituation are more influential in settlement "choices" than Cartesian decision-making, as supported by Favell (2008a) above. Similarly, the hypothesis with which Tzeng concludes the paper undermines its focus somewhat, as he asserts that for want

14 A point supported by the empirical evidence contained in this study (see Chapter 8), as well as by Ledain (2010) and King et al. (2014), among others.

15 Indeed, King et al. (2008) in their study of "Turks" in London, in something of an inversion of this phenomenon, declare that none of the migrants "referred to welfare provisions as factors in their choice of destination country".

of a developed intra-EU migration culture, free movement within Europe will “remain low and be dominated by traditional blue-collar migration, mostly as a result of extreme wage differences” (2012:125), a point challenged by others (e.g. Favell, 2008a, 2008b; King et al., 2014).

The personal insights offered by the aforementioned empirical studies and their application to broader social patterns are valuable by way of comparison to the findings of the London French data examined in this thesis. However, the French cases are only one of several nationalities/cultures scrutinised by Favell and Block, and while Tzeng’s and Mulholland & Ryan’s studies concentrate exclusively on the French population in London, their focus is again on *highly-skilled* individuals, thereby excluding a large proportion of the London French. To date, one published work alone has bucked this trend (Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013), together with two unpublished studies (Drake & d’Aumale, 2008, and Ledain, 2010).¹⁶ Ledain’s study is predominantly quantitative in form and thereby provides relatively “thin” data. Moreover, it lacks sufficient numeric force to warrant quantitative rigour, with only 300 questionnaires returned, as opposed to the recognised benchmark of 1000. Despite these limitations, it offers valuable insights into the migratory motivations of young (aged between 18 and 35), self-initiated French migrants arriving at the Centre Charles Péguy¹⁷ in Shoreditch, often the first port of call for assistance in finding accommodation and employment in the global city that is London. Ledain identifies four London-French migrant prototypes: the fixed-term student resident, akin to King et al.’s “*Bi-locals*” (2014:10); the low-skilled, unemployed, with few qualifications, seeking opportunity and adventure with no predetermined length of stay; the “highly-skilled,”¹⁸ post-financial-crisis unemployed in search of white-collar labour for a fixed duration, in order to acquire professional and linguistic capital before returning to France, akin to Favell’s “Eurostar” or King et al.’s “*Multi-locals*” (2014:10); and, finally, the qualified individual drawn to London by its dynamism and proximity, seeking any menial employment with the rationalised purpose of gaining linguistic capital as the passport to future migratory destinations (e.g. the US or Asia). Although demographically useful, none of these profiles matches the predominant one encountered during my field research, perhaps because Ledain’s survey was conducted at the beginning of the respondents’ migration trajectory, rendering it inherently prospective

16 Commissioned under the auspices of the French Consulate in London, in conjunction with the Centre Charles Péguy, the Centre d’Echanges Internationaux, the UFE and the ADFE.

17 Again, taking his sample exclusively from migrants affiliated with this Catholic institution affects the objectivity and credibility of the findings.

18 Defined as having completed at least three years of tertiary education.

in nature and hence contrasting my retrospective reflections. Moreover, their projective nature fails to account for the often organic settlement “decision” attested to by my participants and Favell’s (2008a:37).

Ledain’s study does, however, reveal pertinent gender and employment statistics. For example, women outweighed men in the overall sample,¹⁹ and the respective high levels of men and women employed in catering/hospitality industries (almost 50%) and childcare (over 50%) confirmed expected employment-gender stereotypes. More generally, around 70 of the total 300 surveyed surprisingly planned long-term settlement in London (incarnating therefore the “*Settled migrants*” identified by King et al., 2014:10), but a convincing majority of 160 planned a return to France to reap the benefits of the cultural capital gains made during their sojourn. Accommodation, language and finances were cited as the most significant obstacles when arriving in London, with very few respondents (under 20) reporting social barriers. However, most respondents were unaware of English or French services²⁰ available to help with difficulties such as crime or illness, thereby raising questions over *social capital* – or lack thereof – in the diasporic field (Kelly and Lusic, 2006). Confirming my own empirical findings, a considerable majority nevertheless stated an awareness of residency registration options at the French Consulate, but under a quarter of them had in fact registered, among whom most had done so only for formal reasons (e.g. passport renewal). This obviously contributes to the haziness around the official London-French population figures, the unreliability of which is lamented systematically by the key authors scrutinised thus far: Block (2006:62), Favell (2008a:33), Mulholland & Ryan (2011:1), and is a subject returned to in Chapter 4.

Another highly pertinent, yet small-scale, study is Bellion’s survey of French businesses in the UK (2005), which provides insights into the flows of both economic and cultural capital between France and the UK. Based on responses from 17 French companies and subsidiaries, including some influential players, such as Danône/Nestlé, l’Occitane En Provence, Campanile Hotels, BNP Paribas and Gaz de France (2005:17), the diversity of which reflects the “diversified investment” (2005:4), Bellion’s study identifies France as the UK’s largest outside investor, with 12.9 billion euros injected into the UK economy in 2003, and over 1,700 French companies and subsidiaries established in the UK, employing some 350,000 people (2005:4). This counterbalances the 1.2 billion euros that the British spend on French wine per year (Bellion, 2005:16), in the continuation of a long-standing commercial and cultural exchange dating back to medieval times. Importantly, the survey

19 Similarly, women are responsible for the majority of blogs selected for the LFSC.

20 For instance, the CAB or the Dispensaire français, providing free healthcare.

revealed that 77% of the French companies “would not transfer a French expat rather than a British person” (2005:17), which suggests much of the extensive workforce is composed of local human resources, and thereby confirms the economic contribution of the French presence.²¹

Bearing in mind the economic and human capital the aforementioned French firms and subsidiaries invest in London and the UK, it is all the more surprising that their symbolic value is so low, for as Bellion points out “these companies have been set up for a while, and British people use them without even knowing that they are French” (2005:5). Figures corresponding to French migrants in and out of work are also revealing; in 2003, according to consulate statistics cited by Bellion,²² 45,449 were in employment, against 1,128 who were unemployed and 2,211 who were retired (2005:11). This positive role in the local economy and labour market no doubt compounds the “invisibility” phenomenon that Favell (2008a), Kelly (2013), King et al. (2008) and Thatcher & Halvorsrud (2016) highlight, whereas the low numbers of those in retirement perhaps corroborate Tzeng (2012), Favell (2008a) and Huc-Hepher & Drake’s (2013) observations that the French in London plan a return migration at some point in the future, and almost definitely for retirement.

Also of relevance as regards symbolic value is the discrepancy Bellion uncovers between the proportion of French senior executives and businesspeople (15,002) and that of French employees and office staff (30,313). Although again not representative of the true numbers regarding size, these figures are compelling evidence that the share of the community in subordinate professional positions is more than double that of those in positions of domination; yet it is the latter that has hitherto been granted most academic scrutiny. In addition, Bellion notes a merging of French-English executive management in the companies studied, cultural dynamics which mirror a chain of cultural mergers in recent years, beginning with the historic Channel Tunnel handshake in 1990, through the Le Touquet Agreement signed on 4 February 2003 to promote Franco-British cohesion in the field of education, and thus mutual interest and gain, to the military joining of forces in 2011 (Kelly, 2013). Nevertheless, juxtaposing this apparent marriage of both cultures on a macro field level, 41% of the companies responding to Bellion’s survey identified on a micro habitus level cultural differences (thus contradicting Ledain’s findings noted above) as being the greatest obstacle for French employees in the Franco-British workplace, with language barriers (reiterating Ledain’s findings in this case) taking second place (2005:17).

21 And dispelling the EU referendum myth that European migrants are a negative force in the UK.

22 Inaccurate, granted, as regards volume, but likely to be representative of the trends.

The findings of Tzeng, Ledain and Bellion serve as a valuable academic backdrop to my own qualitative research, providing scarce, objective field data to offset my habitus evidence, as well as serving as sound comparative material for Chapters 3, 4 and 7 which foreground field and habitat dimensions of my participants' mobility.

1.1.7 LAY LITERATURE

Whilst not worthy of in-depth scrutiny within the framework of this academic undertaking, several works have been written for the wider public on the French presence in London and merit passing reference. The most erudite of these are perhaps the volumes by Roudaut (2004, 2009) and Poirier (2005, 2006a, 2006b), both practising journalists and intermittent members of the French community in London. Arguably less accomplished but more enlightening are works by Cordier (2005) and Senni (2007), in their case, fully fledged members of the London-French community, reflecting the “prototypical” self-initiated migrant more closely than the aforementioned reporters, but, like most of my participants, not mapping onto any of Ledain's profiles due to the open-endedness of their migration. Cordier and Senni's works will be drawn on for the purposes of “external” field evidence, notably in Chapter 3, thereby responding to Bourdieu's call for a field-analytical approach (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Grenfell, 2012c; Jenkins, 2002).²³

Roudaut (2009) offers valuable insights into migratory “push-pull” factors, coupled with useful documentary and political field evidence, much of which corroborates my findings. Whilst Roudaut extols the virtues of the “Anglo-Saxon” model and denigrates the endemic shortcomings of France, Poirier systematically breaks down the mythological edifice that is the “English model” in the eyes of (some of) the (politically disillusioned) French. Poirier's work, largely anecdotal in its sweeping analysis, lacks the empirical rigour of Roudaut's, which is based on a series of in-depth interviews with French migrants in London and the US. Both, however, draw attention to the successes of the French system becoming more apparent to the transnationals by virtue of their distance from the homeland, such as the aesthetic sensibilities, propensity to dissent (Poirier, 2006:110) as an assertion of ideological freedom, the purported gallantry (Poirier, 2006:80)²⁴ counterbalancing the courtesy considered to be emblematic of the English (Fox, 2014) and, crucially, France's “cultural exception” (Poirier, 2006:66).²⁵

23 A concept to be developed in Section 1.2 and in Chapter 8 on theorising Web curation practice.

24 Again, this anecdotal evidence contradicts my empirical findings, as shall be seen in Chapters 3 and 6.

25 Not supported by my findings.

Cordier (2005) and Senni's (2007) works are both autobiographical accounts of the individual trajectories of two highly-skilled French migrants to London. The former traces his journey from his paradoxically aspiration-shattering graduation ceremony (2005:14), via the liberating Eurostar journey on which he felt "light, confident, invincible" (2005:27),²⁶ to his arrival at the youth hostel five minutes' walk from the *Lycée Français* (2005:33), and subsequently to increasingly prestigious and gratifying professional positions in London. While the latter traces the path of second-generation Moroccan migrant of French nationality, Hamid Senni, from a council estate in the south of France, to Sweden, and ultimately London, where he would find opportunities denied in France. More stylised and literary in tone than Cordier's work, Senni's highlights the same national inertia that "pushed" him to make the migration decision, adding his lived knowledge of racial discrimination to the account. Both Cordier's and Senni's works not only verify ethnographic observations and personal London-French life-(his)stories reported by Block (2006), Favell (2008a), and Huc-Hepher & Drake (2013), they also provide reflections on the manifold sociocultural challenges with which international migrants are faced on arrival, such as finding accommodation (2005:49), attending a job interview *à l'anglaise* (2005:56-59), higher education (2005:106-108), social cohesion (2005:131-132) and the purportedly flexible, yet fiercely competitive and ruthlessly fickle, workplace.²⁷

In presenting his migratory trajectory in both a practical and autobiographical manner, Cordier makes explicit those practices that seem "natural" and go largely unseen by permanent members of the various habituses set within the London social field(s), whereas Senni testifies to the considerable symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1982[2001]; 1998, etc.), in the form of racial discrimination, suffered in ordinary academic and professional fields, which similarly seem "natural" and generally go unseen in the French social field. Favell (2008a), like Carlson (2011), suggests the existence of "a genetic propensity" to migration, that is, the greater likelihood of individuals whose forefathers have migrated to migrate, in turn, themselves. Senni's case constitutes further evidence to support this notion, and, ironically, in addition to the congenital desire to move country, is the ideological one; just as Senni's parents had been drawn to France "for the equal opportunities" (2007:18),²⁸ so he came to London in search of being "recognised for [his] true worth" (2007:164).²⁹ This work serves the same purpose as Cordier's in offering a wealth of additional empirical evidence

26 Original: "léger, confiant, invincible".

27 Although a clear distinction is made between varying *modus operandi* and values of US and UK companies.

28 Original: "pour l'égalité des chances".

29 Original: "reconnu pour ma juste valeur".

to further validate the theories posited in the academic literature, and here brings to the fore the racial inequalities and practices that appear embedded in the foundations of French society, examined in detail in Chapter 3.

1.1.8 RECENT LONDON-FRENCH PUBLICATIONS

Three additions³⁰ to the academic and lay literature reviewed above are Kelly & Cornick's *A History of the French in London: Liberty, Equality, Opportunity* (2013); an inventory of the French presence in London since William the Conqueror by Janvrin & Rawlinson (2013); and de Roquemaurel's (2014) autobiographical, highly subjective, critique of everyday life as a French migrant in London. Kelly & Cornick's edited volume provides in-depth critical analysis of the French presence at various key points in history, from the time of the Huguenot settlement in the 17th century, through to the present day. The work is singular in its foregrounding of the positive contribution the French community has made to the Capital, exploring the social, cultural, political and to some extent economic benefits the migrants have engendered. It is thus of particular significance to Chapter 7 of this thesis, dedicated to Bourdieu's notion of symbolic/cultural capital. Janvrin & Rawlinson's work also casts a positive light over the French presence in London, but here the emphasis is on a more practical retracing of the migrant waves along a temporal continuum, lacking the analytical detail and critical rigour of Kelly and Cornick's edited work, which also provides fascinating historical parallels with today's London French community, whether in terms of migratory motivations, demographics, the adoption of "host" habits or the multifaceted injections of cultural capital.

In addition, recent papers by Ryan & Mulholland, notably "Trading Places: French Highly Skilled Migrants Negotiating Mobility and Emplacement In London" (2013); "French Connections: The Networking Strategies of French highly skilled migrants in London" (2014a); and "'Wives are the Route to Social Life': An Analysis of Family Life and Networking"; together with Ryan et al.'s "Talking Ties: Reflecting on Network Visualisation and Qualitative Interviewing" (2014) and Mulholland & Ryan's "Londres Accueil: Work, Life and Emplacement in the Global City: The Case of the French Highly Skilled" (2013b) offer further valuable insights into the positioning, place-making and socio-

30 It should also be noted that a considerable number of secondary sources relating to Web archiving and Big Data are drawn on in Chapter 8, but the word limitations of this literature review prevent their treatment here. The most notable publications are Brügger (2005), Kitchin (2014) and Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier (2013). The same could be said of the comparative migration literature drawn on in Chapters 4-6 predominantly, noteworthy titles being King et al. (2014), Mata Codesal (2008) and Noble, 2013, among others.

professional ties of their highly-skilled London-French sample, which serve to support my own findings, but fail to account for the complexity and subtle cultural forces at play in the migration experience from originary to diasporic field. This is due in part to the primary data being exclusively in English and perhaps to a lack of (“small c”) cultural knowledge of the community in question. The papers shall nonetheless be drawn upon for the sake of corroboration in the following chapters.

Finally, de Roquemaurel’s (2014) account is of significance to this study as, unlike Cordier (2005) and Senni’s (2007) earlier works, and unlike the overwhelming majority of participants in this research project, it constitutes a first-person perspective of a self-proclaimed *member* of the French community in London. One who admits in the opening pages to being a living stereotype, aptly fitting the highly-skilled, City-working, South-West London-dwelling profile of the 21st-century French Londoner, but who also evokes the challenges and unease of being a Frenchman in a foreign city, at times the victim of subtle forms of symbolic violence and having the sensation of never fully belonging to the culture of adoption, despite continued efforts to “assimilate”. His testimony will serve to substantiate the empirical findings of my own research, particularly with regard to the discussion of linguistic cultural capital in Chapter 7.

1.2 ETHNOGRAPHY LITERATURE

1.2.1 BOURDIEUSIAN ETHNOGRAPHY

Bourdieu’s “theory of practice” (1972[2000]:225) could be considered a “hedge-fox” merger (Porsdam, 2013),³¹ as he argues for a combination of “top-down” and “bottom-up” data collection. He is adamant that “the deepest logic of the social world can only be understood by immersion in the specificity of an empirical reality” (Bourdieu, 1994:16),³² yet equally convinced of the need for “a plurality of observation and measurement methods, both

31 This term was coined by Porsdam to draw attention to the historic disciplinary and conceptual incompatibility of art/culture and technology, intrinsically combined in the hybrid that is the “digital humanities”. Drawing on the “two cultures” defined by C. P. Snow (The Richmond Lecture, 1962) and the quality versus quantity debate as broached by Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Porsdam argues for a joining of forces between the “hedgehog”, that is, the in-depth, ultra-analytical humanities approach, and the “fox”, namely the broad, numerically powerful, scientific approach. Thus, rather than being deemed at odds, the technological and the cultural, or the philosophical and the literary, should, in keeping with Debaene’s (2010) assessment of the ethnological and the literary as inherently intertwined, be deemed different facets of the same enterprise, an alternative outlet reaching different ends and audiences, but reflecting a singular take on the social world.

32 Original: “l’on ne peut saisir la logique la plus profonde du monde social qu’à condition de s’immerger dans la particularité d’une réalité empirique”.

quantitative and qualitative, statistical and ethnographic, macrosociological and microsociological” (ibid.).³³ His emphasis on the systematic objectivation of an otherwise empiricist approach (Jenkins, 2002:177; Jourdain & Naulin, 2011:121) constitutes a leitmotif throughout his œuvre, but is argued perhaps most cogently in *Réponses* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu’s writings on the reflexive researcher (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Deer, 2012) and the holistic methodological approach (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1994; Grenfell, 2012c) endorsed as a means of adding objective weight to an inescapably subjective enterprise were not only valuable ontologically when conducting my fieldwork, but epistemologically when engaging reflexively with my research in Chapter 2.

Not surprisingly, some have criticised this approach, concluding that it subverts the exclusively practice-based paradigm exalted elsewhere. Furthermore, by championing objective, quantitative statistical data (Grenfell, 2012b:24) and secondary field documents (Grenfell, 2012c:223) emanating from the broader social context, in conjunction with first-person, subjective accounts and participant observation, Bourdieu is to some extent undermining traditional ethnographic enquiry. In the same way that he struggled to use a sufficiently elevated style of writing to ensure academic credibility among his peers (Jenkins, 2002:163; Bourdieu, 1984:149), so his rejection of a purely grounded-theoretical and small-scale approach, in the tradition of qualitative ethnographic research, perhaps demonstrates an element of methodological insecurity. It is almost as if Bourdieu³⁴ were pre-empting potential criticisms of his theory of practice, which could be deemed insufficiently scientifically rigorous and objective to reveal any credible social truths. Perhaps in reaction to this, Bourdieu also argues that to keep abreast of the inherent changes in fields, the reflexive researcher should be on a constant quest for new methods (Grenfell, 2012a:83), as demonstrated by Bourdieu’s own research which, in *La Distinction* (1979b) for instance, drew on a relatively *avant garde* variety of methods and sources, including statistical tables, photographs, interviews and non-academic literature (Bourdieu, 1994:16). Such an approach is in total accord with the current call for qualitative sociologists to add objective credibility to their studies through methodological “triangulation” and “mixed-methods” approaches, which should by no means be considered a negation of the centrality of the subject in empirical enquiry, rather a complement to it. As shall be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 2 and 8, it is this rich and triangulated empirical paradigm endorsed by Bourdieu

33 Original: “une pluralité de méthodes d’observation et de mesure, quantitatives et qualitatives, statistiques et ethnographiques, macrosociologiques et microsociologiques”.

34 It is significant that Bourdieu refers to himself as a sociologist rather than an ethnographer, despite his seminal ethnographic studies in Kabylia (1972[2000]), the Béarn (2002) and the field of French education (1989; and with Passeron, 1964, 1970).

that is adopted throughout the thesis.

Bourdieu's studies on the French education system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964, 1970; Bourdieu, 1989) proved of chief relevance to Chapters 3 and 9, where the deployment of concepts such as symbolic violence and social and cultural capital were highly apposite when considering migration triggers in the originary field and French migrants' educational choices in the diasporic space. Likewise, *La Domination masculine* (1998) was useful in deepening my understanding of gendered discrimination in the originary space and its pernicious workings more generally, again pertinent to Chapter 3, while Bourdieu's short article, "Les trois états du capital culturel" (1979a) was of considerable relevance to Chapters 3, 7 and 9. The paper divides cultural capital into the sub-categories of incorporated, objectivised and institutionalised capital, all of which are useful conceptions when apprehending the French in the originary and migratory fields, since, as Burke contends, "[p]inpointing levels/forms of capital allow us to plot individuals' positions in social space [...so] we can begin to demarcate areas in which large numbers of individuals share a similar position, leading to the formation of social groups based on similar levels of capital and attitudes" (2016:9).

Bourdieu & Wacquant's (1992) interview-based volume – perhaps owing to its spoken original form – offered several succinct definitions of Bourdieu's notions of habitus, symbolic violence and his objectivated, reflexive methodological paradigm. I hence draw on it extensively in Chapter 2 and elsewhere. Finally, Bourdieu's English-language text on habitus as a (rare) *spatial* construct, presented in the architectural tome titled *Habitus – A Sense of Place* (2005), is particularly useful in the examination of habitat in Chapter 4, in addition to Chapters 5, 6 and 10. His works foregrounding the significance of practice in social understanding (1972[2000], 1980a, 1994) and the distinctive role of taste evidenced in the material habitat and habits (1979b) are also drawn upon at various pertinent points in the thesis.

Before progressing to literature on digital applications of ethnography, and subsequently to semiotics and ethnosemiotics literature, I now turn to works whose focus is on key Bourdieusian theories of relevance to my analysis.

1.2.2 KEY BOURDIEUSIAN THEORY

As outlined in the General Introduction, the conceptual framework of this thesis draws on two distinct, yet arguably interrelated disciplines: a Bourdieusian-based conception of ethnography and a multimodal form of social semiotics. Within that construct, Bourdieu's notion of habitus warrants particular attention as it underpins the entire thesis. Additionally,

the fundamental notions of field and capital are worthy of brief consideration below, together with Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence, social reproduction and hysteresis, since they all emerged from the interviews as pertinent to the migration experience of my research participants at various points.³⁵

1.2.2.1 Habitus

Maton's (2012) treatment of habitus underlines its duality: he alludes first to *habitus* (in italics) to designate the concept itself (2012:63), that is, the theory behind the practice or the philosopher's stance,³⁶ and subsequently to habitus (non-italicised) to indicate *habitus* in its embodied and practised form, i.e. the ethnographer's stance. Accordingly, *habitus* – as an epistemological construct – is a means for Bourdieu to transcend, as Maton posits, the “deep-seated dichotomies” (2012:48) that reduce the researcher's view of the social world to a mutually-exclusive polarisation. Habitus therefore enables society, and groups and individuals within that whole, to be seen in a new, dynamic light, revealing new social realities.

Habitus is integral to Bourdieu's “theory of practice”. Yet, synthesising habitus to a mere synonym of practice would be an injustice to Bourdieu and to the scope of its methodological applicability. It is therefore necessary to address habitus according to Bourdieu's repeatedly defined model. Again, Maton (2012) is adept at deconstructing, and therewith clarifying, habitus further, producing a model with two related etymological dimensions, namely, habitus as habitat and habitus as habit. To these, a third interconnected facet could be added: habitus as habituation (Jenkins, 2002:179). The “habitat” dimension of habitus is developed in Chapter 4, with participants' “French” homes and the physical London spaces they inhabit being discussed, i.e. particular material environments which can be assessed empirically (1972[2000]:256). The habitat aspect therefore refers to the diasporic field as a set of external “structured” and “structuring structures” (ibid.),³⁷ which are in turn transposed to the quotidian practices of French migrants in an automatic and unperceived process. Where this quasi-structuralist discourse differentiates itself from classic structuralism is precisely through individuals' internalisation of external structures, in the field's physical and practical effect on their behaviour, rather than it being an abstract

35 While Bourdieu's ideas on subjectivity-objectivity dynamics and the power of language are also of relevance, particularly to Chapters 8 and 9, due to word constraints, they will not be introduced at this juncture, but addressed where necessary as they occur in the body of the thesis.

36 It should not be forgotten that Bourdieu's education was a philosophical one, before he turned to ethnography (Robbins, 2005; 2012; Grenfell, 2012b).

37 Original: “structures structurées” and “structures structurantes”.

notion conceived in the minds of scholars. This dynamic relationship between the objective habitat and the subjective dispositions of individuals, and by extension communities sharing that habitat, leads to the “habit” element of habitus.

Bourdieu rejected the substitution of habitus for habit(s) (Maton, 2012:55 and Jourdain & Naulin, 2011:38) precisely because habit does not allow for the interplay between habitat and habits, and by foregrounding the repetitive it nullifies the reproductive “generational and organisational principles of practices and representations” (Bourdieu, 1980a:88).³⁸ Nevertheless, habit must be recognised as an integral component of habitus, for it is the main focus when studying a community from the outside (and inside). Common habits of community members, and the dispositions with which they embody and manifest them, are crucial to ethnographic enquiry, for they are constitutive of the community itself, acting as a unifying framework which displays “the unity of style that unites the practices and possessions of a single agent or a class of agents” (Bourdieu, 1994:23).³⁹ Such unity, I argue, develops a “common-unity” of practice or habits among my research participants, even if in conceptual terms they do not identify with the essentialising epithet of “community” belonging. The analysis of habits, or common behaviours, is also crucial because they shed light on “that invisible reality you cannot show or put your finger on” (Bourdieu, 1994:25).⁴⁰ This applies to abstract constructs such as “community” or “class”, but also to identity and culture, meanings which will implicitly come to the fore in Chapters 6 and 10 through the habitus prism. In the same way that scrutinising habits gives physical shape – and scientific validity – to abstract notions, so it is by studying the ordinary that the extraordinary appears; by placing the microscope over unseen signs, itself an “act of decoding” (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]:242),⁴¹ banal habits, be they behavioural, perceptive, opinionated or material, become meaningful, or culturally and “socially pertinent” (Bourdieu, 1994:24).⁴² The likenesses between these research aims and those to which multimodal social semiotics aspires are patent, in the same way that the study of individual habits is central to my research, whether in the discussion of participants’ primary French habitus or the “social habitus of London as ‘cool Britannia’” (Favell, 2008a:143). Likewise, revealing the unseen is significant, and leads to the third dimension of habitus, defined here as “habituation”.⁴³

38 Original: “principes générateurs et organisateurs de pratiques et de représentations”.

39 Original: “l’unité de style qui unit les pratiques et les biens d’un agent singulier ou d’une classe d’agents”.

40 Original: “cette réalité invisible que l’on ne peut ni montrer ni toucher du doigt”.

41 Original: “acte de déchiffrement”.

42 Original: “socialement pertinente”.

43 Although not a term used by Bourdieu whose reliance on the French language would

Habituation is suggestive of the aspect of habitus that Bourdieu defines as “history made nature”; that is, a history which is “negated as such because it takes place as second nature” (1972[2000]:263).⁴⁴ This alludes to the fundamental “fish in water” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:103) state of mind of most members of communities and societies; their unquestioning acceptance of their positioning therein and unconscious self-perpetuation thereof; and their incorporation of generations of practices unwittingly transmitted through the inheritance of both habitat and habits. Following this rationale, Bourdieu accounts for the steadfastness of France’s socio-economic class divides, despite repeated implosions of the *status quo* through such collective acts of rebellion as the French Revolution or the uprising of May ‘68 (in which Bourdieu was an active player; Grenfell, 2012b:18). Whilst his model does not wholly account for the agency required in such insurgency or the self-awareness of the “ordinary man” (a point which has been repeatedly challenged “as a form of sociological fatalism” (Jourdain & Naulin, 2011:122)),⁴⁵ it does explain the sense of stasis and resistance to change in France (to this day) expressed by Favell (2008a), Tzeng (2012) and Parisot (2007).⁴⁶

Another key aspect of habituation, hinted at above, is the notion of the transfer of “tacit knowledge” often through unvocalised, gestural instruction.⁴⁷ This pre-reflexive wherewithal is often expressed through the corporeal conveyance of practical meanings, using discreet facial movements or physical exemplification (see Bezemer et al., 2014; Streeck, Goodwin & LeBaron, 2011). Unlike a calculated “lesson”, this implicit, corporeal teaching is subsequently embodied by the learner in a taken-for-granted fashion, and in turn transmitted to future “tutees”; and so the cycle continues (Jenkins, 2002:76). To define this “habituated”, embodied form of habitus, Bourdieu again seeks a concept-term beyond the scope of the French language, yet remains etymologically close to the Latin “habitus”, drawing on the Greek term “Hexis” (borrowed from Aristotle (Maton, 2012:55)).⁴⁸ Bodily

have limited the connotative options of habitus to habit (*habitude*) and habitat alone.

44 Original: “niée en tant que telle parce que réalisée dans une seconde nature”.

45 Original: “comme une forme de fatalisme sociologique”.

46 Even then prime-minister, François Fillon, acknowledged France’s lack of dynamism, perpetual laurel resting and aversion to change in his speech to members of the French Community in London on 13 January 2011.

47 Otherwise known as unspoken “common sense” or “teaching by example”, the very existence of such idioms being representative of their social ubiquity and significance.

48 Hexis is a notion which (putting his own theory into practice) grew out of Bourdieu’s empirical ethnographic work in Kabylia, Algeria, where he, as the external researcher implicated in the subjectivities of the local peoples’ quotidian lives, witnessed the embodied outward manifestations of their social positions “in the form of postural patterns [...] loaded with multiple social values and meanings” [Original: “en tant que schéma postural [...] chargé d’une foule de significations et de valeurs sociales” (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]:286)].

hexis is an integral component of habitus, and habituation in particular, holding often hidden cultural truths about specific communities. Its relevance to the embodied Frenchness of pronunciation in the English language, for example, and the resultant sense of not fully belonging is explored in Chapter 7. Furthermore, Bourdieu's study of corporeal, sensorial and verbal forms of unconscious expression is also a flagrant precursor of multimodality. Acknowledging this specific component of habituation, itself a dimension of habitus, is therefore warranted.

1.2.2.2 Field: A “Capitalised” Game

Grenfell's collective work (2012a) once again provides an uncomplicated definition of the Bourdieusian notion of “field”. In it, Thomson (2012) subdivides the generic derivative “field” into concrete concepts: a “football field”⁴⁹ (2012:66), “science fiction force fields” (2012:68) and a physics “force field” (2012:69). Owing to my own habitus, the first metaphor, i.e. field as game, is considered more illustrative than the others, which could be replaced by “field as domain” and “field as terrain”. As with many of Bourdieu's theoretical constructs, there is an element of overlap between these different dimensions, and a necessary interplay between them as well as, imperatively, between field and habitus. A practical example of their application in the field (as domain) of Web curation is found in Chapter 8.

Beginning with “field as domain”, Thomson writes that field “is a human construction with its own set of beliefs [...] which rationalize the rules of field behaviour – each field has its own distinctive ‘logic of practice’ [...] and this understanding not only feels ‘natural’ but can be explained using the truths or *doxa* that are common parlance within the field” (Thomson, 2012:68). This definition will “feel” familiar to anyone who has experienced working within a particular domain, for instance, the literary (Bourdieu, 1994:61-80), scientific (1994:91-97), legal (1994:130), economic (1994:158-159), artistic (1994:159-60), religious (1994:200) or bureaucratic (1994:208-209) field. Each field has its own habitus, distinct from the field itself, yet interrelated, for reasons which will be explained below in the discussion of “field as game”.

Drawing on Goffman's conception of “field as game” (1969), Bourdieu's nevertheless differs in many respects. In Bourdieusian terms, the football field image facilitates the understanding of field as a *localised* social space,⁵⁰ where different players adopt different positions and engage in a constant struggle to play the game, while

49 A metaphor repeatedly relied upon by Bourdieu himself.

50 Fields function as microcosmic prototypes of the wider social space.

maintaining or improving their position within the field. Bourdieu refers to these field workings in the social context as “physical, economic and particularly *symbolic* power relations (linked for example to the volume and structure of capitals possessed by the different members) and their struggles for the preservation or transformation of these balances of power” (1994:140).⁵¹ ⁵² This summary of field is important, as it awards individuals a thinking, agentive and purposeful function they are denied if the habitus model is taken in isolation. Field does not negate or contradict habitus, however, since they are interdependent and untreatable as exclusive entities, field being a “dynamic site in which habitus and capital interact” (Burke et al., 2016:2-3). Jourdain & Naulin exemplify the reciprocity further: “habitus allows the knowledge and acknowledgement of the stakes and laws of the field to be internalised” (2011:103).⁵³ Also key in the aforementioned quotation from Bourdieu (1994) and alluded to in the others, is the notion of “capitals”: an economy of symbolic assets. Deploying such concept-terms from the field of economics as “economy”, “capital”, “exchange”, “interest” and “investment”, enables Bourdieu to demonstrate the mechanisms that govern our interactions in specific fields and broader society (or the social space), convincingly applied by Kelly & Lusic (2006) in the context of international migration.

The final dimension of field I evoke is “field as terrain”, which resonates with the French translation of “fieldwork”.⁵⁴ Being central to ethnographic practice and shedding light on the other two field dimensions (domain and game), it is important, but often overlooked. As noted above, Bourdieu, is adamant that all social theory should be grounded in the empirical data collected in the field (as terrain). However, according to his three-stage “field analysis” methodological model (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:80; Grenfell, 2012c:222; Jenkins, 2002:177, returned to in Chapter 8 on Web curation), Bourdieu also recognises the necessity to analyse empirical evidence obtained at habitus level (of field as terrain) in relation to documents and other contextual evidence gathered from the field (as domain) and the broader social field, in order to make sense of the dynamics of habitus and field (as game). Only then, he conjectures, can ethnographic research serve a socially and

51 My italics to demonstrate the relevance of field theory to the discussion of symbolic, or to be more specific, cultural capital in respect of the French community in London, explored in more detail in Chapters 3, 7 and 9.

52 Original: “rapports de force physique, économique et surtout *symbolique* (liés par exemple au volume et à la structure des capitaux possédés par les différents membres) et ses luttes pour la conservation ou la transformation de ces rapports de force”.

53 Original: “[I]’habitus permet d’intérioriser la connaissance et la reconnaissance des enjeux et des lois du champ”.

54 Namely, “le travail de terrain”.

politically committed purpose. If I am to give (socio-political) meaning and validity to this research, it is therefore vital that field, in its three dimensions, be taken into account in the methodology and analysis.

1.2.2.3 Symbolic Violence, Social Reproduction and Hysteresis

Bourdieu demonstrates his theories of practice and habitus most iconically through his case studies in the “field” of the French education system, one of which is on the role of habitus in secondary-school education, *La Reproduction* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970), whereas the other two focus on higher education: *Les Héritiers* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964) and *La Noblesse d’Etat* (Bourdieu, 1989), focused on France’s “Grandes Ecoles”. Jourdain & Naulin ambitiously attempt to summarise in a single sentence the central thesis uniting these three works (the earliest of which combines quantitative statistical research – correlating academic achievement with social background, gender, religion and place of residence variables – with grassroots qualitative research). The sentence the authors arrive at is: “far from favouring equal opportunities, the education system contributes to the reproduction of social inequality and legitimises it through meritocratic discourse” (2011:41).⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the over-simplification that any single sentence constitutes, this summary is accurate and comprehensive. It encompasses both the notion of habitus, that is, the unconscious habituation of habits which are in turn reproduced, and the notion of the misrecognition of the “arbitrary power” (Jenkins, 2002:105) of pedagogic authority as legitimate, on the part of the institutions, the staff, and, most detrimentally, the students and their families. This has implications at micro, meso and macro levels, and is of particular pertinence as a means of understanding the implicit migration “push” factors explored in Chapter 3 and the educational choices of my research participants discussed in Chapter 9.

A micro-level repercussion is that students internalise the external forces of the education system as natural, resigned to the perceived inevitability of their academic failure, underachievement or exclusion.⁵⁶ They hence compound and reproduce pre-existing social inequalities (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970). Reinforcement of this regenerative social process comes at meso level from teachers and institutions, whose “indifference to difference” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970:220),⁵⁷ i.e. their non-recognition of variation in students’

55 Original: “loin de favoriser l’égalité des chances, l’école participe à la reproduction des inégalités sociales et légitime ces inégalités par un discours méritocratique”.

56 Bourdieu himself, in his ethnographic role as insider and outsider, experienced the social exclusion of being a lower-middle-class fish in an ultra bourgeois tank, namely that of the ENS (Grenfell, 2012b:13).

57 Original: “indifférence aux différences”.

cultural and, crucially, linguistic capital due to varying socio-cultural and -economic habituses, equates to symbolic violence. At the macro, systemic and societal level, Bourdieu's works – and Jourdain and Naulin's sentence – reveal the fundamental paradox at the heart of the French education system: designed to be “open to all” and “the means to achieve an inclusive society” (Robbins, 2012:28), in other words the realisation of the Republican egalitarian ideal, *l'Ecole de la République* in fact serves to reassert social hierarchies and the reproduction of social inequality (Jourdain & Naulin, 2011:40). Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, Bourdieu's symbolic violence/social reproduction paradigm is “an attempt to specify in theoretical terms the processes whereby, in all societies, social order is produced by indirect, cultural mechanisms rather than by direct, coercive social control” (Jenkins, 2002:104). In other words, the self-legitimising process of reproduction, or the natural propensity for individuals to play the social game of their own volition, is a powerful, yet tacit phenomenon which guarantees the powers that be remain unchanged and social hierarchies persist, much to the satisfaction of the dominating players.

In addition to the theory of symbolic violence, examined in its professional and social articulations in this thesis, as well as in the educational form used as an example above, Bourdieu's theory of “hysteresis” is worthy of attention. It could be considered a pre-emptive response to the “fatalism” critique, as it acknowledges a potential disconnect between habitus and field; for example, the a-synchronicity of an elderly habitus with the contemporary technological world, or the possible “discrepancy” (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]:178)⁵⁸ between a migrant's habitus and the diasporic field. Bourdieu states that the hysteresis effect is “necessarily involved in the logic and constitution of habitus [...] when the environment with which they [practices] are actually confronted is too far removed from the one to which they are objectively adjusted” (1972[2000]:260).⁵⁹ Thus, it is plausible that French migrants in London experience a hysteresis effect on arrival, as their cultural practices may not sit comfortably within the framing mores of the adopted city (Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016:88). However, Bourdieu emphasises the negative feeling associated with such a mismatch (1972[2000]:260) which, as demonstrated later in this thesis, is not necessarily the case among migrants in the diasporic field (see also Favell, 2008a). Indeed, it may be more apposite to consider hysteresis taking effect on *return* to the originary field, either temporarily or permanently. At any rate, the concept challenges the lack of potential

58 Original: “décalage”.

59 Original: “est nécessairement impliqué dans la logique de la constitution des habitus [...] lorsque l'environnement auquel elles [les pratiques] s'affrontent réellement est trop éloigné de celui auquel elles sont objectivement ajustées”.

for change associated with Bourdieu's theories of habitus and social reproduction, as well as serving as an appropriate theoretical model to better understand migrant belonging and positioning.

Having discussed the Bourdieusian ethnographic theories essential to the empirical analyses of the forthcoming chapters, it is now necessary to review ethnography literature which specifically addresses socio-cultural experience in relation to the Internet.

1.2.3 ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE DIGITAL AGE

The 21st century has seen the development of ethnography from its grounded roots in the physical world to on-line communities and cultures. Kien (2008) alludes to "technography" to denote research that focuses on people's relationships to technology. Although not an original concept,⁶⁰ it enables an ethnographic approach to Internet use, but does so amongst a variety of other technological forms. Rather than adopt the somewhat cumbersome "neotechnography" (2008:1107) proposed by the author to restrict its meaning, it is more appropriate here to follow the canon of ethnographic enquiry that concentrates solely on the Internet in its various community and communicative guises. Beginning with Hine's *Virtual Ethnography* (2000) and Miller & Slater's *The Internet – An Ethnographic Approach* (2000),⁶¹ it is evident that the application of ethnography to the Internet is now emerging as a discipline in its own right within the Digital Humanities. Indeed, Hine's *Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, embodied and everyday* (2015), relied upon extensively in Chapter 2 for its valuable insights into the ethics of on-line research, together with the forging of such terms as "webnography", "netnography" and "blognography" are testament to the growing validity of an on-line ethnographic approach.

However, the road to an all-encompassing and transferable set of methodological and conceptual tools and terms has not been smooth. Bräuchler (2005) identifies a series of obstacles present in digital ethnography: on-land/on-line transferability; defining participant observation; interview inapplicability; temporal inadequacy (compared to traditional on-land ethnography, ideally spanning years (Hammersley, 2005:6)); and the relevance, coherence and logic of combining on-land and on-line research. These are all legitimate and pertinent concerns (explored further in Chapter 2), some of which Miller & Slater (2000) tackle. For

60 The Oxford Dictionary traces its history back to 1881 (Kien, 2008:1102).

61 By virtue of the fast-moving pace of the (commercial) digital world, both works are already outdated. Hine's title reference to "virtual" is a case in point, as this now often implies a specific, minority, "avatar"-type adoption of an on-line environment which replicates and substitutes the on-land world, such as Second Life, rather than a simple synonym for "on-line" or "digital".

example, in response to the last point, the authors defend an ethnographic approach to the Internet, but not in a “placeless ‘cyberspace’” (2000:1), rather in relation to participants’ on-land habitats. They advocate a *comparative* (2000:9) digital ethnography, i.e. embedded in a broader on-land study (2000:21), a model replicated in this thesis. It is an “outside-in” approach; viz., digital ethnographers must first immerse themselves in the culture under investigation on-land, before penetrating the on-line environment. The approach also addresses the temporal problematics identified by Bräuchler, therefore, as it requires prolonged periods in the field, being a “full-time” on-land and on-line ethnography (to counter Hammersley’s “part-time” contention, 2005:6). This contradicts Hine’s (2000) assertion that resorting to on-land evidence undermines the empirical integrity of the on-line undertaking and that it is used as a secondary means to substantiate “unreliable” on-line data. Hine therefore concludes that on-line ethnographic research should remain, not primarily, but exclusively, in the digital environment (2000:48): not a methodology adopted here, mine squaring better with Miller & Slater’s model.

In the same way that Hine’s “virtual ethnography” (2000:65) insists upon exclusive and intensive immersion in the digital environment under scrutiny, so Kozinets’s “netnography” (2010:2) postulates that “participant observation” (2010:60) is essential when studying on-line communities and culture (2010:74). Both Hine’s and Kozinets’s approaches diverge considerably from the “outside-in” entry point advocated by Miller & Slater (2000). There is, therefore, a fundamental ontological and epistemological divorce here, which has implications beyond the basic “virtual-real-dichotomy” referred to by Bräuchler (2005:4). Murthy (2008) bridges this gap by advocating a balanced approach. Highlighting imbalances revealed through a survey of on-line research practices, she proposes “redressive” solutions. Accordingly, she recommends a variety of methods to match the variety of on-line usages⁶² and a balance between on-line and on-land data, combining, for example, website evidence (social networking in particular) (2008:845-6) with “other data (e.g. interviewing)” (2008:846). The paper also seeks to redress the imbalance between “covert” and “overt” (ibid.) digital empirical research, which Murthy evidences as falling too heavily on the side of the former. Like Kozinets, she recommends an increase in overt participant observation, together with a recognition of the subjective researcher-subject among the members of the research object (2008:839). The final “redressive” role of Murthy’s model is the recommended balancing of qualitative and quantitative surveying, to which the Internet

62 For example, “large-scale multi-site international surveys” (ibid.), “email interviews” (2008:841), “digital video” (2008:843), “social networking” (2008:844) and “blogs” (2008:845).

lends itself (2008:842). Thus, Murthy's balanced methodological approach to on-line ethnography, incorporating elements of the "netnography" construct and the digital anthropological one, and building on Hine's early 10-principled virtual ethnography paradigm (2000:63-5), is arguably the most convincing and hence borne in mind for the methodology of this thesis.

The final section of this chapter will return to ethnography in its nascent "ethno-semiotic" materialisations, but before doing so, it is necessary to ascertain how Kressian social semiotic theories form part of that construct.

1.3 SOCIAL SEMIOTICS LITERATURE

1.3.1 SEMIOTIC ROOTS

Although contemporaneous and both born into academic families, Saussure (1857–1913) and Peirce (1839–1914) each devised semiotic theories in complete isolation of the other. Consequently, despite the lexical closeness of their respective sign theories (semiology and semiotics), the thinkers' conceptualisations diverge fundamentally. The primarily linguistic and binary emphasis of Saussurean semiology distinguishes it from Peircean triadic, and potentially visual, semiotics. Saussure's dualisms such as "signifier" and "signified", "langue" and "parole", "diachronic" and "synchronic" contrast Peirce's fundamental threefold concept, comprising a "representamen" (Cobley & Jansz, 2010:21), i.e. the sign itself, which relates to an "object", i.e. the signified, and the "interpretant", i.e. "the sign in the mind" (Cobley & Jansz, 2010:23). Other Peircean conceptualisations are also triadic, including "firstness-secondness-thirdness"; "qualisign-sinsign-legisign"; "icon-index-symbol"; and "rheme-dicent-argument" (Cobley & Jansz, 2010:27-3). The icon-index-symbol triad is of particular relevance to Chapters 9 and 10, where it is deployed as a mechanism for decoding *images* contained within the Web resources, themselves analysed multimodally. While there is a notable tension between multimodality and the Peircian icon-index-symbol triad, with Kress explicitly stating that "[m]ultimodal social semiotics does not make use of Peirce's well-known tri-partite classification of signs" (2010:65), since the "three terms rest on *motivation* in the relation of form and meaning" (ibid.; original italics) and it is precisely these *underlying forces* which should be explored, I would argue that by engaging with Peirce's triadic categorisation, the researcher is compelled to do just that, to dig analytically deeper and hence engage with these sub-surface impetuses. According to Peirce, an icon has a figurative resemblance to the object (for example, a photograph, or a realist still-life; it is therefore in the realm of firstness); an index demonstrates a logical

causal relationship to its object (for example, the universally recognised wheelchair emblem, or smoke to suggest fire; it is thus in the realm of secondness); whereas a symbol relates to the object “by means of convention alone” (e.g. a word or a flag, (Cobley & Jansz, 2010:33), and is thereby in the realm of thirdness). Although subdivided by Peirce, a single image can hold all three sign potentialities.⁶³ Furthermore, by classifying images according to this model, rather than falling victim to a system of vacuous labelling, which is inconsistent with the socio-cultural contextual principles of multimodality, the researcher is arguably taking the classificatory process as a semiotic investigative starting point, the cataloguing enquiry itself triggering deeper reflections on underlying motivations.

In this unjustly condensed account of highly complex theories, there are two further distinctions between the Saussurean semiological and the Peircean semiotic models. The former underlines the arbitrariness of the relationship between word-level signifier and cognitive-level signified (Chandler, 2007:22), whilst the latter stresses the notion of “unlimited semiosis”. It refers to the infinite meaning potential of signs, both in the immediate possible associations in an individual’s mind and the limitless potential of reformulations via alternative interpretants and over time. This idea is important, since unlike the sign classification triad, it is adopted by Kress (2010) in his multimodal take on social semiotics.

From these Saussurean and Peircean forms of semiotics, several schools of thought were born. Saussure’s linguistics-centred model led to the Paris School of Semiotics, founded in the early 1960s by Algirdas Greimas. Another founding member was Roland Barthes⁶⁴ (Chandler, 2007:229), who began his semiological journey as a structuralist and ended it a post-structuralist, producing such seminal works as *Mythologies* (1957), which revealed the hidden meanings of “humble” (Miller, 2010:53) material objects. While today the work of the contemporary French School has stretched beyond the confines of the written word, studying such cultural phenomena as gestural language and legal discourse, its focus remains “formalist in treating semiotic systems as autonomous rather than exploring the

63 As in the case of the London underground map: it is iconic in its recognisable topographical proximity to the physical plotting of station locations; it is indexical in its causal relationship between the names of the stations and the existing places to which they refer; and it is symbolic in its use of arbitrary colours to represent different lines/routes.

64 It should be noted that Bourdieu explicitly voiced objections to the objectifying Barthesian form of semiotics. However, self-contradictorily, he makes references to the potential of signs in his own work (e.g. 1972[2000]:231-234; 1994:24-25], and, writing before the foundation of multimodality, Bourdieu was not in a position to assess the ethnographic value of a *social* form of semiotics. I will not, therefore, assume his opposition to Barthes to be reason for doubting the validity of the “ethnosemiotic” approach posited in this thesis.

importance of social context” (Chandler, 2007:232). Conversely, the American tradition of Peircean semiotics evolved into more socially-committed and multi-disciplinary branches, for example, the work of behaviourist Charles Morris (Chandler, 2007:231), the linguist-cum-anthropologist, Thomas Sebeok (Chandler, 2007:233)⁶⁵ and, of relevance to Kressian multimodality, Michael Halliday (1978).⁶⁶ Subsequent developments in the American tradition have taken place in the fields of cybernetics, information and mass communication theory (Cobley & Jansz, 2010:114), hence its relevance to on-line cultural research. More recently still, it has been translated into the social semiotics of the United Kingdom, by such pioneers as Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (e.g. Hodge & Kress, 1988; Kress, 2010; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; van Leeuwen, 1999), themselves the precursors of multimodality as it is conceived today.

It is in relation to this historical backdrop that multimodal social semiotics both finds its roots and sets itself apart. Given its singular relevance to the on-line case studies in Chapters 9 and 10, several key analytical concepts of multimodal social semiotics must now be addressed, in particular, those applicable to on-line “texts” defined by Domingo et al. (2015), in conjunction with the founding principles established by Kress (2010).

1.3.2 INTRODUCING MULTIMODALITY

Just as semiotic theories are applied in a variety of academic disciplines and commercial settings,⁶⁷ so multimodality is experiencing an effusion of applications, ranging from anthropology to education, linguistics to musicology (Jewitt, 2011:1). In its initial conceptual form “modality refers to the status, authority and reliability of a message, to its ontological status, or its value as truth or fact” (Hodge & Kress, 1988:124). This founding premise remains true; yet a more recent definition of multimodality places the emphasis on the “reality status accorded to or claimed by a sign, text or genre [...] dependent on relevant experience of both the world and the medium” (Chandler, 2007:65). The socio-cultural situatedness identified by Chandler constitutes an unequivocal departure of multimodality from structuralist semiotics in the Saussurean and Parisian tradition. As Jewitt underlines, it is only through *social* interaction that signs are made and evolve (Jewitt, 2011), which “stands in contrast to traditional semiotic understanding of rules (or codes) as fixed and resistant to modification” (van Leeuwen, 2005, cited in Jewitt, 2011:23). Thus, in their

65 Both of whom also studied the communication of animals.

66 In particular, Halliday’s three communicative metafunctions (1978) and the notion of cohesion (1974) are adopted by Kress (2010), and discussed in 1.3.2.

67 Virginia Valentine’s Semiotic Solutions consultancy serves as one example of the latter (Cobley & Jansz, 2010:169).

mutual acknowledgement of the limitless possibilities and social dependency of meaning, multimodality and Peircean semiotics can be seen to overlap.

Jewitt (2011) also provides a cogent account of five – theoretically and methodologically inter-disciplinary – core concepts underpinning multimodality:⁶⁸ “mode, materiality, modal affordance, meaning potential/metafunction, and intersemiotic/intermodal relationships” (2011:11). In view of their applicability to the on-line analyses in Chapters 9 and 10, I define them briefly below. However, the original concept of “materiality”, key to multimodality, since modes are the material form through which meaning is made possible, is presented below as a “resource” and juxtaposed with “semiotic resources” for the sake of clarity.

- **Mode**

The definition of mode provided by Kress (2011) is an adequate illustration of how “two-dimensional” texts can be subdivided by mode, but it is important to remember that “texts” are to be understood as any form of communication or representation which are evocative of meaning; I would therefore argue that all representation could be considered a form of communication in multimodality as it recognises the central and active role of the “sign-recipient” in the production of meaning (Kress, 2010). Thus, a colour in a poster is a mode, but so is a gesture in a conversation or silent interaction. Likewise, in a film, editing and framing are modes (Burn, 2013; Bateman & Schmidt, 2011), in the same way that layout is in a Web “page” (Domingo et al., 2015). Modes are therefore socio-culturally defined channels for meaning-making in all contexts of communication and representation (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001), and as such constitute polyvalent research “objects”.⁶⁹ The major achievement of multimodality is that it provides a single “toolkit” (Jewitt, 2011:5) of concept-terms in order that different modes can be analysed in different fields, according to the same parameters.

- **Semiotic and material resources**

While modes are studied in a variety of contexts, there should be no confusion between

68 This number significantly increases to seven in the subsequent second edition of the *Routledge Handbook of Multimodality* (2014:35).

69 Multimodality has been operationalised in a variety of research settings. For instance, in 2D visual communication (e.g. colour and layout, Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; Bezemer & Kress, 2008); film (e.g. sound and lighting, Burn, 2013; Bateman & Schmidt, 2011); in 3D cultural artefacts (Björkqvall, 2009; Rowsell, 2011); in embodied form (Price et al., 2013; Streeck, Goodwin & Le Baron, 2011); in verbal/non-verbal face-to-face interactions (Hindmarsh 2007; Bezemer, et al., 2014; Bezemer, 2015); and increasingly in digital/on-line media (Dicks et al., 2006; Kress, 2010; White, 2012; Adami 2013).

“text”, “semiotic resource” and “mode”: where a poster is a text of sorts, the image (re)presented therein is a semiotic resource (Jewitt, 2013) *not* a mode; the poster would doubtless be composed of modes such as layout, writing, colour, font, etc. Van Leeuwen provides an explanation of semiotic resources intended to help distinguish them from modes, but to a certain extent does the opposite: they “are the actions, materials and artifacts we use for communicative purposes, whether produced physiologically [...] or technologically, with pen and ink or computer hardware and software – together with the ways in which these resources can be organised” (2005:285). This definition seems to correspond to that which Kress refers to as the “material resources involved in making meaning, the modes” (Kress, 2010:105). Despite this terminological blurriness, it is the deployment of material, modal resources into a meaningful whole that ultimately results in their function as a semiotic resource.

- **Modal affordance and meaning potential**

Both these terms have been conflated in a single sub-heading due to their apparent overlap, and Jewitt notes that “affordances” have been “contested and continuously debated in multimodal research” (Jewitt, 2011:24) perhaps partly because of this ambiguity. It would appear that van Leeuwen leans towards “meaning potential”, whereas Kress favours the term “affordance”, but uses both, even using one to explain the other (Kress, 2010:104). As the terms suggest, modal affordance relates to the intrinsic meaning properties and scope of a mode, as defined by the social, cultural and historic (often unarticulated and in constant flux) understandings and conventions of its users; whereas meaning potential appears to relate to the same concept, but is applicable to semiotic resources as well as modes. However, the terms are used interchangeably by Jewitt, 2011:24, and in Chapters 9 and 10 of this thesis.⁷⁰

- **Metafunctions**

Drawing on Halliday’s work (1978), Kress explains the construction of meaning through the three socio-communicative functions achieved through modes (again, not exclusively the written or spoken mode, as originally conceived by Halliday). The three metafunctions of mode are (1) ideational, (2) interpersonal and (3) textual. The ideational function could be seen as the ontological function, conveying meaning about “states, relations, actions and events in the world” (Kress, 2010:104). The interpersonal function of a mode facilitates communication between those engaging in the interaction; while the textual function

⁷⁰ Given that multimodality is a field in its early stages, it is likely that such ambiguities will be resolved through future debate and usage.

operates at both surface and sub-surface levels of the complex semiotic entity which constitutes “text” (Kress, 2010:87), “drawing on the *textual* resources of mode” (Jewitt, 2011:24), and creating meaning through cohesive relationships internally (or intra-textually) and externally (i.e. coherently and potentially inter-textually). Given that these three functions are integral to all modes, it is impossible for any two modes to be the same (Kress, 2010:104), as at least one functional aspect will necessarily differ. These three metafunctions are a useful checklist to assess the reliability of modal assumptions, for example, testing layout as mode (Kress, 2010:88), and proved helpful in the on-line analyses of Chapters 9 and 10, when drawing conclusions about the positioning and relationships of the rhetors and the French community within the diasporic field.

- **Intersemiotic or intermodal relationships**

Finally, the concept of intersemiotic relationships between modes, or intermodal relationships, is of increasing relevance in the digital age, and in respect to this thesis, for as technological advances are made and massified, so modal potentialities are increased. The representations of the French community on-line are no longer limited to “two-dimensional”, “micro-modal” “texts”, they can at once comprise “major” modes of speech, music, writing, photography and moving images – on a single Web page – together with “minor”⁷¹ modes of colour, dress, gesture, intonation, etc. (present in embedded still or moving images). It is precisely these distributions, or intermodal relationships, that will be studied in the Web resources of the London-French to infer broader sociocultural meanings. Owing to the multiplicity of multimodal combinations fuelled by the ever-widening availability and use of hand-held recording devices, and ever-increasing Internet speeds., widths and modal affordances, now, more than ever before, meaning is being tacitly created through the interweaving and framing of such modes. As Jewitt (2011, 2014) indicates, the interplay between different modes not only produces meaning in its own right, it can result in tensions, themselves meaningful and worthy of reflection. Furthermore, on the Web, the “structure of a text and hyperlinks realise connections and disconnections between screens. These contribute to the expansion of meaning relations between elements” (Jewitt, 2011:26). The advantage of multimodal analysis over other frameworks is that it provides a means of assessing the relative affordances of each mode when united in a single multimodal ensemble on-line or on-land, and perhaps more importantly, the necessary tools to analyse the meanings brought about precisely by the intermodal relationships. Bourdieu’s contention

71 The reason for the inverted commas is that, as Kress (2010) emphasises, the distribution of modes is not even, and it will vary from one multimodal ensemble to another, according to the affordances of the material and semiotic resources, and the overriding function thereof.

that reality is relational (1994:17) is thus equally valid in on-line multimodal contexts.

1.3.3 MULTIMODALITY ON-LINE: AN ANALYTICAL TOOLKIT

At this point, it is important to return to the notions of representation and communication mentioned above. Whilst I posited that all representations could be considered forms of communication in view of their intrinsic semiotic function – to communicate meaning – Kress (2010), on the other hand, draws a clear line between the two. For him, in representation, the semiotic emphasis is on the sign-maker, contingent on his or her precise spatio-temporal positioning in the world at the moment of the representational act. Whereas, in communication, the emphasis is on the sign-recipient, the sign-maker constructing the sign or semiotic entity according to the partial expectations of the sign-recipient's reaction. Thus, “[r]epresentation focuses on my interest; *communication* focuses on the assumed interest of the recipient” (Kress, 2010:71; original italics). In the context of blogs, however, such a distinction becomes hazy, as the blog is both sign-maker-centred, like the traditional personal diary, and sign-recipient-centred, as a published, public genre/text on the World Wide Web (cf. the notion of *extimité* noted by Casilli, 2010). Blogging (as the word suggests: a compound of Web and log), therefore, is both representation of personal, and by extension community, identity *and* communication thereof with the wider world through the Internet (in addition to having further communicational affordances if comment functions are activated). This demonstrates that in the context of on-line representation/communication the concept of “interest” is key, just it was in Bourdieu's field theory, as well as recalling the public-private dynamics discussed by Casilli (2010), Joinson et al. (2010), Horst & Miller (2012) and Murthy (2008).

In order to understand the multimodal approach to on-line textual analysis, as delineated by Domingo et al. (2015), several essential concepts are defined below, beginning precisely with the notion of interest.

- **Interest, the motivated sign and design**

In keeping with Peircean semiotics, multimodality gives precedence to motivation over arbitrariness (Kress, 2010:67). Kress argues that all communicational and representational acts are interest-led, and whether the interest lies with the sign-maker or sign-recipient is dependent on the semiotic function of the “text” as a whole. All signs are hence motivated, either by, what I shall term, “ego-interest” (that is, the interests of the sign-maker or of a broader body, such as a company or community, and linked with representation) or by “altru-interest” (that is, with a primary concern for the recipient to assimilate the intended

“message”, and linked with communication). Incorporated in Kress’s theory of the “motivated sign” are the three sign classifications introduced by Peirce: the iconic sign, the indexical sign and the symbolic sign (Kress, 2010:63), only one of which, as Kress points out, is “arbitrary” (the symbolic) as regards its semiotic relationship to the outside world. A logical consequence of the interest inherent in signs is that they are “made” not “used” (Kress, 2010:62); they are made by society, cultures and communities over time, through the requisite mutual understanding of successful communication and representation, but they are also made by the sign-receiver and the sign-maker, which leads to the notion of design.

In Domingo et al.’s chapter (2015) analysing blogs and other websites, design emerges as a central theme. In the interests of representation and communication, bloggers and website designers are found to deploy multiple semiotic resources in their orchestration of multimodal ensembles, and in so doing challenge traditional modal (and social) hierarchies where language presided. They demonstrate the increasing primacy of image (2015; 2014) and the tacit meanings conveyed through Web page design choices, such as layout, font and colour. Similarly, the authors illustrate the correlation between modal dominance/positioning on the Web “page” and meaning value. For example, they argue that choosing to place images on the left of the screen and text on the right awards more value to the former due to Western left-to-right reading tendencies. Images are also shown to be more efficient modes of *communication* than writing when giving instructions, and are hence embedded in the overall multimodal ensemble of a (altru-interest) cooking blog. The notion of audience is therefore intrinsically linked to that of design (in addition to communication and representation).

Miller (2010) also underlines the significance of design and audience in meaning making in his analysis of Trinidadian wholesale websites. He posits that it is the wholesalers’ “motivated” choice to produce particularly drab websites as an assertion of their commercial credibility/appeal, and thus their “interests”: since “money is not wasted on such fripperies [...], this will be the cheapest source of the goods in question” (2010:113). Tensions can arise, however, when “personal” blogs become commercially sponsored, the inclusion of advertising images and nodes jeopardising the original design integrity of the blog and potentially impacting the overall coherence of the site.⁷²

- **The rhetor, framing and modularity**

In his discussion of interest, Kress refers to a sign-complex creator as the “rhetor” (Kress,

72 They also potentially undermine the multimodal sociosemiotic conclusions drawn about the rhetor and their motivations.

2010:36). In this construct, the rhetor draws on semiotic and modal resources to give material shape to his/her interests in the form of a sign-complex or multimodal ensemble (Kress, 2010:26). The choice of multimodal rhetorical resources results in the design of the most (socially and culturally) fitting sign-complex for the representational or communicative ends of the sign-maker at that point in time; in this light the relationship between the blogger-rhetor and the blog design is clarified by interest. Thus, when the London-French blogger chooses to “frame” information, as well as expressing it through modes (Kress, 2010:122), the dynamics of interest, design and meaning intensify. The same applies in everyday interactions, which can be framed by visual, physical and verbal means, and in the design of websites and blogs. In these comparatively new textual sites, framing is often realised through modulation, either by a single author or a design-team (Domingo et al., 2015). Digital information can therefore be framed several times over: by its modular composition, by the technical parameters of the screen (Adami & Kress, 2010),⁷³ and by its spatio-temporal framing according to its situation in the material world as a result of the mobility contemporary screens offer, which may also affect and carry meaning (Miller, 2010). Thus, where linearity was once the norm, dictated by written text (in books, newspapers, magazines, etc.), precedence is often given to modularity on screen “pages” (Domingo et al., 2015). Further, Kress (2010:100-101) contends that this shift from the linear to the modular, and indeed from left-right directionality to the downward scrolling of many blogs (Domingo et al., 2015) could be seen as an implicit representation of the rise of East Asia (given the directionality and modular basis on which Chinese and Japanese characters are written). The social, cultural and political meanings of modes and framing therefore extend well beyond the semantics of the written word (if written word there is) and prove equally telling vis-à-vis the Web resources scrutinised in Chapters 9 and 10.

- **Cohesion, coherence and textual function**

Domingo et al. (2015) refer to Halliday’s (1978) textual function as being of specific value when examining on-line resources multimodally, in particular, the colligated notions of cohesion and coherence. Both terms are familiar to scholars of translation theory: the former pertains to the internal building blocks of the text, the bricks (lexis) and mortar (syntax) holding the assemblage together according to formal construction regulations. The latter acts at a less superficial level, referring to the subsurface internal logic of the text – its

73 For example, meaning-making on an iPhone may differ from that of a laptop or PC, given that they each have different internal framing affordances (Adami & Kress, 2010:184-97).

foundations, invisible yet vital – in addition to its extra-textual and inter-textual sense. In more Web-specific terms, Domingo & Kress (2013) define multimodal coherence as “the effect gained from engaging with a semiotic entity, where the reader assesses that ‘everything that is here belongs here and belongs together’” and cohesion as naming “the devices and their use employed to produce this effect”. In this way, in their comparative textual analysis of the adults’ and children’s landing pages of the Poetry Archive, they note the use of cohesive devices typical of the written mode in the former, such as syntax and lexis, as opposed to a cohesively looser, modular and inherently multimodal approach in the latter (Domingo et al., 2015). The authors therefore conclude that the contrasting cohesive strategies reflect the ideational oppositions between children and adults and thus cohere with their expectations.

- **Fixing, genre and discourse**

Linked to the concept of “framing” is the notion of “fixing” meaning. Kress sees framing as a way of punctuating semiosis by fixing meaning in a specific spatio-temporal context and, more importantly, in a given mode, genre and discursive form (Kress, 2010:122). This is an important distinction which is revisited in relation to Web archiving in Chapter 8.⁷⁴ In on-line multimodal environments, genre and discourse are complex (Bateman, 2008); just as modal boundaries are blurred in such settings, so fixing Internet texts in the wider socio-cultural and institutional frameworks of genre and/or discourse can be challenging, especially given the propensity for new genres to develop out of the medium (Domingo et al., 2015) and related social practices (the media of Twitter or Facebook are cases in point). This is illustrated by Domingo et al. (2014; 2015) with reference to blogs, who emphasise their generic plasticity, evolving from initially private diaries to public Web logs (ibid.) and now encompassing “professional portfolios, travel journals, photographic exhibitions, culinary displays” and more (Domingo et al., 2014:2); in this sense, they are generically “dynamic” (Jewitt, 2011:297). The authors highlight the difficulty in defining a uniform blog genre owing to the differing constraints of the specific platforms (Domingo et al., 2014; 2015) and the contrasting metafunctions, interests and designs of the blog-rhetors. Added to this, the authors postulate, are the generic problematics of embedded blogs, where hyperlinks fix them in new external networks, possibly on other platform types (Domingo et al., 2015),

⁷⁴ Given the importance of both genre and discourse in multimodal research, it comes as little surprise that Jewitt added both terms to the original five core concepts of multimodality in the Second Edition of her *Handbook of Multimodal Analysis* (2014:35) – in which she includes a more discourse-analytical (“little-d discourse”) to Kress’s rather “big-D Discourse” (2010:43) definition explored below – thereby raising the total to seven.

and where their content can be reproduced and transformed (ibid.). All of these factors compound the challenges of fixing on-line texts in specific genres, as shall be discussed further in Chapter 8.

As discourse is in a field beyond the habitus scope of blogs, it has not been scrutinised to the same extent as genre by Domingo et al. However, if the following thesis is to respect the epistemological and socio-politically committed wishes of Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992), Miller (2010), Horst & Miller (2012), Banfield (2004) and Kress (2010), it should, in the framework of its field analytical obligation, also examine institutional websites as *discursive* semiotic resources in their own right. Discourse shall therefore be addressed in Chapters 8 and 9.

- **Authorship, authority and modular navigation**

Kress (2010) contends that the new and changing textual genres and increasingly modular compositions found on the Internet are challenging formerly stable ideas about authorship and, in turn, authority. Web resources' tendency towards modularity is designed to invite users to visit other areas of the site, or other multimodal ensembles, such as photographs or videos, etc., in order to illicit further or richer information. This has led researchers to question the wider implications of modular navigation (Domingo et al., 2015; Dicks et al., 2006; Kress, 2010; White, 2012; Adami, 2013). For if the reader-visitor-sign-recipient is not only able, but obliged to actively seek their reading paths (Domingo et al., 2015) on the basis of which modules appeal to them, or trigger *their* interest, the established authority of the fixed word on the (web)page is undermined, as is the dominant position of the author. Thus, in a similar way that the Nouveau Roman and New Wave invited the reader and audience to play an active role in the piecing together of events in the narrative or plot, so the multimodal on-line landscape requires visitors to carve their own semiotic pathways through the written, spoken, visual, audio, or audiovisual multimodal ensembles in which they are immersed. Likewise, they are assigned the task of constructing the coherence of the on-line text (ibid.). In view of the far-reaching epistemological and ontological implications involved in the subversion of such fundamental and long-standing givens of authorship and authority (the two being intrinsically linked, and in turn linked to discourse), this theme is revived in Chapter 8 during the discussion of Web archives.

By reviewing some of the literature on multimodality, this section has drawn attention to its major precepts and provided an introduction to the Kressian concepts deployed in Chapters 8, 9 and 10. Together with the Bourdieusian theories outlined previously, they form the ethnosemiotic paradigm elaborated for this thesis. Although Bourdieu and Kress come

from differing disciplines, cultures and times, there is no conceptual tension; on the contrary, both sets of ideas act dynamically to produce a rich and nuanced picture of the French presence in London in its on-land and on-line manifestations. This leads appositely onto the final section of this chapter, dedicated to literature which acknowledges an “ethno-semiotic” framework.

1.4 ETHNO-SEMIOTICS LITERATURE: TOWARDS A COMBINED APPROACH

To conclude this Literature Review, below is an overview of texts which combine ethnographic and semiotic thought, albeit without explicitly linking Bourdieu and Kress. Some tentative, yet purposeful, first steps towards an alliance were taken by Atkinson (2005), who, using almost the same terms as Bourdieu, warns researchers of the dangers of recounting personal narratives in a “social vacuum” (2005:6).⁷⁵ In order to overcome the lack of social and cultural grounding that much contemporary ethnographic work claims to have but fails to exhibit (2005:10), Atkinson urges qualitative researchers “to recognise that material goods and artefacts can have their own, indigenous orders of signification and genres of representation” (2005:9). The author favours a social semiotics or discourse analysis approach over a structuralist semiotic framework (2005:8), and also underscores the need to geographically/physically contextualise the research object, stating that the “material order is also encoded in systems of places and spaces. Most ethnographic reportage seems oddly lacking in physical location” (2005:9). This therefore paves the way for a combined ethnosemiotic approach which acknowledges both *habitus* and field/habitat dimensions, as well as seeking methods to unlock the semiotic codes of the material presence of the community under scrutiny, and is borne in mind in the following thesis.

Three years prior to the publication of Atkinson’s paper, Lemke published a complex article on the “problem with cultural dynamics” (2002:1), in which the common ground between ethnography and social semiotics is highlighted. Lemke recognises the cultural dynamics of social semiotic systems, that is, the intrinsic reciprocity of culture and expression, or as Bourdieu might say, its “self-generating” quality. However, in an increasingly Bourdieusian slant (though Bourdieu is not acknowledged), Lemke posits that in addition to the dynamics of culture, the dynamics of the physical and the material also play a considerable role in social (semiotic) (re)production and change, referring to “socially meaningful practices” (2002:2) and the “social [...] systems of doings, not of beings” (2002:3). He subsequently extends the cultural dynamic model to include the natural,

75 Bourdieu refers to a “social void” (1996:21).

suggesting that “the natural and the cultural make each other, and are one, not two” (ibid.). In the recognition of the material, physical and natural in the making of social and cultural meanings – and vice versa – Lemke’s ultimate “ecosocial dynamics” (2002:13) model unites the practice and habitus of Bourdieu with the social semiotics of Kress. Indeed, while this model does not negate change, as Bourdieu’s “social reproduction” paradigm was criticised for doing, it does assert that change, like in natural ecosystems, cannot be predicted, or controlled (2002:18), since, in keeping with Bourdieu’s model, social hierarchies and thus dominant actors therein, are self-perpetuating and self-generative, controlled and maintained from within rather than above. The self-altering dynamics of Lemke’s “supersystem” in conjunction with the claim that every “subcommunity constructs a different reality by the views it formulates in language on any matter, and it constructs its views always and only from a particular social position of interests and values vis-à-vis other possible or actual views” (2002:3) therefore move towards the fully combined ethnosemiotic approach conceived for this thesis.

Other studies (Herman, 2007; Heller, 2006) which merge “ethno” with “linguistic” are also worthy of mention. Herman’s article (2007) suggests a multi-disciplinary analytical approach to the study of ethnocultural groups, slightly provocatively arguing for a “thin” as opposed to a typically ethnographic “thick” descriptive method, “because the thicker the description of a process or phenomenon, the more embedded that description is in the specific analytic paradigm that provides the descriptive nomenclature” (2007:218). This counters Atkinson’s (2005) plea for a return to “thick” description, but supports his appeal for a definitively holistic approach and, to a certain degree, encompasses the ideals of multimodality. That is, notwithstanding the inherent thickness of multimodal description, it is a framework which aims to bridge traditional disciplinary divides, in keeping with the endeavours of Babou et al. (2007) in their text+image ethnosemiotic work: “as phenomena, the text and image are often indissociably associated. More generally, the text/image dichotomy stems from disciplinary predilections and legacies elicited by the corpora that disciplines have selected in the field of social practices (for example painting for the aesthetics and art history; texts for linguistics and literary studies)” (Babou et al., 2007:9).⁷⁶ It is therefore in his rejection of a monodisciplinary approach and his advocating of an analytical framework which apprehends “language as an ethnosemiotic resource”

76 Original: “en tant que phénomènes le texte et l’image se présentent souvent indissociablement associés. Plus généralement, la dichotomie texte/image repose sur des héritages et des prédilections disciplinaires induits par les corpus que les disciplines ont sélectionnés dans le champ des pratiques sociales (par exemple la peinture pour l’esthétique et l’histoire de l’art ; les textes pour la linguistique et les études littéraires)”.

(2007:221) that Herman aims to discover more telling inferences regarding ethnolinguistic identity. Like the authors above, Herman also sees language and cultural identity, and in turn stereotyping, as dynamic, invisible processes, or in his words, “a hermeneutic circle” (2007:225) which needs to be scrutinised in terms of its “ethnosemiotic cues” (ibid.) as a means of understanding how cultural stereotypes are formed and, therefore, how they can be dismantled.

Another early adopter of a combined approach is Rachel Hurdley (2007), who reiterates Atkinson’s concerns regarding the dearth of visual data in qualitative social research. In her study of material and visual culture displayed on the mantelpieces of a diverse sample of Cardiff inhabitants, she does not explicitly draw on ethnography and semiotics, yet the presence of both is easily detectable. Thus, the influence of Bourdieu’s work which sees photographs as occupying the middle ground between “nobility and the masses” (Bourdieu, 1965, quoted in Hurdley, 2007:359) or as “domestic emblems” (1965:25, quoted in Hurdley, 2007:362) in the “shrine” that is the mantelpiece (ibid.) is alluded to repeatedly. Similarly, multimodal social semiotic notions of “framing” (2007:364) and “selection” (2007:365) are cited. Finally, the blurring of the boundaries between public and private domains through the public display of private photographs and personal artefacts, closely connected to personal biographies and narratives publicised through blogs on the World Wide Web, are ideas which have been broached by Kress (2010), Miller (2010), Casilli (2010), etc. above, and move ever closer towards a fully ethnosemiotic methodology.

One of the most enthusiastic proponents of a combined *ethnosemiotic* approach is Vannini (2007). His paper is a convincing treatise to an alliance between social semiotics and ethnography. In keeping with the other authors reviewed in this section, Vannini is insistent on the reflexive obligation of the social researcher (2007:10), but greater emphasis is placed on the crucial distinction between Saussurean structuralist and Peircean pragmatic semiotics (2007:1-9). Indeed, he unequivocally attributes ethnographers’ scepticism over an alliance with semiotics (2007:3) to uncomfortable former marriages between *structural* semiotics and cultural anthropology/cultural studies (2007:1). As the title of the paper suggests,⁷⁷ however, Vannini contends that the marriage between ethnography and *social* semiotics is a natural union, given the shared sensibilities (2007:3) of both sets of researchers, such as empiricism, induction, empathy, reflexivity and subjectivity. He even goes so far as to warn ethnographers against structural semiotic determinism “if they want to retain their deeply humanistic and moral concern with human conduct and with the existential uniqueness of being-in-the-world” (2007:5). For Vannini, therefore, semiotics in

77 The title is “Social Semiotics and Fieldwork: Method and Analytics”.

the tradition of the Paris School is unequivocally incompatible with ethnography (as it was for Bourdieu). However, as his ethnography of tanning on artificial sunbeds evidences (Vannini & McCright, 2004), a socio-semiotic approach is effective. Vannini enumerates five persuasive reasons in favour of social semiotics over structuralist semiotics (2007:9), all of which could be taken, with equal pertinence, as factors of commonality between Kress and Bourdieu. Significantly, he calls for a “polyvocal” (2007:10) or “heteroglossic” (2007:12) methodology, which brings together *multiple* voices, discourses, codes and *modes* of expression, thereby laying the foundations for *multimodal* ethnography. In this way, Vannini contends, the ethnosemiotician will uncover the multiplicity of truths and realities which reflect the myriad impressions and versions constitutive of reality (2007:17, 30), thereby realising the ambitions of both the ethnographer and the social semiotician.⁷⁸

In more recent years, other scholars have fully embraced multimodal social semiotic ethnography, notably, Bezemer, (Bezemer et al., 2014), Kress (2010), Domingo & Kress (2013) and Domingo et al. (2014; 2015). Dicks et al. (2006) also argue in favour of a multimodal approach as a means of collecting, analysing and disseminating data using a variety of media.⁷⁹ Drawing on earlier “hypermedia ethnography” studies (Dicks & Mason, 1998; Mason & Dicks, 2001; Dicks et al., 2005), the article, in the absence of a “conceptual framework to codify how these complex inter-relationships work to produce particular kinds of meaning” (2006:78), is nevertheless successful, like Vannini’s two years earlier, in illustrating the semiotic and empirical potential of an alliance between ethnography and multimodality.

Serving both as hindrance and help on the multimodal ethnosemiotic path to validity is a Special Issue (Dicks et al., 2011) in which the viability of a union between multimodality and ethnography is assessed. The introduction poses such questions as their “epistemological compatibility” given their distinct theoretical and methodological histories and affordances, together with possible losses and gains in the elaboration of a unified descriptive and analytical framework⁸⁰ (2011:227). Although the editors recognise the apparent compatibility of an alliance, in that “both ethnographers and social semioticians are

78 Vannini cites a single other example, to his knowledge, of a study which combines social semiotics with ethnography: Griffiths and Machin, 2003 (2007:31). However, admittedly scarce, there are other researchers whom adhere to a, primarily social, semiotic analytical model within the framework of ethnographic research, notably Fiske (1987, 1989, 1990a, 1990b); Dvorak (1996); Babou (1999, 2008), Le Marec et al. (2003); Babou & Le Marec (2004); Babou et al. (2007).

79 The final ethnography was itself published multimodally, in DVD form, Dicks et al. (2006:79).

80 Still lacking since the time of Dicks et al.’s 2006 study.

interested in examining the diversity of resources that people use in their everyday worlds, and both do so from a perspective that favours social over cognitive explanations” (2011:228), they also allow for the possibility of tensions in a combined approach. In the subsequent articles, Kress (2011) takes a pragmatic, if initially wary approach, arguing that in our inherently multimodal digital age, ethnography should tackle lived experience through a multidisciplinary and multimodal lens (2011:239-240), but that each approach, as the latter is an analytical tool rather than a theory of meaning (2011:242), has a distinct theoretical and methodological “reach” (2011:245). Whilst acknowledging the limitations of each method, Kress does not exclude their potential complementarity, seeing an alliance as a mutually beneficial exercise, with the specialised insights of both uniting to form a richer whole (2011:246).

Pink, on the other hand, is mindful of the tensions and fundamental differences between ethnography and multimodality. Drawing on phenomenological anthropology (2011:261), she posits that sensory ethnographic theories and methodologies are fundamentally at odds with multimodal social semiotics, for the former sees the senses as a combined whole, necessarily interacting with the world in unison (2011:266), whereas the latter dissects modes, and sensory communication therefore, into distinct elements of a whole (2011:262), thereby divorcing it, in her view, from sensory ethnography. Further, the phenomenological ethnographic approach involves active researcher participation in the culture and engaging in the practices of those under investigation (2011:271), whereas multimodal analyses (until that point) focused more on “the collection of data *about them*” (ibid.). For Pink, this constitutes an almost insurmountable divide; although arguably she is missing the *intermodal* function of multimodality, underscored repeatedly by Jewitt (2011, 2014) and Kress (2010). Her final conclusion is rather more positive, however. She acknowledges the attraction of “classic” ethnographic methods of the Geertzian tradition for multimodal researchers⁸¹ and, while regretting the “traditional” ethnographic approach favoured in multimodality, welcomes the possibility of a more fruitful relationship based on an innovative sensory ethnographic approach which “challenges the pre-set categories of multimodal analysis” and would “create a self-critical and reflexive strand within multimodal analysis” (2011:274). It is hoped that the reflexivity articulated in Chapter 2 of this thesis, together with on-land/on-line and intermodal dynamics foregrounded in Chapters 9 and 10 go some way to achieving Pink’s aspiration.

Unlike Pink, Rowsell (2011), who also lauds an embodied, sensory approach, is unequivocally in favour of a merging of ethnography and multimodality. Indeed, the central

81 Although she finds the absence of similar attraction for anthropologists telling.

argument set out in her paper is that both traditions “should be braided to lift out how materialities exist within modes” (2011:332) and that objects cannot be separated from other senses or other modes, which is reminiscent of the “ecosocial” approach put forth by Lemke (2002) above. Rowsell’s “emic” approach, which has much in common with the “embodiment” branch of multimodality (Jewitt; Bezemer, etc.), recognises the importance of place when conducting ethnographic research, as prescribed by Atkinson (2005), and, with explicit reference to Bourdieu’s theory of practice (2011:333), together with Kress’s “*motivated signs*” (2011:334), introduces the notion of “fractal habitus” (ibid.). A term she coins to refer to material fragments of habitus in which, when accompanied by discussions with the owners of the objects (akin to the ethnosemiotic methods deployed by Babou), “it is possible to find an underlying message of the produced object” (ibid.). In Rowsell’s opinion, therefore, the conflation of ethnography and multimodality in artefact-based qualitative research is an enriching and complementary exercise, bridging the gap between private and public domains (cf. Hurdley, 2007; Kress, 2010; Miller and Slater, 2000; Casilli, 2010; Fazal & Tsagarousianou, 2002, etc.) and allowing material shards from individual habituses to be blended with “accounts of identities and identities in situ” (2011:336), termed “artifactual interviews” (2011:341). Intangible meanings are hence garnered from tangible modes, which is precisely my aim in Chapter 4.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, it is worth returning briefly to the current state of play in multimodal social semiotic ethnographic research, as illustrated by the work of Bezemer et al. (2014) and Myrrh Domingo, among others (e.g. Luff et al., 2011). Bezemer, a self-declared “ethnographer” in the aforementioned article,⁸² is also, as his chapter in the second edition of the *Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis* (2014) testifies, a practising multimodal semiotician. His case study focuses on the micro-gestures of surgeons and their students in the operating theatre, as a form of pedagogical communication, and as such involves a fine-grained multimodal analysis of gaze, posture, micro-movements, speech, embodiment of instruments, etc., based on recorded video footage and two years’ observation in the field (2014). It serves as compelling evidence that ethnographers should not regard multimodal analysis as incompatible, but rather as “a powerful ally and tool” (Vannini, 2007:32).

82 The paper significantly bears no mention of multimodal methodologies and only a single passing reference to semiotics – perhaps testimony to, or reason for, Pink’s observation regarding the lack of interest in multimodal/social semiotic research on the part of ethnographers.

Similarly, Domingo et al.'s (2015) ethnographic and multimodal work, which stems from a social semiotic textual analytical background, pioneered by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 2001), investigates the underlying ideological messages contained in food blogs and on-line social media, serving as equally compelling evidence of the legitimacy of a combined ethnosemiotic approach. Nevertheless, her decision to divide both the terminology (“Multimodal *and* Ethnographic Semiotic Analysis of Digital Communication Environments”; my italics) and the so-called “integrated approach”⁸³ is telling of the still fragmented early stages of this branch of semiotics. Having read some of her work (2013, 2014 and 2015), however, and attended the MODE Summer School in June 2013, it is evident that her ethnosemiotic alliance is a mutually beneficial approach that has much to offer in the uncovering of meanings related to identity and culture through (re)presentation and communication in on-line digital environments.

It is in this spirit, and in the overarching spirit of Pierre Bourdieu and Gunther Kress, that I have coined my “multimodal ethnosemiotic” theoretical, methodological and analytical framework for this study. Similarly, it is in the uniting of the two disciplines, on the academic backdrop of the migrant community under scrutiny, that this literature review has necessarily become the complex and comprehensive whole it is. Having now provided a critical overview of all three sets of literature, it is time to progress to the methodological and ethical aspects of my research.

83 The “integrated approach” has three ethnographic analytical focuses (technical orientation, social orientation and socio-historical orientation) set against six multimodal socio-semiotic analytical concept-tools (including interest, mode, affordance, composition, etc.), which purportedly overlap, although are separated in her diagram.

CHAPTER 2

MATTERS OF METHODS AND ETHICS: A REFLEXIVE APPROACH

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INTRODUCTION

In order to incorporate Bourdieu's theory of reflexive objectivation ([1962]2002:12; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Deer, 2012) and tackle the third element of his three-stage field analytic model, it is now necessary to turn attention to the specific methods employed in the empirical research, and consider their ethical implications. In his introduction to *Réponses* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:13-42), Wacquant calls for an epistemological reflexivity (1992:34; Deer, 2012), sub-divisible into three distinct elements, mirroring the three biases to which all social researchers are considered to be inextricably bound: the social bias of the researcher's origins (i.e. their class, gender, ethnicity); their academic bias (i.e. their position within the field of academia); and their intellectualising bias (i.e. the propensity to impose meanings on the world and envisage it as a "*spectacle*" (ibid.)). Thus, in the following methodological and ethical reflections on my research, or that to which Bourdieu might refer as empirical-epistemological reflexivity (1992:33), I shall consider my own sociocultural, academic and intellectualising biases, and their effect on the objectivity of my interpretations.

This will involve acknowledging reflexively the ethical dynamics, as well as the research subject-object dynamics present in my fieldwork, through the same Bourdieusian prism that habitus-field ([1972]2000:263; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:103) and structuralist-constructivist (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:19; Bourdieu, 1994:28) relationships are perceived: not diametrically opposed, but dynamically interconnected. The first of these dynamic interactions, corresponding to both the social and intellectualising biases conceptualised by Bourdieu, is that of the researcher's place in relation to the community researched.

2.1 POSITIONING THE RESEARCHING SELF

Beginning, in concrete terms, in 2010 with a small, qualitative paper survey (Appendix G) distributed to approximately 200 French Londoners (10% of whom completed and returned the questionnaire), predominantly parents of French-speaking children attending the Grenadine Saturday school in Blackheath, South East London, the research conducted for this study extends, less concretely but equally compellingly, considerably further back in time.⁸⁴ Indeed, it is difficult to pinpoint a specific moment when the research began,

84 The questionnaire was initially conducted within the framework of the background research for the collective work *A History of the French in London: liberty, equality,*

precisely because of my insider-outsider, or “outsider within” (Ingram & Abrahams, 2016:154) positioning. Like Bourdieu in his seminal study of celibacy in a rural village in south-west France where he grew up (Bourdieu, 1962[2002]), I am both insider and outsider in relation to my research “object”. Insider, owing to my profound and sustained affiliations with French community “members” (as friend, wife, mother and teacher), and outsider firstly because of my status as an external observer, possessing the “intellectualising bias” that the scholarly gaze brings, and secondly as a native Englishwoman/Londoner, never feeling entirely integrated in the London-French circles I have penetrated. Being a woman and a mother has provided me with an empathetic “social bias” vis-à-vis the French mothers I have encountered in various educational and social contexts, but approaching such contexts with an observer’s eye, albeit a *participating* observational one (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:224), has at times filled me with a “feeling of having committed a sort of disloyalty, by establishing myself as an observer of a game which I was still playing”⁸⁵ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:225). As Bourdieu accurately describes, being a researcher at once on and in a community, has the drawback of rendering both the epistemic and the empirical activities a masquerade or game.⁸⁶

Similarly, conducting my interviews in (near-native) French had the intended advantage of encouraging spontaneity, enabling participants to consider issues in an intuitive, “French” frame of mind, and arguably generated more candid responses to questions concerning the “host” culture and their own positioning within it than if the conversations had taken place in English.⁸⁷ However, it simultaneously had the disadvantage of heightening the sensation of disloyalty to which Bourdieu refers and of instilling in me a tangible sense of betrayal vis-à-vis my respondents, who had so willingly and deeply confided in me. They believed they were sharing their innermost thoughts with a compatriot “sister”, only to discover, often at the end of the interview, once the recorder had been switched off and the questioning power with it, that I was in fact not equal but “Other”: other

opportunity. (Kelly & Cornick, 2013), for which I was nominated project researcher under the leadership of Prof. Debra Kelly. See Appendix G for further details.

85 Original: “sentiment d’avoir commis une sorte de déloyauté, en m’instituant en observateur d’un jeu que je continuais à jouer”.

86 Arguably, I am playing at being a researcher, since my research object is so familiar and such a part of my subjective quotidian experience that I cannot claim to be broaching it in “a social void” (Bourdieu, 1996:21), fitting of scientific enquiry; and I am playing at being a member of the community under scrutiny, for my cultural origins and academic status (i.e. Bourdieu’s social and intellectualising biases) prevent me from genuinely belonging. However, Ingram and Abrahams (2016) claim – convincingly – that such partiality is beneficial to reflexive research and that (citing Caplan, 1988) “notions of objectivity are in fact merely male subjectivity” (Ingram and Abrahams, 2016:153).

87 See Appendix D for the formal interview request (in French).

than them as French Londoners, and other than what they believed I had led them to believe, simply through my own embodiment of Frenchness.⁸⁸

Perhaps the very Frenchness I have grown to embody, which led to my research participants' misunderstanding, can be partly explained by my adult years being imbued in French language and culture, effectively transforming my ordinary habitus and leaving me with something of a hybrid or "reconciled habitus" (Ingram and Abrahams, 2016:150). Whilst ethnography necessarily involves immersion within a defined, confined, cultural environment, for a prolonged period (Bourdieu, 1962[2002]:11), since sharing in a community's practices is the only way of understanding their practices (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]:225), my own relationship to the object of study is yet more complicated. Having lived with a French Londoner since 1992 and raised two London-French children since the turn of the century, my participant observation arguably began in 1992, and will extend into the future beyond the life of this research project. This temporal open-endedness and my embeddedness within the culture under scrutiny inescapably informs, if not skews, my perspective, as well as raising valid ethical concerns. That is, while informed consent was sought for the formal interviews and paper survey conducted for this study, it was not requested from those I have "simply" observed in the "public" sphere. It would be neither practicable nor possible to obtain consent retrospectively from all those French individuals whose paths have crossed mine, however fleetingly, during my lifetime in London, and whose dispositions I have mentally recorded, wittingly or otherwise over the years. Furthermore, according to various research bodies and papers,⁸⁹ seeking consent from representatives of one's research field is *not* required if the related empirical data is gathered on a purely observational basis in the public domain: "Where information is public, it is available to researchers without any necessity to obtain individual consent" (Spicker, 2007:2), and when it stems from "spontaneous conversations [...] gathered in a publicly-accessible venue, [it] is not human subjects research [and] qualifies for a human subjects

88 It should be noted that it was not my intention to dupe my respondents, or indeed my friends and students; never have I claimed to be French, it is simply an assumption drawn from my Gallicised dispositions. This did not, nevertheless, lessen the reaction when my London origins were discovered, or diminish "the feeling of committing something akin to a betrayal" (Bourdieu, 1962[2002]:12) [Original: "le sentiment de commettre quelque chose comme une trahison"]. Having now completed the interviews, I have no regrets about having conducted them in French, as the desired spontaneity and candidness was achieved, and I am reassured in the knowledge that no deceit was intended on my part. In future research, it might nonetheless be preferable to make my English heritage explicit in the informed consent documentation.

89 For example, the Social Research Association's Ethical (SRA) Guidelines (SRA, 2003:33); the European Commission, DG Research and Innovation (Iphofen (no year published):34); or the US Code of Federal Regulations (Kozinets, 2010:141).

exemption” (Kozinets, 2010:141). Thus, given the impracticability of the “post hoc” authorisation recommended by some (SRA, 2003:31), consent in such settings has not been sought in this study.

In a comparable vein, the question of my subjective position vis-à-vis my research object arises: however objective I endeavour to be, in view of my relationship(s) with a diverse group of French Londoners,⁹⁰ it is impossible for my observations to be detached and impartial, if indeed such distance can ever be achieved on the part of an autonomous, socioculturally forged, human analyst. For, as Bourdieu intimates when he writes that the “scientific habitus is a rule made man”⁹¹ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:194), I am a thinking and feeling subject, susceptible to the same external influences as any researcher, but with a vivid sense of my own involvement in my research object. Akin to Fox regarding her insider examination of the English (2014), my “status as a [near] ‘native’ gave me a bit of a head start on the participant element of the participant-observation task” (2014:11), despite my being extremely cautious to avoid such an advantage leading to the “rose-tinted ethnography” (Fox, 2014:8) against which she warns. However, as Fox sapiently contends, “while participant observation has its limitations, this rather uneasy combination of involvement and detachment is still the best method we have for exploring the complexities of human cultures” (2014:10). I thus embarked on the participant-observation undertaking, cognisant of the risks posed by my subjective, decidedly attached, viewpoint, but equally aware of its potential to minimise the risk of objectivising my research “object” and render practices an intellectualised “spectacle” (1972[2000]:227; 1992:34) as Bourdieu cautioned, precisely because of my implicated, affinitive relationship to the community.

It is this very awareness of both the benefits and scientific shortcomings of the participant-observation model that triggered Bourdieu’s call for *reflexive objectivation*, and it is this *conditional* acceptance of the subject-object dynamics inherent in ethnographic research that lends itself to this study. For in spite of all my efforts to disembodify my analysis from my insider’s gaze, I am acutely aware of my inevitable partiality, and, in keeping with Bourdieu (1972[2000]:233), consider the two major mechanisms available for overcoming

90 From my own family to French students enrolled on my modules, from parents of children attending the same schools as mine to their teachers and my colleagues, and from friends to waiters in cafés or bakers in Paul (Drake & d’Aumale, no date), not to mention those ostensibly highly-skilled French Londoners encountered as I have walked through the streets of the City or the community members at the opposite end of the socio-economic spectrum overheard as I have taken a bus through Lambeth or Lewisham, or the medics I have encountered in hospital consultations, the members of the diplomatic corps I have witnessed in South Kensington institutions, or indeed artists whose work has come to public attention, such as, Laure Prouvost, the 2014 winner of the Turner Prize, etc.

91 Original: “habitus scientifique est une règle faite homme”.

such subjectivity to be reflexivity, as demonstrated in these lines, and a methodology that incorporates elements from the social field. Both procedures, applied in conjunction with traditional ethnographic qualitative data collection methods, increase the scientific objectivity and hence the validity of the research output. Before detailing the multiple methods deployed to meet the second of these objectives, a definition of, and reflection on, the research object itself, viz. the community under scrutiny and the participants selected to represent, or at least vouch for, the said group is required.

2.2 DELINEATING THE RESEARCH OBJECT

In an attempt to contain the potentially vast scope of this project, the French “community” to be examined is geographically limited to residents of Greater London. Some of them have spent significant periods of time trialling life in other parts of England, such as Miranda, Sadia, Charles, Robert and Suzanne, only to re-migrate to London, lured back by its “super-diverse” (Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016:95, citing Vertovec, 2007), fast-paced atmosphere brought into relief by exposure to the small-minded attitudes of parochial Britain (Favell, 2008a:177). Although focusing on a London-wide population negates the thousands of French people who have, on the contrary, chosen to dwell outside the Capital, the French Embassy itself states that a considerable majority of Britain’s French reside within its confines (Ash, 2012), and this trend has stood the test of time, with a French community having been a constant feature of the London habitat for centuries (Kelly & Cornick, 2013; Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013), irrespective of the antagonistic relationship between the two nations mythologised in public discourse. London, therefore, was to be the physical anchor of my study, with all participants currently living, or having previously lived there.

Having narrowed down the object of my study to French residents of London, establishing the research participants who corresponded to the “French” epithet proved more challenging, particularly regarding the semantic reach of the term. Should my research focus solely on French-passport holders, in line with the ONS definition, or should all native-French-speakers be deemed “French”? While the former *excludes* young French Londoners who were born in Britain and consequently hold British passports by default, as well as excluding older French Londoners who were forced to relinquish their French nationality when becoming British citizens (through marriage) in a pre-EU era (as was the case for my 80-year-old interviewee, Suzanne), the latter *includes* individuals from countries geographically, historically, and potentially ethnically and ideologically, removed from France, such as Algeria, Belgium, Canada, Congo, Mauritius, Tahiti, etc. Is it any more

justifiable to consider these persons as “French” as it is to consider the Scots, Irish, Australians or South Africans as “English”, simply because a historical, usually colonial, legacy has imposed a shared language on the disparate nations? A Scottish- or an Irish-born citizen would undoubtedly take offence at such an erroneous label, just as a Welshman or a New Zealander would, and therein lies the key to overcoming the methodological conundrum with which I was faced at the outset of this study. If I were to place the identification of Frenchness with the holder of that identity, that is, render it a process of *self*-identification, the moral burden of whom to include and therefore whom to exclude from the research would be removed from the researcher and instead placed on the researched. Surely, if one considers *oneself* to be French, or able to make a useful contribution to a project on the “French” in London, then one is automatically qualified to “represent” the French voice. Further, placing the research object in an agentic position of “self-profiling” not only facilitates the sampling process, but alleviates the ethical implications of national categorisation and (stereo)typing.

A method of self-profiling was thus adopted, which had the added benefit of “randomising”⁹² the sample to a certain extent, by providing a varied set of individuals whose profile was not deterministically imposed (see Appendix C). Thus, in addition to *Français de souche*⁹³ and Francophones from geographic locations outside France, the sample included community members who could be termed “double” migrants, that is, those who would conform to the ONS definition of French, in that they were holders of French passports, but who had initially migrated to France – where they had gained citizenship – from countries or territories further afield, but subsequently decided to re-migrate, this time to the UK, in the form of unrecorded *EU* free movers. This brings us to the following subsection, where specific details on participant profiles, data collection methods and analysis rationale are provided.

2.3 A HOLISTIC APPROACH: ON-LAND AND ON-LINE QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

As discussed earlier, Bourdieu advocates a three-stage field analysis model, which can be conceived of as a habitus-field-reflexivity triad. Thus, my approach aims to focus on habitus, yet sets the fine-grained empirical analysis on the broader socio-historical backdrop of the

92 Randomising is not to be understood in its strict, quantitative application here.

93 It should be noted that the use of this term has in recent years been the subject of fierce debate in France, having been adopted by Marine Le Pen’s *Front National*; no such connotations are intended here.

London-French migratory field, all the while reflecting on and questioning my particular methods, stance and partiality. The result of Bourdieu's own reflections on his ethnographic methods is a call for "a total social science" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:30),⁹⁴ combining "methodologism" (said to be favoured in the US) with "theoricism" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:31) (purportedly favoured in Europe), for "the most 'empirical' technical choices are inseparable from the most 'theoretical' research-object construction choices" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:197),⁹⁵ as my theoretical considerations around the research participants have demonstrated above. Thus, Bourdieu advocates research

in which the theoretical and the empirical are inseparable, and which mobilizes a plurality of methods of observation and measurement, quantitative and qualitative, statistical and ethnographic, macrosociological and microsociological (all these being meaningless oppositions), for the purpose of studying an object well defined in space and time (1996:8).

According to Bourdieu, therefore, attempting to separate theory from methodology is inherently flawed, for they are considered, once again, to be intrinsically dynamic. Similarly, Bourdieu's notion of a "total science" implies positioning the research object in its spatio-temporal and social context, as well as drawing on a variety of methods for the sake of triangulation, scientific rigour and empirical completeness. Consequently, just as Bourdieu collected and analysed photographs, field documents, quantitative statistics, interview and observational data, etc. in his research (e.g. 1962[2002]; 1979b; 1996) in addition to ethnographic immersion, for example in Kabylia (1972[2000]), so my mixed methods, involving both on-line and on-land qualitative data, including visual, written and spoken resources, serve as a 21st-century application of his 20th-century holistic model.

2.3.1 ON-LAND DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND ETHICS

The first stratum of data collection in my on-land-on-line paradigm is the on-land, the scope and rationale of which have been outlined in the previous sub-section. It is important, however, to reflect briefly on the implications of a self-selecting sample of interview participants and the efficacy – or otherwise – of its "randomising" potential. Of principal concern is the genuine (social) diversity of the self-selected group of interviewees. Placing my call for potential research participants in the London-French magazine *Ici Londres* and on the French Consulate website/e-newsletter defies a truly randomised methodology in its

94 Original: "une science sociale totale".

95 Original: "les choix techniques les plus 'empiriques' sont inséparables des choix de construction d'objet les plus 'théoriques'".

targeting of only those individuals who consult such resources, and who arguably conform to a certain “community-proper”, or at least community-engaged, segment of the broader London-French population. As my interviews and observations will reveal, there is a significant proportion of the French population in London who actively choose *not* to engage in such acts of community adherence, taking pains to immerse themselves in the English language and culture at the expense of London-French equivalents.⁹⁶ The segment of French residents in London exposed to my request for research participants was therefore restricted to a *sub-group* committed to the community, but not to be deemed “representative” of the community at large, as my insider knowledge of the broader community informed me. In order to combat this potential “elitism”, or at least the limitations of the platforms on which my research was publicised, I thus invited members of the community whom I encountered in my day-to-day activities to take part in face-to-face interviews, in addition to the self-selected participants and those who had volunteered to be interviewed following completion of the initial paper survey. This supplementary recruitment prong helped to ensure that the overall sample was as diverse as feasible, as did the “snowballing” recruitment technique, resulting in two interviews with individuals from sub-groups previously absent from the sample.

Whilst the in-depth interviews do not claim to be representative, it was the express purpose of my ad-hoc participation requests to involve French Londoners from a variety of geographical locations both in respect of their primary habitat in France/the Francophone world, and their adopted one in London, with participants originating from French cities such as Lyon, Bordeaux and Paris, from territories and countries such as Reunion, Quebec and Benin, or from small villages in *la France profonde*, and residing in London areas as (demographically and geographically) disparate as Bethnal Green (E2), Holland Park (W11), Archway (N19) and Nunhead (SE15). Similarly, the interviewees ranged in age from 24 to 80, and in profession, from a neuroscientist to a food and beverages manager, a language teacher to an IT/financial consultant, and from a lawyer to a central London chef. Consequently, whilst not representative in quantitative sociological terms, the on-land research participants are as representative as practicable for the small-scale ethnographic research conducted. Although some might argue that twenty is a relatively small number of interviewees, incapable of achieving representativeness, my rationale for limiting them is informed by the standard *data saturation* principle.⁹⁷ That is, when the responses to my

96 One needs to be registered on the French Consulate in London e-mailing list to receive its monthly e-newsletter, and to frequent London-French venues, such as the Paul bakery or the French Institute, to obtain a hard copy of the *Ici Londres* magazine.

97 See Appendix C for a full list of interviewee profiles.

questions and organically-derived themes began to repeat themselves systematically, saturation was considered to have been reached. Furthermore, when seeking thick, qualitative data and subjective, personal reactions to the themes explored and (hi)stories shared, it is neither quantity nor objective, numeric representativeness that is desired. As Burmeister & Aitken (2012) explain, in qualitative research “saturation is not about the numbers per se, but about the depth of the data” (cited in Fusch and Ness, 2015:1409). Indeed, “Guest et al. noted that data saturation may be attained by as little [sic] as six interviews depending on the sample size of the population” (ibid.), which casts a new, validating light on the number of my interviews. Furthermore, although my research object was initially centred on the ground, with on-land ethnographic data collection methods favoured, it subsequently took on a more complex shape, as is often the case (Hine, 2015:5), for “the construction of the object [...] is not something that happens all at once, through a sort of inaugural theoretical act [...] it’s a lengthy process, which takes place little by little, through successive alterations” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:199).⁹⁸ Over time, therefore, my research object evolved into one that would incorporate on-line observational data, in addition to the first-hand on-land evidence, as a means of triangulation. The decision to limit the interviews to their saturation point, which began to emerge by the fifteenth, was therefore also influenced by the knowledge that the on-land data would be complemented by another form of empirical evidence, serving to substantiate and validate the findings. This link between saturation and triangulation is made explicit by Fusch & Ness (2015) and served as further reason to conclude the one-to-one interview series at twenty, in recognition of the multiple perspectives that can be validly applied to a single point.

In addition to the twenty semi-structured interviews (see Appendix E for the interview guide), each lasting between 1½ and 2 hours and most of which taking place face-to-face, with a quarter being executed over the telephone, I also held two focus groups. This component of the on-land research was indeed an “alteration” to the original model, stemming from a chance encounter with the Head Teacher of a State-sector sixth-form college in Newham, whose student body contained a high proportion of mother-tongue French-speakers, and from a recurrent interview theme: the role of education in the London-French experience. Wishing to pursue this further, whilst gaining insights from a younger demographic than in my interview sample, all the focus-group participants being aged 16-18 years (and consequently having provided written consent to participate in the research

98 Original: “la construction d’objet [...] n’est pas quelque chose qui s’opère d’un coup, par une sorte d’acte théorique inaugural [...] c’est un travail de longue haleine, qui s’accomplit peu à peu, par retouches successives”.

from their parent/guardian), I decided to take a comparative approach. It involved organising one focus group with students at Newham Sixth Form College and one among students at the geographically and socio-economically diametrically opposed Lycée Français Charles de Gaulle in South Kensington. In total, twelve students took part: seven in Newham, who were all of ethnic-minority heritage, their parents having migrated to Europe from such countries as Ivory Coast, Martinique and Mauritius, and whom, as such, did not conform to the *Français de souche* epithet; and six in South Kensington, five of whom did conform to the Caucasian, French-heritage profile, with one alone appearing to be of affluent North African or Middle Eastern heritage.⁹⁹ To inspire conversation and provide me with a permanent record of their individualised thoughts, the persuasive influence of peers being particularly potent during adolescence, students in both focus groups were asked to complete a short, illustrated questionnaire (see Appendix F), after which they engaged in a lively conversation on the issues raised. Again, the data generated coincided at multiple points with that procured during the interviews, which provided further evidence of saturation and justification for proceeding to the on-line data collection task.

2.3.2 ON-LINE DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND ETHICS

Christine Hine describes her approach to studying practices on the Web as “ethnography *for* the Internet” (2015:5; original italics) to distinguish it from a necessarily over-ambitious ethnography *of* the (entire) Internet. Meanwhile, Horst & Miller refer to “digital anthropology” (2012:3-4), Kozinets (2010) to “netnography” and several commercial market research groups to “blognography” (Rubenstein, 2011). This multiplicity of terms reflects the methodological uncertainty and sense of experimentation present in the field of on-line qualitative research as the Internet becomes increasingly “embedded into people’s lives” (Hine, 2015:14), although studies incorporating Web (archive) data as a means of understanding how people act, interact, feel, believe and express themselves remain under-represented and out of kilter with the dominant position the Internet now plays in our day-to-day living (Murthy, 2008). My deployment of the Web as a source of qualitative data differs from the methodological (and terminological) paradigms cited above. Rather than focusing on people’s on-land interactions with the Internet (Miller & Slater, 2000), or studying the communicational practices of Internet users in specific on-line contexts (Hine, 2015; Elgesem, 2002) through participant observation (Kozinets, 2010), my exploitation of on-line data is a single strand of the overarching ethnographic spread of my study, or that

99 Although the question was not posed explicitly, to prevent potential embarrassment in the group situation and thus preserve the student’s dignity.

which Denzin terms one facet of a “[m]ultigenre crystallization” (2012:83, citing Laura Ellingson (2009, 2011)), which transcends triangulation, offering post-modern recognition of the ambiguities of sociocultural “truth”. Whilst my on-line research is observational, in its exclusive analysis of “found data” (Hine, 2015:161) and lack of the participatory role typical of the Web ethnography described above and participant-observation ethnography more generally,¹⁰⁰ it has nevertheless required “moving between sites and developing an emergent understanding of the field” (Hine, 2015:187) and in turn an ethical stance adapted to each situation, from discussion boards found in the historic JISC archive 1996-2010 to material found in integrated blog archives on the live Web, or images contained in Web resources preserved in the London French Special Collection (LFSC).¹⁰¹ Each discrete context has required a rethinking of the ethical implications (McKee & Porter, 2009; Elgesem, 2002) and resultant parameters, which, according to the Association of Internet Research, is good practice: “Different ethical issues become salient as the researcher develops research questions, seeks and gains access to individuals and/or information, manages and protects personally identifiable information, selects analytical tools, and represents the data through dissemination” (Markham & Buchanan, 2012:4), as such ethically sound ethnographic Web research should “remain flexible, be responsive to diverse contexts, and be adaptable to continually changing technologies” (Markham & Buchanan, 2012:5). Further details of how I have adapted to these changing situations are provided below.

Although my on-line research is “unobtrusive” (Hine, 2015:160) and the data generated “non-reactive” (Hine, 2015:161), it stems from a practice-based, if not a participant-based, methodology, the findings of which successfully serve to triangulate the on-land data. The practical aspect of the Web-data-collection process consisted of my becoming the curator of a special collection of Web resources for the UK Web Archive (UKWA), hosted by the British Library. This involved my attending tailored workshops at the library to familiarise myself with the Web curator tool and the selection rationale. At that time, viz. prior to legal deposit regulations affecting UK-domain archiving, the British Library was keen to encourage the curation of special collections which would match its diversity agenda. This mission is made explicit on the UKWA landing page, where it forms part of the “welcome” to the public: “The archive contains sites that reflect the rich diversity of lives and interests throughout the UK” (UK Web Archive, no date, a). In view of this

100 That is, I have not actively engaged in blog-writing, contributed to on-line fora or comment threads in response to blogposts or London-French on-line articles, or indeed requested an email interview from an individual encountered on the Web.

101 See Appendix A for a sample of Web resources housed in the collection.

mission, and with the French community representing a sizeable proportion of London's migrant population, the symbolic and economic value of which arguably surpasses that of other, more visible, minority communities in the Capital, it seemed apposite for the French in London to have a defined presence within the UKWA. This would not only ensure the long-term preservation of the otherwise ephemeral London-French cyberspace, or "diasberspace", for the benefit of future generations, be they scholars or descendants, but would provide a secure, stable and ethically sound environment in which to analyse the data. For although the field of ethics in Internet-mediated research is in its infancy and remains a contested area, informed consent often constitutes the biggest challenge (Flick, 2016; Hine, 2015:120, 124), and it is this hurdle that my reliance on data contained in the London French Special Collection (LFSC)¹⁰² attempts to overcome, as explained below.

Another risk associated with studying digital data available on the live Web is its propensity to disappear without warning, given that the "average life of a Web page is about 100 days" (Lepore, 2015), and that 10% of websites are "lost or replaced each six months" (The Telegraph, 2010). Deploying data found only in Web archives averts this risk and, in the case of the LFSC, circumvents the issue of discrete informed consent, since the owners of the Web resources presented in the corpus have given express permission to appear in the British Library's UK Web Archive (Pennock, 2013:26) in full knowledge of the likelihood that their resources may come under scholarly scrutiny. Furthermore, my personal invitation to website owners for their resources to feature in the Collection made express reference to my doctoral research and potential scrutiny of their website (see Appendix H).¹⁰³ In this way, when the owners of the resources actively granted the British Library authorisation to store their on-line material in the open access UK Web Archive, whose objective is to preserve "websites of scholarly and research interest" (Pennock, 2013:26) and appeal to an audience composed of, among others, "the journalist, the policy maker, the academic and personal researcher" (UK Web Archive, no date, b) the contributors to the LFSC were also granting permission for their Web resources to be studied in a variety of contexts. This defensible reasoning nevertheless does not escape the fact that explicit prior consent to feature *in this*

102 In addition to other Web archives; see Chapter 10.

103 It is important at this juncture to mention that permission rates were considerably increased by writing in French to the copyright owners of the sites selected for the LFSC (as a supplement to the English-language authorisation initially emailed by the British Library). Doing so significantly increased the number of resources contained in the collection and its representativeness, but the "final" amount of site owners having granted permission for their resources to be included in the live collection (as opposed to the hidden curator's interface) are still only the tip of the iceberg (at 68 and 343 respectively), constituting approximately one fifth of all the selections made.

thesis, as well as in the open access academic dissemination contexts of the case-studies featured in Chapters 9 and 10, has not been obtained (beyond permission for LFSC Web resources to be examined within the framework of my study). This poses an ethical problem requiring “a cautious evaluation of the potential consequences of this new form of publicity” (Hine, 2015:188). Given that the on-line data I examine in the following chapters and the conclusions I draw are not considered in any way harmful to those (ostensibly adult) individuals featuring in or expressing themselves through the resources, with no obvious negative consequences envisaged following the publication of the case-studies, it was deemed in the interest of the credibility and rigour of my research to reproduce Web screenshots and direct quotations in this study.¹⁰⁴

As regards the selection rationale applied to the curation exercise, my specific objective was to create a collection of websites that would mirror the physical presence of the French community in London in its manifold forms, be they administrative, institutional, entrepreneurial, gastronomical, cultural or personal, thereby fulfilling the field-relational aspirations of the Bourdieusian methodology outlined above and being as “representative” as possible, within the limitations of a small-scale corpus, whose emphasis, like the interviews, is on quality and empirical depth as opposed to quantity.¹⁰⁵ Although the collection was intended to display a variety of London-French on-line discourses and genres (see Appendix A), thereby reflecting the multi-layered realities of the on-land French presence, the aim was also for them to combine as a unified whole, given a new sense of thematic coherence through their culturo-diasporic commonality and shared “home” in the Special Collection. However, one of the key challenges during the curation process was whether the unified collection could be viewed and analysed as a cohesive whole on-line, since the change in legislation on 6th April 2013, midway through my curation work (beginning in 2011 and drawing to a close in March 2015, when the corpus was launched), meant that any website previously captured for the British Library’s non-print legal deposit collection (from over 3.5 million domains) could be selected, but potentially only viewed by

104 However, it should be noted that the leaders of the overarching BUDDAH project, of which my second case-study (see Chapter 10.2) is a component, made the cautious decision to publish researcher case-studies with *hyperlinks* to the Web archives containing the data referenced, rather than publish the screenshots embedded in the body of the text. While undoubtedly being a judicious way of safeguarding against potential copyright claims in the future, the strategy undermines the visual impact and usability of the embedded images and is evidently incompatible with hard-copy versions. Further, it does not resolve the ethical dilemma of informed consent and subsequent need for anonymity, which I shall return to at the end of this chapter.

105 The benefits of the small approach to big Web data, together with a detailed account of the valuation and selection methodology – and its implications – are provided in Chapter 8.

members of the public inside the physical confines of one of the UK and Ireland's six official legal deposit libraries. Although, having the legal right to harvest websites *en masse* was eagerly awaited by the Internet archiving institutional authorities, it carried ethical implications with respect to my work. Firstly, it jeopardised the projected "solidity" of my on-line research object; secondly, it threatened the open-accessibility expectations of the Collection, thereby contradicting the publicised intentions of the UK Web Archive, claiming to be "free to view, accessed directly from the Web itself" (UK Web Archive, no date, b); and, thirdly, it risked giving rise to a potentially fragmented corpus, an entity of two halves arbitrarily divorced from one another: one housed in the "ivory towers" of the research elite and the other freely available to all via the Internet.¹⁰⁶

In addition to the objective of producing a unified corpus, the curation methodology aimed to test my ethnosemiotic conceptual framework. As discussed in depth in Chapter 8 (and put to practical application in the case-studies of Chapters 9 and 10), applying the ethnosemiotic theoretical model to the selection practice resulted in a three-pronged approach. To begin, material that demonstrated the official on-line presence of the French in London, in other words the social-field dimension of the community presence was selected. Subsequently, the unofficial, but arguably more telling, grassroots representations of the community on the ground were selected for their value as external manifestations of the migratory Habitus, as portrayed through individuals' blogs. Finally, for my subsequent multimodal analysis of the sites to be effective, it was necessary to select sites drawing on a multiplicity of modes, for instance written text, photographic images, sound, colour, layout, etc., which all websites do by default, but which some take to greater depths of complexity

106 However, since the Non-Print Legal Deposit legislation came into effect on 06 April 2013, the British Library has been supportive in ensuring that the Collection remain a cohesive, open-access whole. Permission was sought from the copyright owners of all those Web resources selected for the LFSC between the date of the new legislation and 14 October 2014 (the date of the last harvested site). That said, as selective archiving is a costly, case-by-case process dependent on – often unforthcoming – authorisation, the legislation appears to have had the regrettable consequence of discouraging *further* investment in the compilation of the Collection, as no permissions have been sought or granted since 14 October 2014, and many of those selected post-legislature are in a constant state of "pending permission", despite users officially having the power to nominate sites for inclusion in the collection via the UK Web Archive public interface (and myself, via the selector tool; indeed eight resources were submitted in March 2015, but none of these has been processed almost two years later). It remains to be seen whether this is due to "technical issues" as I (and other potential contributors to the collection) have been repeatedly informed, or whether the blanket archiving legislation has effectively put an end to the permission-based "special" collections. If the latter is the case, the value of this small representation of a particular community at a particular point in time and space, that is, "an empirical reality, historically located and dated", as advocated by Bourdieu (1996:8), is all the more valuable.

than others. However, in the same way that the Non-print Legal Deposit legislation challenged the integrity of the collection as a whole, so it transpired that these theoretical aspirations were less practicable than I had envisaged, not least because of the technical limitations of special collections themselves. Despite the theoretical willingness of the in-house UKWA team, in practice, special collections cannot, at the time of writing, accommodate material from audiovisual sites, such as on-line radio and film channels (e.g. French Radio London or YouTube videos posted by members of the London-French community); even embedded audio, visual and audiovisual content from standard sites can be, and has been, lost in the Internet crawling process. This constituted a particular methodological hurdle when curating the LFSC, as audiovisual data, often containing tacit manifestations of cultural identity, are increasingly relied upon in the 21st-century digital age and thus of considerable pertinence to this ethnographic study, as well as to future users of the archive. Bearing in mind these limitations, whilst concentrating my on-line analyses on data found in the LFSC and other secure Web archives (namely the US Internet Archive and the JISC UK Domain Dark Archive 1996-2010), for the ethical and methodological reasons outlined above, “allowing” the occasional instrumentalisation of audiovisual and discursive data accessed from the live Web was considered justified when failing to include it would significantly undermine my argument, stripping it of the substantial evidence required to convince.¹⁰⁷

As can be seen, the technological affordances of the LFSC do not yet – and perhaps never will, with the increasing individualisation and dynamism of the real-time Internet (Brügger, 2005:27) – match those of the live Web. Although this is undoubtedly problematic for the multimodal analytical approach chosen for this study, with its focus being precisely on the variety and interrelationships of different modes of expression present in a single semiotic orchestration on a Web site, page or element, it could be argued that this archival incompleteness (Brügger, 2014:20) is entirely characteristic of any historic archive in the physical world, where damaged or elliptic material is commonplace. It is therefore the task of the on-line archival researcher to fill in the gaps, make connections and infer meanings where they may not be immediately obvious, just as it is in the material archival context. This leads us to the methods chosen for the *analysis* of both the on-land and on-line data.

107 It should be noted that this was only resorted to when the risks (for example to the anonymity of those featuring in the Web resources) and benefits (for example to the rigour and originality of my research) were balanced against each other, as prescribed by the deontological literature, with the latter considered to be carrying more weight where such resources have been incorporated. Examples of where this was the case are my allusions to a London-French satirical film published on You Tube, in Chapter 4, and my analysis of school websites on the live Web in Chapter 9.

2.3.3 ON-LAND ANALYSIS METHODS

All interviews and focus groups were digitally recorded, subject to the prior consent of the participants.¹⁰⁸ This request was consistently reiterated at the time of recording (leaving an additional audio-trail), which was particularly important for the telephone interviewees, unable to see the visual cue. The 35 hours (approximately) of recorded spoken data were subsequently transcribed verbatim, the final output constituting in the region of 160,000 words of written text, i.e. around 500 pages. The sheer quantity of data required an iterative reading thereof, with my returning to different interviews when themes began to emerge, using the word-processing “Find” function within the documents to identify key terms related to themes within the texts as a useful tool for navigating my way through the data.¹⁰⁹ A colour-coding system was also applied in order to identify and manage data thematically.

Many interviews, in the interest of safety, neutrality and professionalism, took place in public venues, typically cafés of the participants’ choice. These had the disadvantage of background noise from music, coffee machines and third-party speech impeding the transcription process, but the advantage of permitting a mapping of a sample of physical spaces frequented by members of the London-French community. Other meetings took place in the interviewees’ workplaces, which improved recording conditions and ensured the participants were in an environment with which they were familiar and appeared at ease. A couple were held in classrooms booked at my university, which arguably could have shifted the interviewer-interviewee power dynamic somewhat, although using the neutral territory of the classroom as opposed to my office was thought to minimise this risk. In the case of return migrants, telephone interviews were the preferred option, to some extent informed by my initial empirical findings evidencing a preponderance of telephone communication with family members in France, rather than videoconferencing, social media or email.¹¹⁰ Finally,

108 Additional parental/guardian consent was sought for the 16-18-year-old students participating in the focus groups (see Appendix I, drafted in accordance with the ethical protocol applicable to this young population and expressed in accessible language to ensure comprehension among the non-academic and often non-native speakers of English responsible for them).

109 N-vivo software was trialled for this purpose, but for practical reasons, namely the time it would take for me to familiarise myself with the mechanisms of the software, its location on only a restricted number of student PCs at my university, and my working knowledge and experience of literary and textual analytical methods, ruled out its deployment as a data analysis instrument here.

110 Land-line telephone interviewing was also considered a more reliable platform than an on-line one, given the varying degrees of dependability between different Internet Service Providers/connections; although the dates and times of the telephone meetings were arranged through prior email exchanges.

for a small minority of on-land participants – whom I had met prior to our recorded conversations – for example, the octogenarian, Suzanne, whose risk to my well-being was considered extremely low, whereas the benefit to hers, relieved of the logistical burden of an external meeting point, was considered extremely high, the interviews took place in the subjects’ homes, consistent with traditional ethnographic methods. Immersion in their physical habitats during these interviews evidently enabled a better understanding of how the participants’ “*dispositions*” (1972[2000]:235; original italics) were transposed to their material surroundings, supporting Bourdieu’s (habitus) theory that sociocultural “structures [are] incorporated into appropriated physical space” (1996:15). It also at times prompted comments and guided the conversation, with “fractal habitus” (Rowse, 2011:333) elements triggering thoughts and serving as “concrete” examples. Furthermore, it allowed me to enrich my text with thick descriptions of these French community members’ cultural environments and to situate them – as Bourdieu asserts – within their abstract positions of (socio-economic) class: “social division objectified in physical space” (Bourdieu, 1996:16). Similarly, by meeting most of the interviewees face-to-face, I was able to mentally record and read into details pertaining to their embodied manifestations of habitus, i.e. their corporeal hexis (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]:286), such as their sartorial choices, hand gestures, gait, posture, hairstyles and make-up, all of which, as Kress concurs (2010:77), are embodied *modes* imparting meanings and, as such, befitting of analysis. Making recordings of the interview and focus-group speech served a comparable purpose, not only facilitating iterative and close analysis, but also consideration – however tacitly – of the participants’ accents, dialects, intonation, delivery speed, volume and emphasis, all of which have semiotic affordances beyond the scope of the words themselves.¹¹¹

That said, although the physical dispositions of the research participants provided insights into their sociocultural background, the principal form of analysis undertaken with respect to the on-land data was centred on the written word, drawing on a combination of discourse analysis techniques, semiotics and grounded theories. This approach can doubtless be explained by my own academic background, or my “academic bias” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:34) to use the final prong of Bourdieu’s subjectivity triad alluded to at the beginning of this chapter. My undergraduate specialisation in French/Francophone literary and visual cultural artefacts, mixed with my post-graduate specialism in translation, and doctoral application of ethnographic methods, has no doubt contributed to my mixed-

111 The word limitations of the thesis did not allow for in-depth discussion of hexis, over and above accent, but such modal affordances were nevertheless considered when analysing the on-land data and drawing conclusions.

methods approach to the data collection and, more importantly here, the analysis thereof. Rather than take a top-down approach, with fixed theoretical hypotheses established in advance of my empirical research, to be tested through the data collected, I preferred, in keeping with the methods of the discipline, to let the themes and theories emerge from the bottom up, from the empirical data itself (Charmaz, 2006). Viz., by allowing the words to speak for themselves, the applicability of Bourdieu's constructs become apparent, for "[a]lthough the study was not initially conducted with the theoretical concepts of habitus [, symbolic violence] and hysteresis in mind, as data analysis proceeded, [I] found these notions to be particularly helpful" (McDonough & Polzer, 2012:365) in understanding the broader social implications of the interviewees' experiences. Further, this uncontrived, organic methodological-cum-theoretical process exemplifies the veracity of Bourdieu's prediction (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:197) that the theoretical necessarily stems from grounded, ontological substance, and needs. in turn to be deployed as an epistemological construct in order to interpret the empirical, in another dynamic twist. It is also in compliance with the more recent ethnographic ethical tenet of *inductive data analysis* (Iphofen, 2011-15:10), whereby theory is "generated during the research process rather than anticipated before and 'tested' by the research" (ibid.), and as such reduces the "intellectualising bias" of the researcher. This groundedness (Glaser & Strauss, 1967[2008]), blended with my close readings of the on-land interview data as narrative texts in their own right, merges the critical accuracy of the translator with the poetic sensitivity of the literary commentator, and as a whole forms the analytical framework constructed for this element of the study. Thus, my academic trajectory has effectively biased my on-land analytical vantage point, thereby validating the three-fold subjectivity model devised by Bourdieu, referenced at the beginning of this chapter.

2.3.4 ON-LINE ANALYSIS METHODS

Examining and interpreting the on-line data shifts the emphasis away from Bourdieusian "ethno" to Kressian "semiotics" in my ethnosemiotic compound. Echoing the on-land data analysis, the approach taken was fine-grained, but more reliant on a systematised decoding of the multiplicity of modes present in a single on-line "text" than the discursive emphasis of the on-land model. Thus, it is through a multimodal social semiotic prism that the on-line data are examined. Applying the analytical principles alluded to in Chapter 1,¹¹² a series of

112 They are also outlined in the case studies of Chapters 9 and 10.

multimodal ensembles thought to “represent” facets of the French community in London, are scrutinised, with subtle, yet often potent and triangulatory, meanings uncovered. In addition, the application of multimodal social semiotics could be considered to provide a supplementary layer of objectivity, permitting the orchestrations of the various modes and their interrelationships to reveal sociocultural truths which extend beyond the (con)text of their occurrence and arguably give rise to a more detached reading than the on-land model. However, ethno-/social semiotics explicitly acknowledges the benefits of the embeddedness of the analyses in the overarching ethnographic framework, with the researcher’s own knowledge of the cultural context, or field, to use a more Bourdieusian term, of the on-line resources allowing a more nuanced understanding of the objective sign systems. In turn, this validates the socially-committed, ethnosemiotic paradigm favoured in this study.

Having found the multimodal approach to be entirely apposite for my purposes,¹¹³ perhaps the most challenging aspects of analysing the on-line data were pragmatic ones, such as the definition of a “text” in an on-line environment (Kress, 2010:103; Kozinets, 2010:130; Brügger, 2009:121-122); the framing and (re)presentation of the data within the traditional, written context of this thesis; the implications of using screenshots to overcome the latter, when such copying and pasting (albeit from archived Web data) immediately raises queries over ownership, copyright, consent and anonymity. Fundamental distinctions between representation and communication resurface (Kress, 2010:51-53) when analysing blog data, as this hybrid genre falls somewhere in between the public(ation) domain and the communicational one, targeting a highly focused audience (Yoon, 2013:181; Technorati, 2010). Evidently, this returns the discussion to matters of an ethical nature, and as such brings us to the concluding subsection of the chapter, where the persistent internet-mediated research issues of ownership, public-private space and anonymity are treated.

2.4 ETHICS IN PRACTICE: THE IMPLICATIONS OF TEXTUAL AND SPATIAL FRAMEWORKS

Ethics have clearly been incorporated in all the above discussion of methods, but it is now necessary to reach my ethical conclusions. Earlier in the chapter, in relation to the French community on-land, I considered my position as both participating insider and English

113 In June 2013, following a competitive application process, I received one of two bursaries to participate in an intensive, week-long multidisciplinary MODE: Multimodal Methods Summer School at the Institute of Education’s Knowledge Lab, led by Carey Jewitt and Gunther Kress, among others, which confirmed the aptness of the analytical toolkit for my on-line data (see Waring, 2012).

observing outsider, or the “marginal native” (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994:249, quoting Freilich, 1970), yet more observer than *participant* observer in relation to the on-line community. However, inasmuch as the corpus of websites I have curated aims to record the collective identity of this often overlooked minority community – be it on-line or on-land, for the two are inextricably and dynamically connected (Miller & Slater, 2000:5-8) – in a bid to provide the community with a presence, accessible to all, for generations to come and so contribute prospectively to the collective memory of this diasporic population, I now believe it valid to consider the curation practice as a type of ethnographic *participation*, for it involved participating in the community through immersion in their on-line environment. Like Hine, I hold the conviction that “unobtrusive methods for exploring the Internet, treating the movement of a researcher through an Internet landscape as potentially a form of immersive experience” (Hine, 2015:185), a subtle participatory activity, particularly when the researcher is engaged in the *practice* of making value assessments and selection decisions whose ends transcend those of the scholarly undertaking at hand and will ultimately impact the social field beyond the scope of this thesis. In order to curate the LFSC, I was necessarily bound to plunge deep into the digital world of the French in London, discovering, through the “Web of hyperlinks” (Brügger, 2014) London-French spaces I would never otherwise have entered (Miller & Slater, 2000:104), and gaining insights into their on-land world as I did so. In that sense, although the output of this research practice is participatory (i.e. the ultimate dynamics of the LFSC and its curator with the community audience), some might, on the contrary, deem my observational curation activity as being “covert” and thus raise the same ethical questions as those initiated in the context of covert on-land observation. In these terms, it could be seen as a 21st-century reincarnation of the early ethnographic work of the Chicago School of the 1920s and 30s, where the researchers gathered “undercover” evidence from immersion within small communities of practice, be they taxi-dance-hall or homeless groupings (O’Reilly, 2009:44-5), subsequently sparking “a series of heated debates” (O’Reilly, 2009:46). However, there is a significant difference between my inconspicuous gathering of found digital data and that obtained covertly in the aforementioned studies, in that my “use of non-reactive traces of behaviour” (Hine, 2015:161) is precisely that: non-reactive, and non-interactional. This relieves the ethical burden because, despite my work gaining community interest in influential ranks,¹¹⁴ the on-line curation practice cannot justifiably be deemed human subjects’ research, as it requires no response from those concerned. This brings us to a fundamental distinction proposed by Kozinets.

In *Netnography* (2010), Kozinets broaches the perennial public-private duality of

114 As seen in the introduction, for example, from the Vice Consul of France in London.

Internet data (Elgesem, 2002) in textual-spatial terms. This is an intriguing opposition, resembling the representation-communication dichotomy introduced by Kress (2010:51-53), in that the emphasis of representation is on the temporally detached recipient of the sign and therefore more reminiscent of a “text” than a spontaneous, essentially communicative interaction. These textual and spatial conceptions of the Internet, linked to their differing temporality, concur with Kress’s representational-communicational paradigm: texts and representation can be associated with a-synchronous meaning-making, implying an awareness of the pending publicity, whereas space and communication correspond to synchronous interactions, which could suggest an expectation of privacy, despite the global reach of the Internet as a medium of communication. In this convincing framework, it is crucial to establish whether my on-line data are effectively (elements of) *text* or *space*. If they are considered spaces of the Internet, it could be argued that human subjects’ protocol (anonymity, consent, etc.) should be respected (although, as outlined above, this is ultimately determined by the observational or interactional characteristics of the research). If, however, they are considered texts (or elements thereof) – which their archived state would suggest, for it is arguably impossible to store “space”, at least in the physical domain – the question of intellectual property resurfaces. The updated 2014 UK copyright exception legislation states that “[y]ou are allowed to copy limited extracts of works when the use is non-commercial research” and when there is no significant “financial impact on the copyright owner because of your use”. However, “you must ensure that the work you reproduce is supported by a sufficient acknowledgment” and be aware that “a photograph cannot be reproduced for the purpose of reporting current events” (Intellectual Property Office, 2014). Conscious that my inclusion of Internet users’ photographs are not for the reporting of current affairs and in no way affects competition among newspapers and magazines, it seems that the “fair dealing” copyright exception legislation in force favours my rights as an Internet researcher over those of the intellectual property owner. Thus, when envisaged as a text, reproducing elements of on-line data for the sake of scholarly analysis, within the limitations stipulated above, brings considerable ethical/methodological advantages, essentially removing the need for consent altogether, and overturning the call made for anonymity/confidentiality elsewhere in the literature (Hine, 2015:120, 163, 187; Kozinets, 2010:137-138, 154-155).

Defining the on-line data upon which I draw in this study as *text* (i.e. a form of public, a-synchronous *representation*) rather than *space* (i.e. a realtime environment where individuals engage in live *communicational* exchanges), not only shifts the regulatory balance from the human subject to intellectual property, and in turn from the property owner

to the scholar, but also contributes to the shaping of the methodology. That is, in spite of having the technological and administrative potential to include records of London-French microblogging (Tweets) and Social Networking Sites (Facebook) in the LFSC, given their realtime, communicational, interpersonal and therefore arguably more private characteristics, I have chosen, after careful reflection, not to include such Web data in the archive or my analysis. This decision substantiates further my subsequent resolve not to seek consent from my on-line research “subjects”. Obtaining informed consent, in the case of my on-line research, which differs from other studies in its general restriction to archived Web data, would in fact not constitute a pragmatic challenge.¹¹⁵ Similarly, through the public (but overtly aimed at London-French bloggers), physical monthly meet-ups publicised on the Apéro-Blog London website (examined in Chapter 10.1), I could easily have introduced myself and my research to members of the blogging community and gained insights both into their blogging intentions and their on-land dispositions. Taking either of these ethical and methodological steps would, however, in my opinion jeopardise the validity of the on-line case-studies (in Chapter 10), particularly their objectivising, triangulating function, and would automatically “humanise” the “textual” on-line research, immediately engaging me in an interaction with the “subjects” behind the representations, or the texts, of interest to me, which would in turn shift the balance of ethical power back to the producers of the texts. By avoiding dynamic researcher-researched interactions in the London-French bloggers’ on-line and on-land space, I have effectively allowed their representations to function predominantly as representational texts and serve the triangulatory purpose designed for this study, testing the robustness of the multimodal sociosemiotic paradigm, free of possible “contamination” from the subjectivities of the bloggers themselves. This is in keeping with the Bourdieusian holism established earlier, which recommended a combination of subjective and objective methods in order to increase scientific rigour, and precludes the need for consent. The final question remaining, therefore, is whether this textual – as opposed to spatial – ethical framing of my methods can also eliminate the need for anonymity.

While I privilege the *textual* definition of the archival Web data drawn on in this study, Kozinets concludes that the Internet is *simultaneously* text and space, and that it is important “to acknowledge both spatial and textual understandings of computer-mediated communications – and perhaps adopt other metaphors as they are pertinent and useful”

115 Since I had already identified the contact details of all the website owners selected for the LFSC, it would simply have been a question of drafting an on-line version of the informed consent form previously written for the on-land human subjects’ data collection and sending it to the website owners.

(2010:141). Nevertheless, the aptness of the spatial metaphor is compelling when one considers the “action” – at least on a cognitive level – of entering the on-line world of the London French, navigating one’s way through the space, following links and actively moving around the different forms/modes of data. I did this quite consciously when immersively curating the LFSC, and indeed conceptualised the experience as a journey through a defined sociocultural “space” above. In this light, the same data I defined as “text” just a few lines ago, subsequently transmute into an inhabited “space”, populated by those who co-construct it through their hyperlinked user-generated content (UGC), when I reflect on the practice of immersion and curation. This in turn casts a new light on ethics and the need – or otherwise – for anonymising the data reproduced or referenced in this thesis. We have now reached the point at which Kozinets’s textual-spatial plurality is problematic; if the data is a text, as seen above, *acknowledgement* is essential, indeed prescribed by law. Conversely, should the data be deemed a space in which human subjects interact (including the researcher), the need for *anonymity* becomes indispensable.

Protecting research participants’ identities was relatively straightforward in the on-land context, with pseudonyms being used systematically, and further anonymising mechanisms, such as subtle changes to participants’ employment being applied when individual(s) had expressly asked for such protective measures, deeming the pseudonym alone insufficient “cloaking” (Kozinets, 2010:155). Making an alteration to the employment details is line with the SRA Ethical Guidelines, which state that a “particular configuration of attributes can, like a fingerprint, frequently identify its owner beyond reasonable doubt. So social researchers need to remove the opportunities for others to infer identities from their data” (2003:39). Removing such configurations of attributes and therefore effectively anonymising data is, however, a far more complex affair in the on-line context. On the one hand, the researcher seeks scientific credibility by using direct quotations from verifiable sources, and on the other, there is a need to protect the provenance of such sources for the sake of human-subject confidentiality. This evidently results in a tension between the robustness of the data and the obligation to safeguard anonymity that cannot simply be ensured by using a pseudonym. Unlike in the physical world, chains of quoted language, reproduced verbatim by the researcher, are automatically traceable to the original source simply by inputting the string to a search engine such as Google (Hine, 2015:163; Kozinets, 2010:145). Likewise, the systematic use of pseudonyms is a traceable thread of associations, for “online pseudonyms function exactly like real names and should be treated as real names” (Kozinets, 2010:144); pseudonyms therefore do not provide the identity protection offered in the physical domain. Further, when quoting on-line data verbatim in an academic context,

the researcher is both compromising the anonymity of the individual who has generated the data and opening it up to new audiences and meanings (Hine, 2015:187). Aware of this tension between anonymity and credibility, and having again weighed up the risks posed to the producers of the on-line material and the benefits gained by quoting it in this study, I have come to the conclusion that in my research, focused overwhelmingly on archived, temporally anchored “texts”, as opposed to instantaneous, communicative messages extracted from the Internet space, it is justifiable to make verbatim quotations, in keeping with any form of *textual* analysis, but necessary to ensure that the intellectual property owners of such material are duly acknowledged. This undeniably compromises the cloaking of their identity; however, it could be argued that their identity is revealed only to the extent that the original authors desire it to be, in that when taking the agentive step to publish their data/texts in the on-line sphere, they have pre-established the ethical boundaries they deem sufficient to protect their identity (or not). In other words, their on-line persona may already be (multiply) pseudonymous and the scope of such concealment arguably lies in their hands, just as the identification of Frenchness lay in the opinions of the on-land participants themselves, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

Fraught with tensions and conflicting guidelines, it seems that drawing any steadfast ethical conclusions is inevitably doomed, particularly in the uncertain, ambiguous world of the Internet. However, it would also seem that engaging in a reflexive process and recognising the inherent mutability of mixed-methods research goes a considerable way to overcoming such challenges. When I consider the impact of my interventions, be they the effect on the lives of the on-land participants, having excavated regions of their past that had hitherto been unexplored, or the potential effect the knowledge that a blog is now archived in an open-access, memory institution *ad infinitum*, might have on the on-line behaviour of the blogger in question, however subtle, the moral scruples with which I am confronted are undeniable. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that empirical research can neither be gathered nor disseminated in a social/personal vacuum (Bourdieu, 1996:21) and necessarily affects those involved to some degree, it is my firm conviction that the positive impact of this study by far outweighs any negative repercussions on the participants, all of whom, *al contrario*, seemed to find the on-land interviews a pleasant, even cathartic, experience, just as the LFSC contributors undoubtedly appreciate their Web resources gaining recognition beyond the usual circles targeted in the on-line sphere, since “[m]any bloggers would rather see their

online work properly cited, just as that work would be credited were they to publish it in a book or article” (Kozinets, 2010:145), and owners of commercial sites are likely to be pleased to benefit from additional publicity at no extra expense. Thus, while deserving of these in-depth reflections, which have focused principally on my subjective social and intellectualising biases, I believe my methods to be ethically, epistemologically and ontologically sound, not only bringing benefits to those participating in the study, but also to the wider London-French field, for example the French Consulate in London, and the academic field in which this thesis lies, for, as Bourdieu advocates, “ultimately, the subject of reflexivity must be the field of social sciences itself”¹¹⁶ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:35).

In this way, the positioning of my study within the broader academic context, and its contribution in terms of the research object (the London French being an under-researched population), the distinctiveness of the theoretical paradigm (bringing together Bourdieusian ethnographic theories with Kressian social semiotics for the first time), the originality of the methodology (combining on-land and on-line data and Web curation as immersive praxis) and its emphasis on the *cultural* dynamics of migration (generally apprehended through an economic prism in scholarly and political fields), render it a valid and valuable undertaking, the fruits of which will be explored in the following chapters.

116 Original: “le sujet de réflexivité doit, en dernière analyse, être le champ des sciences sociales en lui-même”.

CHAPTER 3

CONFRONTING THE ORIGINARY HABITUS: ON-LAND SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE AS MIGRATION TRIGGER

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INTRODUCTION

Much of the originality of Bourdieu's thinking lies in his emphasis on revealing the unseen, be it the internal embodiment of external structures central to his habitus theory or his acknowledgement of the symbolic power tacitly governing our social systems and interactions. The muted influence of symbolic capital, domination and violence that permeates all levels of society in usually invisible, or at least unobserved, yet remarkably potent ways, constitutes a leitmotif of the Bourdieusian œuvre.¹¹⁷ In recognition of the importance of these symbolic phenomena to Bourdieusian theory and, more importantly, their pertinence to my on-land empirical findings, this chapter attempts to shed light on the symbolic dynamics operating beneath the surface of the London-French migratory experience, focusing particularly on symbolic violence in the originary field and its pernicious role as a mobility trigger. Although many of my research participants cognisantly foregrounded the attractiveness of London in terms of migration *pull* factors, highlighting its freedom, opportunity and openness, equally forceful *push* factors also emerged, albeit generally less wittingly. This chapter shall therefore uncover the less recognised push factor of symbolic violence in France's fields of education (3.1), work (3.2) and the broader social space (3.3).

Symbolic violence is an intangibly inflicted, yet tangibly suffered form of violence which, I argue, pervades French society and constitutes a compelling migratory push factor for a number of my research participants,¹¹⁸ and one hitherto ignored in the literature, tending to concentrate on the migratory space at the expense of the originary field (for example, Ryan and Mulholland, 2013). This negation on the part of scholars (Kelly & Lusia, 2006) and migrants alike could be explained by the inherent perniciousness of the phenomenon, as Bourdieu posits, "symbolic violence takes place through an act of knowledge and unacknowledgement which lies beneath the controls of consciousness and willpower, in the darkness of the workings of habitus"¹¹⁹ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:146). In the same way that habituation is a fundamental component of habitus, constituting the taken-for-granted manner in which individuals embody and enact their position within society's structures, so

117 From his early writings of the 1960s (e.g. Bourdieu & Passeron, *Les Héritiers: Les étudiants et la culture*, 1964) to those published in the years approaching his death in January 2002 (e.g. *Meditations Pascaliennes*, 1997, or *La Domination masculine*, 1998).

118 Despite it not necessarily being the explicit reason they verbalise or acknowledge, which is entirely in keeping with its incorporated potency.

119 Original: "la violence symbolique s'accomplit à travers un acte de connaissance et de méconnaissance qui se situe en deçà des contrôles de la conscience et de la volonté, dans les ténèbres des schèmes de l'habitus".

symbolic violence is a subtle dynamic process. In practice, the concept functions at the threshold of agentive awareness and passive submission, with those in positions of social dominance committing quotidian acts of symbolic – and therefore accepted and unpunished – violence on those deemed inferior, however sub-consciously. In this way, the former maintain their positions of power and the latter their impotence, without either questioning these hegemonic ranks, the consequence of which is the social reproduction so vehemently condemned by Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970). This is evidently a crude simplification of a highly complex and socio-culturally refined phenomenon, but it summarises the premise of “victim complicity” (Landry, 2006:85) or “voluntary servitude”¹²⁰ (Dubet, 2014:19) at the heart of Bourdieusian symbolic violence, an emergent awareness of which helps to explain why many French have left their homeland and find London to be a more positive environment, with converted rates of symbolic capital (Erel, 2010; Kelly and Lusi, 2006; Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016; Wallace, 2016),¹²¹ and how they have subverted their pre-destined habitus.

3.1 SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN THE FRENCH EDUCATIONAL FIELD: “They’ve succeeded in putting me off altogether”

It is arguably an “awakening of consciousness” (Bourdieu, 1990:116, cited by Jenkins, 2002:83) that motivates some to migrate to London, and this sensation can begin at or shortly after school. Several of my interviewees chose London precisely for the tertiary educational opportunities it offered (despite the financial commitment involved). A growing awareness of the predetermination of their own habitus, of their fore-trodden trajectories, pushed them from France, whilst the prospect of socio-cultural transformation, either triggered or enabled by education, pulled them to London.¹²² Vladimir Cordier’s negative experience in France’s higher education sector epitomises the first of these scenarios: it was the profoundly pessimistic tone of the graduation speech delivered by one of his “eminent professors, bedecked with qualifications”¹²³ (2005:13) that caused the dismal inevitability of his future life-trajectory to appear before him. Like other French migrants, he “had had enough of a particular sort of ‘French mentality’”, deciding “it would be London or nothing”¹²⁴

120 Original: “servitude volontaire”.

121 See Chapter 7.

122 As opposed to the French Capital, where macro-level forces would continue to (self-) influence their lives.

123 Original: “éminents professeurs, bardé de diplômes”.

124 Original: “n’en pouvaient plus d’une certaine ‘mentalité à la française’ [...] ce serait Londres ou rien”.

(2005:20). If Bourdieu's sociology of education, and more generally his theory of habitus, are thought to acknowledge inadequately the social changes that have occurred over the last century,¹²⁵ for instance increased women's rights, they nevertheless clarify the slowness and incompleteness of such changes¹²⁶ (Dubet, 2014:15) and succeed in theorising a persistent reality that is felt by many French migrants in London. That is, whilst Cordier's example is representative of a purportedly widespread, yet scarcely visible, discontentment present in the French educational field,¹²⁷ his awakening to his own fate and consequent resolve to migrate – thereby subverting his originary habitus – is, just as Bourdieu's theory conjectures, the unlikely exception rather than the predestined rule. In this vein, the relatively low levels of intra-European migration recorded since the opening of borders a generation ago are a predictable outcome of the silent power of habitus and the symbolic forces influencing “decision”-making: “migrant West Europeans are in fact not so easy to find. They are the exception among Europeans: less than 2 per cent live and work abroad in the continent” (Favell, 2008a:x). This means that over 98% of Western Europeans remain sedentary,¹²⁸ apparently content with their lot, a figure which could be explained by Bourdieu's notion of reproduction, itself the by-product of the complicit nature of symbolic violence and

125 Bourdieu's sociology of education has been criticised for its fatalism, determinism and imperviousness to change, for much the same reasons as his general theory of habitus. Various scholars working in the British educational field have taken issue with it (Jenkins, 2002:117), due to its apparent incompatibility with their own research in the British State-education sector (ibid.). However, this contention fails to take account of the profound contrasts inherent in the French and English systems. Although the British system is certainly not without myriad faults and idiosyncrasies, as alluded to by Favell's London French (2008:81), it conforms to a national pedagogical model which places the learner at the centre of his or her education (student-centred learning; MacHemer & Crawford, 2007); Deikermann & Lampe, 2004) and endorses teaching through practice rather than theory (task-based learning, Nunan, 1989; Huc-Hepher & Huertas Barros, 2016). This approach contrasts starkly with the French one, as shall be seen in Chapter 9. However, the embeddedness of Bourdieu's model in the French socio-cultural field, its “caractère franco-centré” (Jourdain & Naulin, 2011:123), is entirely apposite for this chapter, considering that its principal focus is precisely on the migratory push factors present the *originary habitus*, in this case symbolic violence and the consequent reproductive forces encountered in French education.

126 Recently published figures on the continued gender pay gap substantiates such assertions, with 2015 figures showing a discrepancy of between 19.2% and 9.4%, depending on the variables (e.g. part-time and/or full-time workers), but there has been very little change in recent years (Office of National Statistics, 2015).

127 The repercussions of which extend into the workplace and broader social field.

128 Current statistical research states that “there are roughly around 1.2 million British migrants living in other EU countries, compared with around 3.2 million EU migrants living in the UK” (Hawkins, 2016:23). Respectively, therefore, the proportions constitute approximately 1.8% of the UK population (at 65 million) and 0.6% of the EU population (at 508.5 million), figures which concur with Favell's findings some eight years previously and support further the reproductiveness of society in general.

domination, as shall be revealed below regarding education.

Just as symbolic violence is described by Bourdieu as straddling consciousness and unconsciousness, so symbolic domination is (self-)realised according to the mechanisms of subliminal, naturalised perpetration and appropriation: “The effect of symbolic domination (whether of ethnicity, gender, culture, language, etc.) does not function according to the pure logic of knowing consciousness, but through patterns of perception, judgement and action which are constituents of habitus and establish, within conscious decision-making and the confines of willpower, a relationship of awareness profoundly unknown to itself”¹²⁹ (Bourdieu, 1998:58-9). The applicability of this paradigm to manifold power relationships, including ethnicity, gender, culture and language, is significant, since the empirical evidence unearthed here covers all these dimensions and more. Also of significance, and fundamental to Bourdieu’s concept, is that both the perpetrators and victims of symbolic violence and domination are guilty of perpetuating the status quo through their very lack of awareness of, or an awakening to, the symbolic forces inconspicuously exerted on both sides. Bourdieu reveals the ways in which these forces play out in relation to gender imbalances¹³⁰ in *La Domination masculine* (1998), to which we shall return in section 3.3, but his earlier work on the innate inequality of the supposedly egalitarian French state education system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964) is of greater relevance at this point and emblematic of this incorporated subjugation, whereby “the submissive subject becomes complicit in his/her own submission”¹³¹ (Landry, 2006:86). Bourdieu not only emphasises the ideologically, and in turn institutionally and socially legitimised (Bourdieu et al., 1993:1425) “handicap” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:105; Senni, 2007:21) at which students from deprived backgrounds are automatically placed, being taught and assessed on a necessarily equal basis as their socio-economically (and therefore culturally¹³²) rich counterparts, but reveals how the habitus and familial entourage of such students compound this imbalance from within. According to him, parents lack the wherewithal to challenge a system whose inner workings elude them, and unintentionally convert educational shortcomings into innate deficiencies or “individual destiny” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:109), which in turn increases the student’s sense of inevitable failure. The legitimising authority of the system, coupled with

129 Original: “L’effet de la domination symbolique (qu’elle soit d’ethnie, de genre, de culture, de langue, etc.) s’exerce non dans la logique pure des consciences connaissantes, mais à travers les schèmes de perception, d’appréciation et d’action qui sont constitutifs des habitus et qui fondent, en deçà des décisions de la conscience et des contrôles de la volonté, une relation de connaissance profondément obscure à elle-même”.

130 And sexuality, by way of an Appendix (1998:161-8).

131 Original: “le sujet soumis devient complice de sa propre soumission”.

132 In terms of the “dominant” cultural terms evoked by Wallace (2016).

the parents' acknowledgement thereof, increases "social inequalities because the most disadvantaged classes, only too conscious of their own destiny and too unconscious of the mechanisms through which it is realised, thereby contribute to making it reality" (ibid.).¹³³

It is precisely this vicious circle and the foreordination of their circumstances/status that my London-French participants originally from underprivileged backgrounds attempt to defy in their migratory act and draws some to the English education system when making choices about the educational pathways of their progeny.¹³⁴ Further, those individuals who choose to migrate are by definition also challenging the(ir) status quo, confronting the habitus through a desire to take agency of their futures. Some 30 years after Bourdieu's observations, Hamid Senni's (2007) experience of being educated in France is a case in point, and serves as secondary field evidence to introduce and triangulate my own findings. The London-French autobiographical author is damning in his criticism of the French education system, highlighting, as Bourdieu conjectured, the inevitability of his assumed academic and professional failure and the role of the system in reinforcing such a position: "Are we inferior beings, condemned to stay at the bottom of the ladder? In any case, that's what the education system wants us to believe" (2007:37-8).¹³⁵ Nevertheless, Senni's desire for success, encouraged by his parents in a process of migratory reproduction,¹³⁶ triggers his mobility, purely because such success was denied him in France, initially at school, and subsequently in the workplace.

So commonplace were the negative stereotypes (2007:76)¹³⁷ associated with the Maghrebi community of which Senni was a product, that he had grown habituated to the "discrimination [...]. It was simply a sort of inevitability" (2007:77).¹³⁸ Certain episodes at school confronted him unequivocally with double-standards which transcended disadvantage in the name of equality. For example, he was advised by a well-meaning teacher, oblivious to the symbolic harm she was inflicting, to change his forename from Hamid to Lionel or George, since with a surname like Senni, he ran the fortuitous risk of being (mis)taken for an Italian (2007:18), thus preventing future discrimination in the professional field. It is noteworthy that Sadia, a 32-year-old research participant whose father

133 Original: "les inégalités sociales parce que les classes les plus défavorisées, trop conscientes de leur destin et trop inconscientes des voies par lesquelles il se réalise, contribuent par là à sa réalisation."

134 See Chapter 9.

135 Original: "Sommes nous des êtres inférieurs, condamnés à rester au bas de l'échelle? C'est en tout cas ce que le système scolaire veut nous faire accroire."

136 They are themselves migrants rejecting the destiny mapped out for them in Morocco.

137 Namely, being a "thief, liar, violent, trouble-maker" [Original: "voleur, menteur, violent, bagarreur" (2007:76)].

138 Original: "discrimination [...]. C'était simplement une sorte de fatalité".

was an Algerian migrant to France, recounted an analogous phenomenon:

My dad called me Nicole so that I would integrate [...]. Whereas the name he'd picked for me was Sadia, [...] the forename I would've liked to have, in fact. And it's funny because that name [...] it's as if I don't give it to myself actually. Because I could... For example, when I arrived in England, I could have gone "my name's Sadia", but I never did [...]. And whenever I start something new, I could say "my name's...". But I don't; it's as if I won't allow myself to.¹³⁹

The complicity of Sadia in her own, almost sub-conscious, self-denial of a patronymic embodiment of her Algerian heritage, in an attempt to escape potential prejudice and pass through society unnoticed, is in keeping with Bourdieu's paradigm, and exemplifies the extent to which discrimination suffered in French society has become an inherited predictability, part of the habitus. While the good intentions of Sadia's father might have been legitimate, the effect of such abnegation has been profoundly hurtful (Garratt, 2016:84) and lasting.

Senni provides numerous anecdotes pertaining to acts of symbolic violence suffered in the originary educational field and perceived to be the result of his ethnicity. One example took place during his application to a prestigious business school,¹⁴⁰ where the oral examination proved a humiliating experience due to the examiner's sarcastic reliance on racial stereotypes (2007:83). The condescension is evoked in tellingly tangible terms, with her comments being described as more painful than the blow of a baseball bat (2007:84) and her smirks "unbearable, like razor blades" (2007:83-4).¹⁴¹ This physicality demonstrates the intensity of symbolic violence, comparable in its effects to physical violence (Schubert, 2012:180), yet largely ignored by society (Garratt, 2016:82). Indeed, not being *explicitly* discriminatory, the grounds for formal complaint are weak. It is precisely these pernicious characteristics of symbolic violence that allow it to thrive unchallenged (Garratt, 2016:81), in spite of the suffering caused.¹⁴²

139 Original: "Mon père, il m'a appelée Nicole pour que je m'intègre [...]. Alors que le nom qu'il avait choisi pour moi, c'était Sadia, [...] le prénom que j'aurais voulu avoir, en fait. Et c'est marrant parce que ce prénom [...] c'est comme si je ne me le donnais pas en fait. Parce que je pourrais... Par exemple, quand je suis arrivée en Angleterre, j'aurais pu faire 'moi, je m'appelle Sadia', mais je ne l'ai jamais fait [...]. Et à chaque fois que je commence quelque chose de nouveau, je pourrais dire 'moi, je m'appelle...'. Mais non, c'est comme si je me l'interdisais."

140 The *École supérieure des affaires (ESA)*.

141 Original: "insupportables, on dirait des lames de rasoir".

142 Research in the cognitive sciences demonstrates the physicality of these sentiments, as neuroimaging reveals that the areas of the brain activated when individuals are exposed to symbolic acts of violence, in this case social rejection, are identical to those affected when the violence and pain are physical (Kross et al., 2011). Similarly, multiple studies in the

Sadia's and Senni's examples resonate with Bourdieu's conclusions on the complicity of victims in their educational shortcomings and subsequent pathways. Internalising negative labels and expectations, Senni pre-reflexively identifies with his preordained failure (2007:38; 51), yet resists it. Furthermore, echoing Bourdieu's words with uncanny proximity, Senni's parents are powerless to combat "the educational machine" (2007:37)¹⁴³ and contribute to their own fate through their very submission to the systems and symbolic forces running beneath the surface of "l'école des chances" (Dubet, 2004). This enables the perpetuation of an intrinsically hypocritical system (Dubet, 2004:8), which, in the name of equality, makes "the weakest [...] victims because they are unskilled in the subtle hierarchical games between institutions, pathways and careers advice, all these small differences which ultimately lead to large discrepancies" (ibid).¹⁴⁴ In effect, they are unacquainted with the educational field "as game" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:73), unfamiliar with the *doxa* (Thomson, 2012:68) and lacking the necessary cultural capital (Thomson, 2012:67) – particularly as migrants in a foreign culture – to make strategic decisions or challenge authority figures for the long-term benefit of their progeny.

During my field research, Loïc, a returnee having lived in London during 2001-02, described an almost identical scenario to Senni's. Although not from an ethnic minority, he believes he did not conform to the bourgeois model typically attending France's *Ecoles des Beaux Arts*, which is in part why he chose not to study fine art at a renowned art school, but

social sciences and education demonstrate the persistence of a correlation between disadvantaged social background and underachievement at school, despite efforts to reverse this trend in the UK (Francis & Wong, 2013). France has been less effective in introducing changes to its education system owing to the power of the student and teaching unions, whose systematic opposition to reform has consistently undermined projected policy, with even the "most minuscule of reforms" [Original: "plus minuscules réformes", Dubet, 2004:6] being rebutted as a matter of course, the opponents' educational conservatism gaining popular support through its disguise as – the socially more acceptable in the context of France – political dissidence: "they wrap *status quo* strategies in the mantle of revolution" [Original: "ils revêtent d'une allure révolutionnaire des stratégies du *status quo*" (ibid.; original italics). Until 2013, that is, when legislation was finally passed on the "refounding" of the *École de la République*. It remains to be seen whether these changes, coming into effect in secondary *collèges* in September 2016, will have the desired outcomes, for as Dubet points out (writing almost half a century after Bourdieu, but regrettably illuminating the continued pertinence of his findings), the French education system, historically and into the present day, "reproduces social inequalities and at times crystallises incontestable ethnic segregation" [Original: "reproduit les inégalités sociales et cristallise parfois une incontestable ségrégation ethnique" (Dubet, 2004:42)].

143 Original: "la machine éducative".

144 Original: "les plus faibles [...] victimes parce qu'ils ne maîtrisent pas les jeux subtils des hiérarchies entre les établissements, les filières, les finesses des orientations, toutes ces petites différences qui finissent par faire les grands écarts".

“plastic arts at university”.¹⁴⁵ Loïc is – or rather *was* – ambitious: the most qualified of all his family, he left school with the institutionalised capital of a baccalauréat, subsequently studying art to MA level, at which point he decided to embark on a career in secondary education.¹⁴⁶ He passed his written and practical art teaching exams with an impressive 17/20, only to fail at the last hurdle: the oral, for which, Loïc conjectures, he must have been awarded a score of only “two out of 20”,¹⁴⁷ given his extremely strong marks elsewhere. The only explanation for the variance in performance between the anonymous assessments and the inescapably personal oral component seems to be either prejudice or corruption, or perhaps both. Such allegations, however, are again difficult, if not impossible, to prove and, as Loïc astutely indicates, it is precisely this opacity that allows the systemic inequity to prosper: “I don’t have any proof of this professional examination malfunctioning; that’s precisely the premise which makes this rigged system work so well in France. It exists at every level.”¹⁴⁸

In Loïc’s case, the meritocratic principles of the *concours* served him well in the anonymous assessments, but, unbeknown to him and perhaps even his oral examiners, if Bourdieu’s assertions are considered valid, his social background functioned as a detrimental “handicap”. That is, although the *concours* system “ensures formal equality between candidates perfectly” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:104),¹⁴⁹ at the same time, and herein lies the paradox, it can “transform privilege into merit, since it allows the action of social origin to continue to operate, but in more secret ways” (ibid.).¹⁵⁰ It is precisely this secrecy which, in the examples Loïc and Senni, enables the perpetuation of positions of social dominance and subordination, with culturally (and in all likelihood socially) rich examiners and their students from privileged backgrounds maintaining their superiority through their mutually recognised symbolic articulations of power, since they cannot “but apprehend reality

145 Original: “les arts plastiques à la fac”.

146 Becoming a teacher is a procedure fraught with tension and uncertainty in France, requiring more than enthusiasm, subject knowledge and pedagogical talent alone; it is a highly competitive process, which most fail at least two or three times, if not indefinitely, whereby applicants participate in a national recruitment competition, or “concours”, for the CAPES (le Certificat d’aptitude au professorat de l’enseignement du second degré), in order to fill a limited number of positions each year and by the same token secure guaranteed employment in the State education sector until retirement. It therefore goes without saying that these are highly sought-after and coveted posts.

147 Original: “deux sur vingt à l’oral”.

148 Original: “je n’ai pas de preuves de ce dysfonctionnement du concours; c’est bien le principe qui fait que ce système truqué marche si bien en France. Il est présent à toutes les échelles.”

149 Original: “assure parfaitement l’égalité formelle des candidats”.

150 Original: “transformer le privilège en mérite, puisqu’il permet à l’action de l’origine sociale de continuer à s’exercer, mais par des voies plus secrètes”.

indirectly and symbolically, that is, through the veil of rhetorical illusion” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:75).¹⁵¹ This in turn leads the ultimate wielders of symbolic power, i.e. the examiners, as Bourdieu writes, to confuse (or choose) inherited cultural capital with cultural merit, resulting in those students conforming to the examiners’ archetype of a culturally/academically worthy candidate being given the advantage over those who do not.¹⁵² It is thus a symbolic cycle which reinforces the “limits of capital gains” (Friedman, 2016:107) and restricts social mobility. Moreover, not only is the original disadvantage of those less socially well-placed students institutionally ignored through the constitutionally “equitable” French education system, but, in parallel, those examining the candidates, in this instance Loïc’s oral interlocutors, are (wittingly or otherwise) complicit in this egalitarian “discrimination” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:107-108).

In this light, while Loïc’s oral examination “failure” could well have been due to an intentional, albeit secretive, act of nepotistic symbolic violence, it could be argued that the examiners’ disproportionately harsh grading was down to insufficient awareness of their own prejudicial positioning, given that they themselves are products of the education system and therefore pre-reflexively embody its inherent value systems, leading to “unintended” discrimination against those in possession of less cultural capital as a result of their originary habitus (Friedman, 2016; Garratt, 2016; Ingram & Abrahams, 2016). The *manner* in which Loïc articulated his ideas – however pertinent and accurate – could therefore have affected the mark awarded, purely because of “the relationship to culture to which [he was] socially promised by [his] birth” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:39),¹⁵³ as could his embodiment of a certain habitus, both of which may have been subconsciously or consciously registered by the examiners. Whatever the reason for Loïc’s “failure”, there is no doubt that *he perceived* it to be an agentive demonstration of the nepotistic corruption considered among many informants to pervade the French education system, which resulted in him seeking new opportunities abroad.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, Block to some extent confirms this (2006). Although he makes no reference to the existence of symbolic violence as a migration push factor among his French informants, he nevertheless alludes to the “relative flexibility of the British educational system, in particular the *transparent* and relatively straightforward progression from first degree to teacher qualifications to teaching post” (2006:132; my italics), together

151 Original: “n’appréhender le réel qu’indirectement et symboliquement, c’est-à-dire à travers le voile de l’illusion rhétorique”.

152 In Loïc’s case, the difference between success and failure was a mere ½ point.

153 Original: “le rapport à la culture auquel [il fut] socialement promis par [sa] naissance”.

154 Following Loïc’s original migration to London, for the past two years he and his partner have again been living overseas.

with “the fact that in Britain there is no CAPES” (ibid.). The reference to transparency is telling, as is the comparative rigidity of the ordinary educational field, both of which are defined as migration triggers among his French participants, hence confirming the scope and validity of the hypothesis set out here.

Other field research examples include preclusion from a high-performing school in central Paris, recounted by a female informant of Mauritian heritage, and symbolic violence noted by students at the Lycée Français Charles de Gaulle (LFCG). In the words of one Focus Group 2 student, “in France, if you’re of African or Arabic descent, you’re a lot less likely to get into a school than if you’re of French descent, er truly French... white.”¹⁵⁵ Similarly, another student provided a litany of negative comments purportedly directed by LFCG teachers at pupils not epitomising the “*archetypal* traditional student” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:75-6; original italics):¹⁵⁶ “they create clans. They say, ‘if you feel uncomfortable in this school’ and that ‘your marks are super bad’, or ‘you’re going to be kicked out’, and all that. They say ‘why are you disenchanted?’, ‘you need to do better’, and stuff like that.”¹⁵⁷ Rather than openly confront the students on an “equal” footing, the staff are perceived to collectively mobilise against them and shrewdly deploy a strategy of reverse hostility which places the negativity with the students themselves by accusing *them* of being disenchanted, by claiming *them* to feel uncomfortable in the school and blaming *them* for their poor grades, before openly posing the threat of expulsion. In any other field, such tactics might be considered a form of harassment, but the subtle nature of habitus and symbolic violence places such discrimination outside UK jurisdiction.¹⁵⁸ According to the legislation in force,

155 Original: “en France, si vous êtes d’origine arabe ou africaine, vous avez beaucoup moins de chances de rentrer dans une école que si vous êtes d’origine française, euh vraiment française... blanc.”

156 Original: “*type idéal* de l’étudiant traditionnel”.

157 Original: “ils font des clans. On dit, “si vous vous sentez mal dans ce lycée” et que “vous avez vraiment de super mauvaises notes”, ou “vous allez être viré”, et tout ça. On dit “pourquoi vous êtes désenchanté?”, on dit “encore des progrès à faire” ou des trucs comme ça quoi.”

158 Chapter 15, Section 26 of the British Equality Act 2010 states that “A person (A) harasses another (B) if A engages in unwanted conduct related to a relevant protected characteristic, and the conduct has the purpose or effect of violating B’s dignity, or creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment for B” (Equality Act, 2010). Evidently, repeated exposure to words of the kind purportedly uttered by some members of the Lycée teaching staff – and also found to be commonplace in *collèges* and *lycées* in France during my fieldwork, as touched upon above – would have the effect of violating the students’ dignity and creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating *and* (rather than “or”, as the legislation states) offensive environment. However, and this is an important point that contributes to the prevalence of this form of symbolic violence, the so-called “protected characteristics” to which this legislation relates, being part of the Equality Act, are based on age, disability, gender, race, religion, belief, sex or sexual

the student who made the statement above is compelled to accept the repeated acts of verbal violence, his only self-defence being *not* to submit to the negative characterisation of failing at school and “becoming a thug in line with their prejudiced expectations”¹⁵⁹ (Senni, 2007:84).¹⁶⁰ These examples suggest that Bourdieu’s defence of the teachers as *unintentionally* complicit in the reproduction of inequality in France’s education system is somewhat assuasive, although the connivance of society as a whole, as demonstrated through its imbalanced legislation on harassment in the field of *education*, is difficult to contest.

The credibility of symbolic violence in the ordinary educational field serving as a migration trigger is increased by parallels noted among other EU migrants. For instance, in research conducted by King et al. (2014), participants from Italy repeatedly referred to the prevalence of nepotism (2014:21) as a push factor, resulting in “profound disenchantments [... together with] a kind of ‘rejection’ of Italy and, amongst some of the interviewees, almost a ‘disidentification’ with the country of their birth, upbringing and education” (ibid.). Indeed, the scenario alluded to by King et al. is strikingly analogous to Loïc’s trajectory: being his second (and final) attempt at the CAPES and failing by a mere ½ point, despite his first-class grades in the practical and written examinations, Loïc has been stripped of any ambition he

orientation, but significantly *not* class, socio-economic background or even more subtle manifestations of habitus. This means that although the students may *perceive* the teachers’ treatment to be symbolically violent – and the perception of B is stipulated as being essential to the ascertainment of harassment according to the provision cited above – by law, and doubtless as a result of the nebulosity of habitus, class and social structures, students who do not correspond to the aforementioned characteristics have no recourse to legal protection (unless the age criterion could be instrumentalised, albeit invertedly and somewhat tenuously).

159 Original: “de devenir le vouyou conforme à leurs préjugés”.

160 In fact, French law paradoxically appears more equitable in this respect, although again, it would not apply in an educational, teacher-student context, as in France harassment falls either under employment legislation or, in the case of “school harassment”, in its inter-student form. It is nevertheless defined purely on its emotional *effects* rather than in relation to any personal or social equality criteria, as in the UK. In the field of work, therefore, it is defined in terms strikingly close to Bourdieu’s: “Emotional harassment is a form of *insidious violence* in the workplace” (my italics) [Original: “Le harcèlement moral est une forme de *violence insidieuse* au sein du travail” (Service Public, no date, my italics)]. The law provides for the protection of private and public workers and interns, regardless of the hierarchical relationship between the offender and victim, and is based purely on the repetitive and degrading nature of the acts of symbolic violence. It does not, however, protect students or pupils against acts of symbolic violence committed on the part of teaching staff, which would suggest a societal acceptance, or at least a collective tolerance, of such acts, perhaps because the line between discipline and humiliation is a fine one in the context of schooling, or because such practices are so engrained that they are taken for granted and therefore not questioned by most. Or it could be in the interest of those in positions of power in society, such as adult members of the teaching establishment, to maintain the status quo and continue to associate success with the habitually successful and failure with those young people who to their minds represent the failing echelons of society.

once had, and finds himself, like his Italian counterparts, utterly disillusioned with the inner-workings of France's public authorities. In his opinion, this underhand exploitation of the system "is a means of tackling the applicant surplus and choosing who they want, where they want. That's not the principle the *concours* system is supposed to be based on. Actually, they've succeeded in putting me off altogether".¹⁶¹ This sense of despondency caused him, since his teaching plans were thwarted, to spend the subsequent decade earning a meagre living as a manual labourer, "disgusted" to the extent of casting aside his talents as both painter and pedagogue, and fatalistically following the blue-collar career pathway (and the concomitant symbolic/social humiliation) projected for him by his secondary-school teachers.

Consistent with the symbolic violence paradigm, Loïc could be deemed complicit in his own underachievement, for, as Bourdieu asserts, rather than take the agentive step to sabotage his "individual destiny" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:109) and break free from the mould of his habitus, he relinquished his aspirations in favour of a reliable – if derisory – wage, knowing "deep down, that his school career is over"¹⁶² (Bourdieu, 1993:126).¹⁶³ It could be argued that this is precisely the aim of the "system": to encourage those from less advantaged backgrounds to play the educational game until the hardship of being judged on an ostensibly equal, but inherently inequitable, basis becomes too difficult to overcome and they surrender to the symbolic forces, leaving the holders of inherited cultural capital to fill that social space. In this sense, symbolic violence operates as a powerful societal tool, capable of greater harm, and tangible effects, on individuals and social groups as a whole, than more explicit forms of violence (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:141). One of the serendipitous by-products of the symbolic violence present in the higher education system, and later in the workplace, is that it enables France to function with an advantageously over-qualified workforce, just as London-French migrants "experience initial downward mobility" (Tzeng, 2012:125; Erel, 2010), which benefits the local labour market.¹⁶⁴ Thus, it is in the interest of the symbolically and materially dominant to maintain society's invisible

161 Original: "permet d'éliminer le surplus de candidats et de choisir qui on veut, où on veut. Ce n'est pas ce qui fonde le principe du concours normalement. Enfin... ils ont réussi à me dégoûter."

162 Original: "au fond, que sa carrière scolaire est terminée".

163 Even in the context of his new migratory home, Loïc prefers to be reliant on the social mobility and economic security of his partner, to actively seeking career opportunities for himself which match his level of artistic and pedagogic expertise.

164 However, it simultaneously has the undesirable consequence of contributing to a French brain-drain phenomenon (Bellion, 2005:12; Roudaut, 2009:100), as Senni and Loïc's cases serve to exemplify, both of whom having taken their entrepreneurial and creative talents overseas in a bid to subvert their habitus (Senni, 2007:228).

structures.

By uncovering several of the subtle symbolic forces present in the French educational field, drawing on both primary and secondary sources, this section has demonstrated the extent to which habitus and field interact dynamically, with students' primary habitus impacting their educational trajectories and ability to negotiate the complexities of the educational field. It has also revealed the inherently complicit nature of symbolic violence, itself intrinsically linked to habitus, and the degree to which the habitus of both teacher and student affects opinions and practices in the field, at times resulting in social discrimination and/or racism. These institutionally and socially "accepted" practices have been seen to serve as underlying migration triggers, pushing the individuals away from a system where the mantra of "equal opportunities" (Dubet, 2004:6)¹⁶⁵ appears little more than a myth and towards an alternative set of social structures whose appeal lies in their perceived meritocracy and fairness.

The subject of symbolic violence and symbolic capital in education shall be returned to in Chapter 9, where, on the basis of on-land and on-line data, participants' practices and desires predominantly within the *diasporic* space shall be examined. It is now necessary, however, to continue testing the hypothesis of symbolic violence as migration trigger within the context of the French workplace.

3.2 SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN THE FRENCH PROFESSIONAL FIELD

What's profoundly annoying is the gulf between the egalitarian Republican discourse – if you play the game of the Republic you will succeed – and the reality, whereby **discrimination in recruitment and employment is an everyday occurrence**. Of course, there are people who practise discrimination here [in London], but watch out, they'll be in trouble for it later.¹⁶⁶

These are the words of Charles, a correspondent with a national French media group, who has settled in Crystal Palace, where we meet in a characterless chain café for a two-hour conversation. Perhaps as a result of his critical, journalistic eye, coupled with the clarity with which the originary field comes into focus when seen from the perspective of the detached migrant (Parisot, 2007:12), Charles's account is remarkably perceptive: although he himself

165 Original: "l'égalité des chances".

166 Original: "Ce qui irrite profondément, c'est le fossé entre ce discours d'égalité républicaine - si vous jouez le jeu de la République vous y arriverez - et puis la réalité qui fait que la discrimination à l'embauche et à l'emploi, elle est quotidienne. Bien sûr, ici [à Londres] il y a des gens qui pratiquent la discrimination, mais attention ils auront des problèmes après."

has been a player in the “Republican game”, he is atypically aware of its pernicious workings. Echoing Bourdieu’s words closely, his depiction of the French social field as a powerful game of deception whereby Republican discourse disguises discrimination is insightful, as is his awareness of the pervasiveness and banality of the phenomenon, affecting manifold fields, from employment to accommodation. Taking first the field of employment, it is the “institutionalised capital” (Bourdieu, 1979a:5-6) of qualifications, appositely straddling the fields of education and work, that can unjustly pose the first obstacle on the path to professional success and one that can be “legitimately” invoked to mask symbolic violence.

3.2.1 THE SYMBOLIC POWER OF INSTITUTIONALISED, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL: “In France, you must have qualifications, always, always qualifications”

The symbolic value placed on qualifications and their appropriateness to a specific career are two factors cited frequently by respondents as being drivers for migration away from France. Indeed, both these push factors are noted by Roudaut, who refers to France’s preoccupation with qualifications as an illness, “diplomitis” (2009:103), afflicting the nation more acutely than anywhere else in the world and causing many to seek exile further afield (ibid.). Among other interviewees, Robert, a 40-year-old French teacher/lecturer living in East Dulwich, also remarks upon this chronic ailment, contrasting the opportunities made available to him in London with France’s qualification “dictatorship” (Roudaut, 2009:103): here “people gave me a chance on the basis of my performance. Whereas in France [...], if I didn’t have the qualification to prove my level, I wouldn’t have been given the professional opportunity”.¹⁶⁷ According to a “mythical system” (Bourdieu, 1996:17), Robert’s qualifications and professional profile undergo two different processes of “social alchemy” (Bourdieu, 1979a:5) in France and the UK respectively. In the former, cultural capital is transformed into requisite qualifications through collective magic (ibid.), while serving as a potential pretext for exclusion from specific posts/professions should the qualifications not adequately match the field (Block, 2006:130). In the latter, the same qualifications undergo another symbolic conversion, being directly exchangeable for a career of influence in a range of fields and enabling advantageous symbolic-economic exchange rates (Bourdieu, 1979a:6). The weak exchange rate of HE qualifications in France, that is, the discrepancy

167 Original: “en fonction de mes résultats, on me donnait ma chance. Alors qu’en France [...], si j’avais pas le diplôme pour prouver que j’avais le niveau, on ne m’aurait pas donné la chance professionnelle.”

between the investment (be it temporal, intellectual or financial) made in tertiary education and the depreciated employment status achieved in practice is a phenomenon identified by many London-French migrants, as both Roudaut (2009:115) and Robert bear witness:

In France, [...] of all the people who studied languages with me at uni, only one uses their English [...]. One friend is in telemarketing, just to pay the bills. Another has become a hairdresser. One girl had to carry on in higher education to launch her career in a supermarket chain.¹⁶⁸

The routine undervaluation of young French people's institutionalised capital, manifested concretely through the disparity between their level of education and ensuing professions, gives rise to a generalised sentiment of societal symbolic violence, encouraging some to seek new horizons abroad. The discrediting of talents, training and qualifications on the French labour market is exemplified by several of my research participants, for instance, Loïc,¹⁶⁹ 34-year-old Arthur – whose electronics training in Reunion secured him only a basic catering job in Paris, after a year of unemployment and rejection from the army – and Séverine, a non-Caucasian lawyer, who notes that “when you have a law qualification in England, people welcome you with open arms, whereas in France people say ‘you don't have exactly the qualification or specialisation we're looking for’.”¹⁷⁰

It is precisely the narrow-minded rigidity (Roudaut, 2009:154) of the French employment market that leads to a sense of frustration, young people being caught in a systemic paradox over which they have little control: whilst the institutionalised capital of qualifications is a prerequisite to employment in almost any field, in practice *social* capital (Bourdieu, 1980b) is often more influential. As the experience of Robert's contemporaries demonstrates, discipline-specific tertiary qualifications in both France and London can lead to entirely unrelated employment, but the significant difference is that in the former they tend to be poorly-remunerated, blue-collar appointments (e.g. hairdressing or telemarketing, as in Robert's example) which squander the academic capital acquired; whereas in the latter, the qualifications themselves, irrespective of the initial specialism, provide access to a range of high-earning, white-collar careers.¹⁷¹ That is, institutionalised capital is convertible on the

168 Original: “En France, [...] parmi ceux qui étaient avec moi à la fac qui ont fait des études de langues, il n'y a qu'un seul, qui utilise son anglais [...] Une amie fait du télémarketing, donc c'est son gagne-pain, c'est tout. Une autre est devenue coiffeuse. Une a dû continuer les études supérieures pour se lancer dans un groupe comme Auchan.”

169 See Section 3.1.

170 Original: “quand vous avez un diplôme de droit en Angleterre, on vous ouvre les bras, alors qu'en France, on vous dit ‘vous n'avez pas exactement le diplôme, la spécialisation que nous recherchons’.”

171 This was the case for Robert's partner, who was able to convert his institutionalised

London labour market to positions of value, thus allowing individuals to feel valued. Conversely, in France, the disproportionately low symbolic and economic worth of employment degrades academic accomplishments, naturally leading to a sense of *personal* degradation and hence serving as a migration trigger.

The somewhat perverse paradox of simultaneously demanding and disparaging institutionalised academic capital is heightened by the symbolic value of *social* capital in the French labour market. Social capital is succinctly defined by Kelly & Lusia as “the networks and connections that can be mobilised to generate advantages or benefits [...] [i]n the labour market” (2006:834), while cultural capital “refers to the symbolic assets that a person possesses” (ibid.). As Robert explains, due to the power and ubiquity of social capital arrangements in France and the popularly acknowledged system of “pistonage”¹⁷² in the professional field, “the sons of doctors become doctors, and the same goes for lawyers. Very few people from disadvantaged backgrounds will be able to change social status.”¹⁷³ In other words, having considerable amounts of social capital at one’s disposal results in the “reproduction of directly usable social ties” (Bourdieu, 1980b:2).¹⁷⁴ So, more often than not “important people come from important families” (Bourdieu 1994:194)¹⁷⁵ and those with limited or negative social capital and insignificant family status find themselves repeatedly excluded from influential positions. Bruno, a 37-year-old head chef in a central London eatery, is explicit regarding the omnipresence of nepotism in the originary field: “in France, string pulling is common currency: it’s considered normal. Whereas in England it doesn’t even occur to people.”¹⁷⁶ It is meaningful here that Bruno chooses an economic metaphor (currency) to refer to “pistonage”, thereby exemplifying the intrinsic *value* and *convertibility* of social ties to the detriment of institutionalised capital. Therefore, whilst the formal qualification serves as the transparent, legitimised currency for access – or denial –

capital of a bachelor’s chemistry degree into a managerial position at a leading global financial services company.

172 The verb “pistonner” in French – derived from the physical piston, i.e. a mechanism for the upward mobility of an entity – is defined by the Larousse dictionary as “To recommend someone (to someone), back them so that they obtain an advantage” [Original: “Recommander quelqu’un (auprès de quelqu’un), l’appuyer pour qu’il obtienne un avantage”]. It is socially telling that there is no direct equivalent to this term in colloquial English. “String pulling” is perhaps the closest lexical item, but it lacks the professional and social connotations of its French counterpart, more closely linked to nepotism in meaning, if not register.

173 Original: “les fils de toubibs vont devenir toubibs, et pareil pour les avocats. Il y a très peu de gens qui viennent d’un milieu défavorisé qui vont pouvoir changer de statut social.”

174 Original: “reproduction de relations sociales directement utilisables”.

175 Original: “[l]es grands ont des grandes familles”.

176 Original: “en France, le pistonage c’est monnaie courante: c’est considéré comme normal. Alors qu’en Angleterre les gens n’y pensent même pas.”

to professional positions of proportionate responsibility or specialism, it is often used as a means of “laundering” covertly transacted *social* capital gains.

This duplicitous process of selection is all the more powerful as a result of its ostensible, *ex officio* credibility and societal acknowledgement, consistent with the complicity inherent in symbolic violence. Importantly, Bourdieu’s notion of social capital is, as Deschenaux & Laflamme (2009) maintain, conceptualised as networks of common knowledge and acknowledgement, or “inter-knowledge and inter-acknowledgement” (Bourdieu, 1980b:2),¹⁷⁷ and it is this mutual recognition that distinguishes social capital from social networks *per se*, injecting the requisite sense of tacit connivance that renders it qualifiable as a potential phenomenon of symbolic violence (Moore, 2012:101).¹⁷⁸ Such endemic disingenuousness leaves worthy job-seekers – yet deficient in social capital – “degraded or dis-qualified” (Cordier, 2005:111),¹⁷⁹ calling into question the integrity of the entire French recruitment structure.¹⁸⁰ This in turn explains why some see migration as a route out of the prejudicial professional environment and ultimately a means of subverting the habitus.

Further substantiation of deficient social capital serving as a migration trigger is provided by King et al. (2014), who identify “*raccomandazione* and *mentalità*” (2014:21) as recurrent mobility drivers among Italian graduates in London: like in France, “it’s all about who you are the son of” (2014:20). The limitations of the English language are also evoked, since “*raccomandazione* is so much more than being ‘recommended’ for a job; it is a culture of power brokering, nepotism and ‘favours’ in which the best candidates frequently fail to get the post they rightfully deserve” (2014:21). It is precisely this pervasive and manifold “culture” that is encompassed by the term “*pistonage*” in French and bypassed by its English “translations”, constituting a lexical void which perhaps reflects the comparative irrelevance of the term – and hence the practice and concept – in the English socio-

177 Original: “d’interconnaissance et d’inter-reconnaissance”.

178 Furthermore, while gaining a qualification is collectively recognised as a legitimate form of objectified, institutionalised capital, Bourdieu casts doubt over the very credibility of such diplomas, challenging the ultimate authority by which they are issued (Bourdieu, 1994:122).

179 Original: “déclassés ou déqualifiés”.

180 This is not to say that such inequity is exclusive to the French professional field, for Burke (2016) contends that irrespective of “the dominant meritocratic discourse, as the level of graduates in the UK has steadily risen, so too has the level of graduate unemployment” (2016:11, citing Purcell et al., 2013). However, the phenomenon is *perceived* to be more acute in France, which is supported by the comparative youth unemployment rates, with France’s being at 24.7% of the youth labour force in 2015, and the UK’s at 14.6% (OECD Data, 2016).

professional field, or at least its reduced presence in the collective consciousness.¹⁸¹

Cordier, in *Enfin un boulot !* (2005),¹⁸² epitomises this complicated and damaging system of paradoxes and conflicting forces, regarding both “diplomitis” and “pistonage”. The inequitable intricacies of the professional game are accentuated further by the symbolic role played by France’s prestigious institutions:

a qualification alone is no longer enough [...]. [D]on’t expect to land the job of your dreams on the wages you’re supposedly worth because of your qualifications, unless you’ve done an exemplary course at a prestigious university or a fee-paying *grande école*, or have benefited from some major string pulling. And even with all that, [...] you still might have to become an immigrant to find elsewhere what you can’t find at home (2005:19).¹⁸³

Recent figures demonstrate that many of France’s young and economically able inhabitants have followed Cordier’s counsel in pursuit of a less prejudicial workplace in London, with 26% of the London French being under 18 years of age in 2015, and 40% under 40 years (*La Parisienne*, 2015). These figures are substantiated by Oxford University’s Migration Observatory, whose findings reveal that speakers of French as their first language account for the *second* highest number of incoming UK migrants in the 16-24 age bracket, after Polish, surpassing Arabic, Urdu and Bengali (Markaki, 2015:8). They are also corroborated by London resident, Olivier Cadic, Senator for the French living abroad, who in 2015 described “quite a strong rise in London arrivals since 2011, which recalled the period between 1996 and 1999, with the same causes: a certain amount of turmoil and a spell

181 Indeed, quantitative data confirm these popular beliefs: according to a survey conducted in 2010 among 4,156 respondents (covering the 18-25 age bracket to the over-60s), 41% associate France, before any other country, with the word “piston”, whereas only 3% linked it to England (*Le Monde*, 2010). The survey also revealed that 88% believe high-placed social connections take precedence over talent when seeking work in France, and, complicit in the cycle of symbolic violence, as Bourdieu predicted, 75% admit that they would accept preferential treatment through social ties if the opportunity presented itself, despite 40% of them considering the phenomenon to be unfair (*L’Express*, 2010). Thus, while mutually acknowledging, and yet denouncing, the collusive social capital transactions that are thought to permeate all fields of work in France, some three quarters of those surveyed would readily take advantage of the illegitimate system. In this way, seemingly unwittingly, they exacerbate the problem, contributing to the symbolic violence committed against those bereft of such social capital through their own reliance upon it.

182 The French title translates as “A job at last!”.

183 Original: “un diplôme seul, cela ne suffit plus [...]. [N]e comptez pas décrocher le boulot de vos rêves au salaire auquel vous pouvez soit disant prétendre de par votre diplôme, à moins d’avoir fait un cursus universitaire exemplaire et prestigieux, une grande école payante [...], ou avoir bénéficié d’un sacré coup de piston. Et même avec tout cela, [...] vous devrez peut-être à votre tour devenir l’immigré pour trouver ailleurs ce que vous ne pouvez pas trouver dans votre pays.”

of the blues” (*La Parisienne*, 2015).¹⁸⁴ It would appear, therefore, that the state of collective depression afflicting France today (and a decade ago, as Parisot attests, 2007:12)¹⁸⁵ is a malady that began at least twenty years ago (indeed Cordier migrated to London in 1997), instigated predominantly by the symbolic violence present in the French labour market, and from which it is proving difficult for France to recover.

Cordier’s reference to the symbolic worth of a trajectory featuring one of France’s *grandes écoles*¹⁸⁶ is a theme that emerged repeatedly from my interviews and proved as detrimental in the professional field as France’s qualification diktat (Roudaut, 2009:103). Séverine explains that those who come from university rather than *grandes écoles* do not have the same job opportunities, and it is notable that the overwhelming majority of France’s politicians have followed the *grande-école* pathway (Albouy & Wanecq, 2003:27). The marked social stratification found in these elite institutions (Albouy & Wanecq, 2003:31) and subsequent reproduction of traditional power models limits access among those from less advantaged backgrounds. Robert, having first-hand experience of the *grande-école* trajectory, corroborates this: “I was very badly accepted because I came from a working-class background. My parents were... my mum was a cleaner, whereas I was with students whose parents were doctors.”¹⁸⁷ In line with Albouy & Wanecq’s statistics, Robert’s personal experience is one of “class racism” (Puwar, 2009:376, quoting Bourdieu & Schultheis, 2001), being socially alienated for not holding sufficient symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1994:121) to be able to penetrate the closed circles of France’s “important bourgeois families” (Bourdieu, 1994:194).¹⁸⁸ Indeed, Chantal, who attended Sciences-Po¹⁸⁹ confirms the closed social and familial networks still present in French social and professional structures: “In France there’s an aristocracy that remains very closed, and they only socialise with each other, except it’s actually never spoken about. So, people act as though it didn’t exist.”¹⁹⁰ This is precisely the phenomenon Lawler identifies when she defines class as “an

184 Original: “une poussée assez forte d’arrivées à Londres depuis 2011, qui me rappelle la période entre 1996 et 1999, avec les mêmes causes: un certain désarroi, une période de blues.”

185 Or “malaise”, as referred to by several interviewees (for instance, Sadia, Moses and Charles).

186 Literally, and perhaps fittingly, France’s “great schools”, preparing students for high-powered careers in the French civil service or private sector.

187 Original: “j’ai été très mal accepté parce que je venais d’une classe ouvrière. Mes parents étaient... ma mère était femme de ménage, alors que moi j’étais avec des enfants dont les parents étaient toubibs.”

188 Original: “grandes familles bourgeoises”.

189 France’s prestigious *grande école* for political studies, through which most of France’s Heads of State have passed.

190 Original : “En France il y a une aristocratie qui reste très fermée, et ils ne se voient

absent presence” (2008:126) and which, arguably, is even more accentuated in the French social and professional fields. Consequently, in a vicious, pernicious cycle of parallel inclusion and exclusion, the offspring of upper-middle-class families who are familiar with the requisite social codes for inclusion in the elite network of the *grandes écoles* are “naturally” accepted into the social and institutional sphere,¹⁹¹ to the disadvantage of those from more modest backgrounds who lack the inherited symbolic wherewithal and are in turn socially and professionally marginalised.

Intensifying the inequity and symbolic violence of this *grande-école* system, statistics reveal that the more prestigious the institution, the wider the social divide (Albouy & Wanecq, 2003:31). Having attended a *grande école*, particularly one of the more prestigious, plays a distinctive socially symbolic role once graduates are on the labour market. It enables socially stratified inclusion into certain professional spheres, and by the same token, *exclusion*. Further, according to a Focus Group 2 student, this process of exclusion is not restricted to class distinctions, since he notes a stark contrast between the phenotypical constitution of student bodies in French *grandes écoles* and prestigious English universities: “there are only French people in the *grandes écoles* in Paris, like central ones, but here, at Imperial, it’s full of people from different backgrounds; it’s a lot more diverse.”¹⁹² Bearing in mind that many students from the socio-ethnically homogeneous group identified in Paris’s *grandes écoles* will later go on to fulfil roles in public office, the question of whether this pattern will be replicated in the latter is pertinent and confirmed by at least two of my interviewees. Firstly, François, finds the idea of “positive discrimination” shocking, but recognises its worth in practice:

The principle is lousy but the results effective, because in France, we have an ethos which is great, it’s the value of the individual, but the result is that 90% of positions are occupied by... (I think it’s more like 95% in high public office) white Catholics, Protestants or Jews. And with the proportion of North Africans, Asians or Africans in the normal population, they’re not there. It goes to show that the population on the ground isn’t represented.¹⁹³

qu’entre eux, sauf que, effectivement, on n’entend pas parler. Du coup on fait comme si ça n’existait pas.”

191 Thereby attesting to both Bourdieu’s notions of “inter-connaissance” and “inter-reconnaissance”, or common knowledge and acknowledgement.

192 Original: “dans les grandes écoles à Paris, genre centrales, il n’y a que des Français, alors qu’ici, à Imperial, c’est plein de gens d’origines différentes; il y a beaucoup plus de mixité.”

193 Original: “C’est un principe pourri mais qui a un résultat efficace, parce que nous, en France, on a une éthique qui est super, c’est la valeur de l’individu, mais le résultat c’est qu’il y a 90% de... (Je pense que dans tous les hauts postes de l’administration, c’est pas 90%, c’est peut-être 95%) de blancs catholiques, protestants, juifs. Et avec la proportion

Whether the monotone demographics of the French public authorities are genuinely the result of an ethical model which favours “the value of the individual” is debatable,¹⁹⁴ yet François’s uncomfortable estimation that as many as 95% of highly-placed civil service positions are occupied by white Frenchmen and women of Christian or Jewish faith suggests that the reverberations of the discrimination found in the *grandes écoles* are translated into the workplace, to the notable disadvantage of France’s citizens of Maghrebi, sub-Saharan African or Asian heritage, and seemingly its large Muslim community.¹⁹⁵ This finding is reiterated by Séverine, who recognises the symbolic value of the UK’s prestigious HE institutions, but perceives the English authorities to be more successful at ensuring any elitism found there is not subsequently transferred to public office: “there’s been an entire movement so that civil servants represent the citizens they are supposed to be serving, in terms of region, accent... So jobs have been opened up to young people from less advantaged backgrounds with a different kind of intelligence.”¹⁹⁶ Thus, rather than institutionalised and social capital being the sole markers of value in the UK civil service, “natural, familial, domestic, or traditional culture” (Robbins, 2005:np) and experiential forms of capital, i.e. “a different kind of intelligence”, are also considered to have high exchange rates on the employment market. Nevertheless, the genuine diversity of the UK civil service is challenged in the literature, where a negative form of cultural “erasure” has been evidenced. For example, Puwar states that “[d]ifferent bodies can exist in the senior civil service so long as they mimic [...] the norm, whilst the norm itself is not problematised” (2004:117). Similarly, Séverine (herself from an ethnic minority) could be criticised for her reductionist perspective which associates an entire segment of society with a certain type of “intelligence”. It is important to recognise, however, that enabling a variety of phenotypes and regional representatives to enter the ranks of high public office, irrespective of whether they “play the game” and conform to the “white”, unproblematised norm in their behaviour and dispositions, is nonetheless a step closer to equality than in the French model, which purportedly accommodates very few embodiments of difference.

At this point, it is justifiable to query how, in an age of 21st-century transparency, the

qu’on a dans la population normale de Nord Africains, Asiatiques ou Africains, ils n’y sont pas. Pour dire que ça ne représente pas la population de la rue.”

194 See Chapter 9.

195 Calculated at 2.1 million for the 18-50 age bracket (Beauchemin et al., 2010).

196 Original: “il y a eu tout un mouvement pour que les fonctionnaires représentent les citoyens qu’ils sont censés servir, au niveau de la région, de l’accent... Donc il y a eu une ouverture vers des jeunes de milieux moins favorisés qui avaient une autre forme d’intelligence.”

social and ethnic divisions perceived in France's *grandes écoles* and the public offices into which they feed are possible. The answer is that the *grandes écoles* are able to function under precisely the meritocratic guise to which François referred in typically favourable terms, with access again being contingent on a competitive and ostensibly impartial *concours* process.¹⁹⁷ The potency of this selection process lies in the very *legitimacy* of the meritocratic tenets on which it is seemingly based. That is, the *concours* system deployed in France's *grandes écoles* and subsequently replicated as a filtering mechanism for admission into public office, is the direct product of the founding universal values of the Republic.¹⁹⁸ Yet social and ethnic distinctions have been noted, as has a failure to recognise individual qualities and competences, unlike in London, where “the abilities of the individual are recognised more”,¹⁹⁹ explains 63-year-old return migrant, Marie. Thus, while public authorities apply an idealistically equitable recruitment process based on “impersonality through the *concours* [which means] the State chooses its ‘servants’ thanks to a process devoid of favouritism – or at least one that cannot be criticised for it” (Percebois (no date): 6),²⁰⁰ the majority of successful applicants nevertheless proceed from *grandes écoles*, where discrimination has been witnessed. This not only casts doubt on the practical effectiveness of the State equity objective, but also on the good faith of the Republican edifice.²⁰¹ Acting

197 According to an online guide, “Qu’elles utilisent des concours communs ou qu’elles organisent leur propre recrutement, les [grandes] écoles *sélectionnent*, le plus souvent, leurs candidats sur épreuves écrites et *orales*” (Studyrama Grandes Ecoles, no date). Although the French government promulgated a regulatory decree on 13 June 2014 (Decree no. 2014-610; also see related Articles of Law no. 2013-660 on Higher Education and Research), stating that places shall be granted in the *classes préparatoires* (two-year courses which prepare students for the *concours* for the *grandes écoles*) to the most successful 10% of students in *every* lycée in France – measured by *baccalauréat* results –, it remains to be seen whether these laudable intentions will in practice prevent racial prejudice or “class racism” at the subsequent *concours* stage. That is, while the written exam is evidently designed to determine the most academically “able” candidates, the interview provides scope for abuse of the meritocratic principles, potentialising selection according to an applicant’s social capital and inherited cultural capital, as evidenced in the previous section through Senni’s and Loïc’s experiences. It is also relevant that these elite institutions are fee-paying (although a limited number of bursaries are available), which acts as an additional barrier to access and undermines the Republican ideal of openness to *all*, irrespective of background and economic capital.

198 Article 6 of France’s 1789 *Déclaration des Droits de l’Homme et du Citoyen* stipulates that “Tous les citoyens sont également admissibles à toutes dignités, places et emplois publics, selon leur *capacité* et *sans* autre *distinction* que celle de leurs *vertus* et de leurs *talents*” (Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789; my italics).

199 Original: “on voit plus les compétences de la personne”.

200 Original: “l’impersonnalité par le concours [qui fait] que l’Etat choisisse ses “serviteurs” grâce à une procédure dénuée de favoritisme – du moins que l’on ne peut critiquer pour ce motif”.

201 Intimated in the aforementioned quotation through the reference to “or at least one that

as something of a universally instituted and universally embraced myth,²⁰² the power of the French State to imperceptibly exert such symbolic violence lies precisely in its worthiness in the minds of the people (again, characteristically complicit in the process). For, as 52-year-old architect, Antoine declares, “saying that you work for local government is something you can be proud of in France. Maybe this is a fantasy of culture, but it is of much more value than here.” Consequently, because the State and its ideologies are in the name of the public good, the public are blind to those practices which are bad.

Equally damaging, however, is that the reach of the *grande-école* prejudice extends beyond the institutions themselves and beyond France’s public services to the *private* sector, where failure to have attended such a prestigious institution, if not prohibiting recruitment, arguably prevents progression (Roudaut, 2009:107). Furthermore, this taken-for-granted “inert violence” “which is enshrined in the ruthless mechanisms of the labour market” (Bourdieu, 1993 et al.:134)²⁰³ is so engrained in the habitus and fields of the originary space that its reach is also considered to extend beyond France’s borders, having been perceived in relation to the French community in London. When I ask Robert if he feels part of the French community, his negative reply prompts a lengthy diatribe aimed at French public authorities based in London. His criticisms are suggestive of a reconstruction of the familiar – and eschewed – social and cultural capital dynamics described above, simply transposed to the migratory field (Erel, 2010:645). The very structures Robert and other interviewees were seeking to escape on migration from the “home”land are rediscovered when visiting the South Kensington quarter:

I’ve always felt awkward in French establishments, [...] where people look down on me a bit or speak in a slightly rude way; where you sometimes feel inferior. But could it be me? [...]. Maybe I’m not erudite enough. There’s that slightly pompous, rude side, and the couple of times I’ve been, I’ve felt uncomfortable, as if I wasn’t up to scratch. And I feel that when I walk into French bookshops, like La Page [...], where it’s like people are looking down on me a bit when I ask an honest, genuine question. At the French Embassy I’ve had the same feeling twice, when renewing my ID [...]. I practically got a bollocking for not following the correct procedures. And I said to myself, that’s never happened with the British authorities, where [...] people, like, explain things to me and take their time, and don’t look down on me, and where I definitely don’t get a bollocking. Every time I’ve had run-ins with people, it’s nearly always with French people in administrative or cultural spheres, and I find that regrettable. So I tend to avoid them, actually, because it brings back bad memories.²⁰⁴

cannot be criticised for it”.

202 See the “emperor’s new clothes” phenomenon discussed in Chapter 9.

203 Original: “qui est inscrite dans les mécanismes implacables du marché de l’emploi”.

204 Original: “j’ai toujours eu une gêne dans certains établissements français [...] où les gens me prennent un peu de haut ou vous parlent de façon un petit peu désobligeante; où on se sent parfois inférieur. Mais est-ce que c’est moi peut-être? [...] Peut-être que je ne suis

This transposition of the symbolic forces present in the originary social space to the French administrative and cultural field of the diasporic context recalls the findings of Oliver & O'Reilly, in which the authors note that “although the [Spanish migratory] field may *appear* to present opportunities for minimising [British] class distinctions, there is much evidence that it continues to be structured by class” (2010:6; original italics) and “in practice, there is more turmoil around the erasure of former capital than certainty, as cultural and economic aspects of dominance remain pervasive” (2010:11). In this way, the very tangible sense that Robert describes regarding his inferior social positioning in relation to those working in public (or private) spheres in the recognised “home” of the French community in London, many of whom have doubtless followed the same *grande-école* trajectories as their counterparts in France, is a materialisation of the mobility that these social structures and capitals have themselves undergone. Identical phenomena taking place among British migrants in Spain, and Polish and South African migrants in London (Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016) suggests both the limitations of subverting the habitus and the universality among migrants of attempting to do so. Robert’s anecdote is also indicative of symbolic violence through the physicality of the lexis used, reflecting the “turmoil” to which Oliver & O'Reilly allude. Firstly, sensorial phrases such as feeling uncomfortable or awkward depict the physicality of the experience, which reignites “bad memories” he is keen to leave behind in France. Secondly, the repeated references to hierarchical positioning, such as “look down”, “inferior” and “not *up to scratch*” evoke the physicality of the social power structures transferred from the originary field, with Robert himself, son of a cleaner, being made to feel beneath the ranks of the French administrative and cultural “authorities”. Once again true to Bourdieu’s definition of symbolic violence, Robert’s *complicity* in the act of belittlement is discernible, as he recurrently uses qualifiers to minimise the symbolic violence suffered, for instance “a bit”, “slightly”, “sometimes” or “practically”, as well as blaming himself for the degrading behaviour: “could it be me?” and “maybe I’m not erudite enough”. The

pas assez érudit. Il y a ce côté un petit peu pompeux, désobligeant, et quand j’y suis allé deux fois, je me sentais mal, comme si je n’étais pas à la hauteur. Et je ressens ça quand je rentre dans les librairies françaises, comme La Page [...], où j’ai l’impression que quand on demande un petit renseignement honnête, sincère, on me regarde un peu de haut. A l’Ambassade j’ai déjà eu ce sentiment deux fois en renouvelant mes papiers d’identité [...]. Je me suis fait pratiquement engueulé parce que j’avais pas suivi le protocole. Et je me dis, mais ça m’est jamais arrivé dans les administrations britanniques, où [...] les gens m’expliquent, quoi, et prennent le temps, et me prennent pas de haut, et surtout je me fais pas engueuler. [...] Toutes les fois où j’ai eu des accroches avec des gens, c’est presque toujours avec des Français dans le milieu administratif ou culturel, et je trouve ça regrettable. Alors j’évite, en fait, parce que ça me rappelle de mauvais souvenirs.”

pervasiveness of the originary power dynamics are therefore present on an individual level, with Robert initially demonstrating his embodiment of the inferior positioning he was made to assume in France, where he attended a *grande école* but was never socially accepted.²⁰⁵ Such pervasiveness is also present on a collective level in that it is arguably these social and cultural power dynamics that appear to be causing many French Londoners to reject membership of the French community, preferring not to expose themselves to the symbolically injurious forces present therein, and therefore sharing Robert's deliberate avoidance tactic.²⁰⁶

205 Like Bourdieu himself (Grenfell, 2012a; Robbins, 2005, 2016).

206 Robert's dissociation from the so-called "community" is a phenomenon observed among almost all those I interviewed, who describe the same agentive disenfranchisement. While detracting from the focus of this chapter on symbolic violence in the *originary* field, it is necessary to consider briefly the extent to which the symbolic forces rejected in the homeland are re-encountered among Kensington's French community and contribute to the sense of alienation from such post-*grandes-écoles* circles. Brigitte describes the South Kensington network as "too sectarian" [Original: "trop sectaire"], and Arthur, as "an island" of negligible benefit. Miranda echoes this sentiment: "I don't use the Embassy services nor the library, nor the French Institute. I don't feel I'm part of the French community in London" [Original: "Je n'utilise pas un service de l'Ambassade ni la bibliothèque, ni l'Institut Français. Je n'ai pas l'impression de faire parti de la communauté française à Londres et ça ne m'intéresse pas."] Whereas returnee, Catherine, like Robert, highlights the class barrier as an unambiguous disincentive to penetrating the Kensington French community in the 1980s, expatriates being "finance directors and so on, people not from our social level, so it didn't attract me" [Original: "des directeurs financiers etc., des personnes pas de notre niveau social, donc ça ne m'attirait pas."] Charles's viewpoint is increasingly explicit regarding the distinctive social capital dynamics – intertwined with the *grande-école* networks – serving as an alienation mechanism: "the South Ken thing, even if it is good in some ways with the French Institute [...], the 'select club' trip is not my thing at all. I can't bear all those people who don't merge into the local population" [Original: "le côté South Ken, même si ça a du mérite, l'Institut Français [...], je ne suis pas du tout dans le trip 'cercle fermé'. J'ai horreur de tous ces gens qui ne se fondent pas dans la population locale."] Of the four interviewees who *do* consider themselves members of London's French community, two lament the communitarian drawbacks that their slippage into belonging has engendered. While the remaining two are curiously the sole interviewees of "black African" heritage, Moses and Paulette. According to Paulette, also reticent regarding her community belonging, it is the perception of others, notably the "host" population, which qualifies her as a French community member: "I think I belong to the French community in London because people see me as French. Even if that's not how I feel, it's how others see me." [Original: je crois que je fais parti de la communauté française à Londres, parce qu'on me voit en tant que française. Même si moi, je ne me sens pas comme ça, c'est comme ça qu'on me voit."] As Charles proposes, in London "the mirror image reflected back at young French people originally from migrant backgrounds is one of a French person, full stop." [Original: "le miroir qu'on leur envoie, les jeunes Français issus de l'immigration, c'est l'image d'un Français, point."] Thus, for the first time, as a result of their embodied Frenchness – their accent and, according to Moses, their way of thinking, being and behaving – Paulette and Moses (are *made* to) feel members of the French community, irrespective of non-admittance to the South Kensington elite. Laura and Chantal, on the other hand, have both become members of the community proper principally as a result of social networks linked to French

The influence of France's *grandes écoles* in terms of social (networks) and institutionalised (objectivated) capital has been evidenced in the context of education, and its repercussion on recruitment in France, where it has been seen to serve as a mobility trigger for some. More surprising perhaps, is that such capital – and concomitant symbolic domination – has been transferred to the migration setting, resulting in a sense of disidentification vis-à-vis London's so-called French community. The next sub-section will establish the extent to which symbolic violence, in its racialised form, also permeates France's professional field, causing some to seek new opportunities over the Channel.

3.2.2 RACIALISED ARTICULATIONS OF SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN THE FRENCH PROFESSIONAL FIELD: “In London, people don't see my colour”

The systemic and omnipresent exclusion experienced by Paulette, a 35-year-old logistics manager of Beninese heritage, and Moses, a 24-year-old commercial exports representative of Senegalese parentage, in France, prevented them from inclusion in the French “community” at home and acted as an unequivocal migration driver for Paulette. Although initially reluctant to leave France, she felt compelled to do so through the everyday symbolic violence inflicted on her, manifesting itself most thwartingly in the lack of recognition of her – non-*grande-école* – qualifications and consequent unemployability: “To begin with, I came [to London] against my will [...] I was finding it really, really hard to get a job in France, and [...] with all my academic achievements, I was wasting my time hanging around there, doing one futile training-course after another.”²⁰⁷ However, in Paulette's case, her Beninese heritage is also relevant, since her educational pathway, notwithstanding her abundance of institutionalised capital, was deployed by recruiters in France as an ostensibly valid reason for rejecting her applications, when the underlying reason was arguably her profile and lack of social capital, her phenotype alone serving as a barrier. It is a phenomenon, condemned by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1993 et al.:31), which Paulette has not encountered in the professional field in London.

Later in Paulette's narrative, the racial prejudice experienced in the French

schools in affluent areas of London, and, significantly, both are the products of France's *grandes écoles*.

207 . Original: “Je suis venue au début contre mon gré; [...] j'avais beaucoup, beaucoup de mal à trouver du travail en France et [...] avec mon bagage académique, c'était un gâchis de rester là à traîner, à perdre mon temps, à faire des formations aussi futiles l'une que l'autre.” The futility of such government-initiated training schemes is identified by Bourdieu also, who refers to them as “mere palliatives for unemployment” (1993:353) [Original: “de simples palliatifs du chômage”], operationalised principally to mask the reality of high unemployment rates, particularly in underprivileged areas.

professional field is developed further: “I was born in France. [...] But, in France, when people ask where you’re from, you instantly say Benin. By contrast here, they might expect you to say you’re French because of the French accent, but it doesn’t ring true to me to say I’m French, so I say I’m French of Beninese heritage. [...] Actually, in London, people don’t see my colour.”²⁰⁸ In this account, Paulette demonstrates that, unlike in London where her embodiment of Frenchness is perceived to transcend her phenotype, in France she is both racially objectified, being perceived in the reductionist, absolute terms of her colour, and systematically rejected as a Frenchwoman as a result (“you instantly say Benin”). She also manifests a certain incorporation of this objectification and estrangement, using the *impersonal* pronoun “on”²⁰⁹ to remove her personal presence from the account, although evidently referring to her own experience and deeming it insincere to identify herself as French. Again, this is suggestive of the complicity Bourdieu notes as being intrinsic to symbolic violence (1994:210), while simultaneously demonstrating that despite being excluded from French fields of employment and society more generally, her outlook is inherently French: “it’s always shocked me to see a black person say they’re British, but they say it here. It’s strange actually because I see the perception of others but it’s also my perception.”²¹⁰ With considerable insight into her own insider-outsider positioning, Paulette recognises that French society has rejected her due to her African heritage, recruiters repeatedly denying her access to work, yet precisely because of her *French* habitus, she is “shocked” to witness black Londoners self-identifying as British. Migrating to London, therefore, and experiencing an alternative gaze – both as object and subject – has prompted a subversion of her originary habitus, shaking her into an awareness of her own (mis)perceptions regarding race, identity and belonging.

Returnee, Moses, reiterates this consciousness of social rejection in France, linked directly to phenotype:

I was born in France, so I’ve got that mix of two cultures: when I say I’m French, there’s a whole lot of African on the inside. [...] I feel at home here [in France], but I get the feeling people from ethnic minorities feel more at home in England than we

208 Original: “Je suis née en France. [...] Mais, en France, quand on demande d’où on vient, on dit directement le Bénin. Par contre ici, ils s’attendent peut-être à ce qu’on dise qu’on est français parce qu’on a un accent français, mais pour moi ça ne sonne pas juste de dire que je suis française, donc je dis que je suis française d’origine béninoise. [...] À Londres, on ne voit pas ma couleur, en fait.”

209 Literally “one” in English, but translated here as “you” in order to prevent social connotations not present in the French.

210 Original: “ça m’a toujours choqué de voir une personne noire dire qu’il était ‘British’, mais ici ils le disent. C’est bizarre en fait parce que je vois la perception des autres mais aussi c’est ma perception.”

do here in France. I get the feeling they're really "at home, at home", like, there's no doubt. Whereas in France, sometimes you realise people want to make us understand it isn't our home. When I was in London, I knew I wasn't at home, but people didn't make me feel it, actually, and that was good [...]. I said to myself that there wasn't that problem in England, about national identity. In France, there's this constant preoccupation with origins and colour.²¹¹

Moses notes the subtle manner in which the French have manifested their aversion to acknowledging him as a French citizen of full status, and he emphasises the resulting sense of injury experienced by juxtaposing this symbolically violent act of exclusion with the sentiment of *inclusion* he encountered in London, despite being an outsider in national terms. Furthermore, Moses determines a correlation between racial prejudice experienced in the French social space and preclusion from employment, confirming Ryan and Mulholland's finding that the French come to London hoping to find a more meritocratic environment (Mulholland & Ryan, 2013b). Unlike in France, where Moses attests to members of BAME communities receiving tacit, yet unequivocal, messages of being unwelcome outsiders, in London, he found the public presence of visible minorities to be a sign of integration and of an inclusive, genuinely meritocratic labour market:

In England, when you turn on the TV [...] you can see Pakistanis, Indians and black people, who are journalists, presenters or have high positions in government or the police. It's not like that in France yet. I know I can switch on the TV in France and won't see many journalists from minority ethnic backgrounds, even in adverts, which are supposed to represent us.²¹²

Charles seconds this point, claiming that in the UK, "you just have to turn on your TV... it's a real eye-opener to see how embedded and apparent diversity is. Or even in public

211 Original: "Moi, je suis né en France, donc j'ai ce mélange de deux cultures: quand je dis que je suis français, il y a une bonne part d'Africain à l'intérieur. [...] Je me sens chez moi ici [en France], mais j'ai l'impression qu'en Angleterre les personnes d'origine étrangère se sentent plus chez eux que nous ici en France. J'ai l'impression que pour eux, c'est vraiment 'chez eux chez eux', quoi, il y a aucun doute; tandis que qu'en France, parfois, on aperçoit que les gens veulent nous faire comprendre qu'on n'est pas chez nous. Quand j'étais à Londres, je savais que je n'étais pas chez moi, mais on ne me le faisait pas ressentir, en fait, et ça c'était bien [...]. Je me disais qu'en Angleterre il n'y avait pas ce problème-là, d'identité nationale. En France, on a toujours ce souci par rapport aux origines, par rapport à la couleur."

212 Original: "En Angleterre quand on allume la télé [...] on peut voir des Pakistanais, on peut voir des Indiens, des Noirs à la télé, qui sont journalistes, qui présentent des émissions, qui ont des hauts postes, soit dans l'administration soit dans la police. En France, ce n'est pas encore ça. Je sais qu'en France, je peux allumer la télé, et je ne vais pas voir beaucoup de journalistes d'origine étrangère, même dans la publicité, qui sont censées nous représenter."

services or a bank, diversity jumps out at you here.”²¹³ According to both accounts, the widespread BAME representation in respected positions signifies a more meritocratic professional landscape. By contrast, their under-representation in French public and media spheres is arguably the consequence of a collective negation of such a presence in the French social space as a whole, and in the mentalities of those occupying it. Bourdieu contends that social space is mirrored in both physical and mental spaces, due to the embodiment of external structures (Bourdieu et al., 1993:255-6). Consequently, it is here that “power is asserted and exercised, in probably the subtlest of forms: symbolic violence as an unnoticed violence” (ibid.).²¹⁴ Confirming the interconnectedness between physical and mental spaces and its susceptibility to causing “hidden injuries” (Lehmann, 2013) in the French social and professional fields, Miranda, a 28-year-old doctoral student, notes that “in England, [...] there’s no rejection by society [...] where] people are put in housing estates and then left there, and slightly richer people live in better communities. In France, it’s so blatant, there’s a real division, and a lot of fighting between the two.”²¹⁵ For Miranda – a Caucasian from a small village in North-East France – this divide proved so reprehensible that it was her most powerful mobility trigger: “that problem of racism, of fighting between people – between immigrant generations and French French people – I couldn’t stand it any longer. Where I live [in France], it creates an incredible amount of tension, whereas here, you don’t really see that tension.”²¹⁶

Compounding the sense of social alienation, therefore, is the physical marginalisation of low-income families, often from ethnic minorities (precisely because of the professional barriers emanating from racist mentalities), isolated from mainstream society in the peripheral *banlieues* of major cities (Bourdieu, 1996:16) with poor transport links. This, coupled with BAME under-representation in the intangible space of television, save to reinforce stereotypical myths created by sensationalist press and propaganda (Bourdieu et al., 1993:249), constitutes a pervasive form of symbolic violence: the corollary of embodied

213 Original: “il suffit d’allumer son poste de télévision... c’est quand même une grosse découverte de voir comment la diversité s’installe et se voit. Ou même si on va dans les administrations, dans une banque, ici la diversité vous saute à la figure.”

214 Original: “le pouvoir s’affirme et s’exerce, et sans doute sous la forme la plus subtile, celle de la violence symbolique comme violence inaperçue”.

215 Original: “en Angleterre, [...] il n’y a pas de rejet de la société [...] où] on met les gens dans les HLM et puis on les laisse, et les gens un peu plus riches vivent dans des meilleures communautés qu’eux. En France, ça se voit trop, c’est vraiment la division, et il y a vraiment beaucoup de combat entre tous les deux.”

216 Original: “ce problème de racisme, de bagarre entre les gens – des générations immigrées et des Français français – c’est quelque chose que je ne pouvais plus supporter. Où j’habite [en France], ça crée une tension pas possible, alors qu’ici, cette tension ne se voit pas vraiment.”

mental structures of division (Bourdieu, 1996:16), tangibly perceived by the victims of such everyday racial discrimination (Moses: “people want to make us understand we’re not at home”). Moreover, by under-recruiting BAME groups to public office, the French State, as the ultimate wielder of legitimised power, is extending the collective *social* rejection of the said groups to the domain of *ex officio* authority, which in turn implies an official, if not, political, level of racialised symbolic violence.²¹⁷

It is the push of this quotidian, institutionalised prejudice that has caused several of my interviewees to settle in London, in addition to the pull of its more flexible labour market. For example, 37-year-old Sarah, frustrated by the racism directed at her Chilean husband in France, where the authorities purportedly treat him like “cattle” or an “illegal immigrant” (the severity of the symbolic violence suffered is reflected in the terms used), and attracted by the buoyancy of the City, has now made London a permanent home for her family. Similarly, Sadia has also witnessed everyday racism among French law enforcement, noting that her non-white friends would be routinely stopped and searched in Paris. Charles is equally damning, declaring that France is a “Snow White country”, where “young people have learned to live with racism wherever they go.”²¹⁸ Whereas London is defined as a space where BAME groups “succeed more easily, doors open more easily, and there’s less prejudice against them; and they regain their confidence. A lot of people have said that to me, that in France their confidence was crushed, and it was only by going abroad that they rediscovered their self-confidence and their identity.”²¹⁹ Thus, through the symbolic violence

217 Such violence could be argued to be objectified yet more concretely through the State’s practices, such as passing legislation in 2010 to render burqa-wearing a criminal offence, or routinely humiliating non-Franco-French travellers at border control points, as testified by Sarah: “We went to live in France initially, but professionally there’s really nothing for me in Lyon, and then the welcome he got in France really didn’t go down well with him [her Chilean husband]. Being treated like an illegal immigrant, really without any respect, just like cattle, at the prefecture, well, he didn’t like it at all. So, I got back in touch with my contacts in London, and got a new job straight away. And he finds there’s less discrimination and racism here. He feels it clearly at the border, it’s the same every time: over there they ask lots of questions, here, none.” [Original: “On est d’abord allés habiter en France, mais professionnellement il n’y a vraiment rien pour moi à Lyon, et puis en plus l’accueil français ne lui [à son mari chilien] a pas vraiment plu. Le fait d’être traité comme un sans-papier, et d’être vraiment traité sans respect et comme du bétail à la préfecture, donc ça ne lui a pas plu du tout. Donc moi je me suis remise en contact avec mes contacts à Londres, et j’ai tout de suite eu un nouvel emploi. Et ici il trouve qu’il y a moins de discrimination et de racisme. Il le ressent clairement à la frontière, c’est à chaque fois pareil: là-bas il y a beaucoup de questions, ici rien.”]

218 Original: “un pays de Blanche Neige [...] Les jeunes Français issus de l’immigration ont appris à vivre avec le racisme où qu’ils se trouvent.”

219 Original: “réussissent plus facilement, les portes s’ouvrent plus facilement, il y a moins de préjugés à leur égard; et ils regagnent leur confiance. Beaucoup de gens m’ont dit ça, qu’en France on avait cassé leur confiance, et ce n’est qu’en allant à l’étranger qu’ils ont

habitually exacted against them, members of minority groups in France have had their self-esteem shattered, but the agentive act of migration has allowed some to regain a sense of self-worth and, as seen above, a defined *French* identity. Bourdieu and Passeron capture this notion of identity reconstruction, triggered here through agentive transnational mobility, with the following words: “wanting to be and wanting to choose oneself is above all a refusal to be that which one has not chosen to be” (1964:59).²²⁰ In these terms, migration itself can be apprehended as a practice of habitus sabotage, or at least reinvention, that is, a refusal to conform to one’s predestined, societally moulded identity (Lawler, citing Foucault, 2008:62) and instead the agentive embodiment of an identity which is truer to oneself than that allowed in the originary field.

Paulette discerns the nascent identity that has begun to inhabit her after her choice to reject the identity she was assigned in France; for, as Lawler explains, “the self is a project to be worked on” (2008:54). It is through her relocation to the migratory field, where “integration is more successful”²²¹ and the offer of a good job consequently not denied her, that Paulette has been able to embrace an identity of black Frenchness. She is no longer compelled by the reactions of others to embody an African identity with which she cannot identify: “because I’m not Black African; I don’t know Africa.”²²² This amounts to a profound subversion of her originary habitus, brought about purely through her act of migration and consequent exposure to new, culturally symbolic forces present in the adopted social space, where she believes the integration model worthy of replication: “French people should take a look at what the English have done.”²²³ Indeed, a 30-year-old, hijab-wearing, French migrant, with a Masters in economics, interviewed by Roudaut, seconds this opinion, anticipating “only too well the unease her attire would cause if, by some miracle, a French company offered her a job. France should [according to her] take a more flexible approach, more inclusive, in a word... more English” (2009:73).²²⁴ The inclusiveness of the London professional field is evidenced equally compellingly through Paulette’s own professional mobility:

Here, truly, from a knowledge point of view, if you know, you can climb. The

retrouvé leur confiance, ils ont retrouvé leur identité.”

220 Original: “[v]ouloir être et vouloir se choisir, c’est d’abord se refuser à être ce qu’on n’a pas choisi d’être”.

221 Original: “l’intégration est mieux réussie” (Paulette).

222 Original: “parce que je ne suis pas Black africaine; je connais pas l’Afrique.”

223 Original: “les Français devraient regarder ce que les Anglais ont fait”.

224 Original: “que trop bien le malaise que susciterait sa tenue si, par miracle, une entreprise française lui offrait un poste. [Selon elle,] [l]a France devrait adopter une approche plus souple, plus inclusive, en un mot... plus anglaise.”

progress I've made in this company, in terms of salary, status, work... I don't think I could ever have had that in a whole lifetime in France. [...] They didn't even want to give me a job as a PA in France.²²⁵

Paulette's experience demonstrates the comparative meritocracy of the London workplace, where knowledge is perceived to be rewarded in both symbolic and pecuniary ways, irrespective of social or cultural capital. The unprejudiced gaze of her employer contrasts the symbolic violence systematically encountered in the French professional field. Rather than being refused employment purportedly on account of her ethnicity, Paulette is entrusted "a position with a lot of responsibility",²²⁶ managing a team of employees. Such trust serves to illustrate the equality and mutual respect that exists between Paulette and her employer. It is significant, for several other interviewees refer to the infantilisation to which they were subjected in the ordinary field of work, bringing into relief the "adult" deference awarded in London. For instance, Robert explains how his recruiters wished to "broaden [his] teaching opportunities; they said 'you're an adult, and of course you can work and prepare your lessons', and in France they'd never have said that."²²⁷ Likewise, Séverine associates the widespread desire to serve the State in France with a lack of individual maturity which contrasts the autonomy of the, albeit more precarious, London professional field. The absence of infantilisation in the "more liberal, more creative and more liberating"²²⁸ London workplace is experienced as an empowering force, and therefore influenced Séverine's mobility: "I very soon left that culture".²²⁹ Moses, however, who is now a player in the French professional field, has only become aware of its apparent unmeritocratic practices in recollection of his time in London. His Senegalese heritage makes him well placed to assess the level of racial discrimination, although the somewhat excusatory language ("sometimes"; "not exactly like that"; "for now") again masks the implicit violence of the behaviour and is suggestive of his incognisant complicity:

Professionally speaking, it's more about how old you are, your gender, that sort of thing in France, sometimes even where you're from. What I experienced in England wasn't the same, it's more about ability, skills, personal attributes and strengths. On

225 Original: "Ici, vraiment, au point de vue de la connaissance, si on sait, on peut grimper. La progression que j'ai eue dans cette société, dans ce pays, tant en tant que salaire, que statut, que travail... je pense que je n'aurais jamais pu avoir ça dans une vie entière en France. [...] Même un rôle de PA, on ne voulait pas me le donner en France."

226 Original: "un poste à très grosse responsabilité".

227 Original: "élargir [s]es chances pour enseigner; ils m'ont dit 'tu es une personne adulte, et tu peux forcément travailler et préparer tes cours', et en France on ne m'aurait jamais dit ça."

228 Original: "plus libéral, plus créatif, plus libérateur."

229 Original: "j'ai quitté très vite cette culture".

the basis of that sort of thing, you see people moving up the ranks or getting promotions, and I know it's not exactly like that in France, for now.²³⁰

Arthur, on the other hand, who was raised in Reunion and migrated initially to France, is more explicit in his condemnation of the working environment he experienced in Paris:

It was hard for me. I had problems with racism: at work people treated you as if you were a slave. [...] I did everything I could to please them, but they took advantage of it; some people have no respect.²³¹

The figurative violence of Arthur's words is meaningful, and undoubtedly a reflection of the symbolic violence he suffered. Such imbalanced power dynamics are recounted by other interviewees, who contrast it with the mutual respect experienced in London. Marie describes the French workplace as "quite rigid, hierarchical and structured",²³² whereas the London equivalent is thought to be devoid of such stratification (an observation supported by Tzeng, 2012:124). Once again, the relationship between employer and employee is first embodied "as a mental structure" and subsequently "reconverted into physical structures" (Bourdieu, 1996:16) in the workplace. Paulette substantiates this physical materialisation in reference to the layout of her open-plan London office:

If you don't know who the boss is here, and you walk in, you wouldn't be able to tell. In France, the managing director has a separate office with a secretary, who herself has a separate office. It's very different. In fact, our offices in France are like that: it's the same company, but the managing director has his own separate office.²³³

Here, the "more open, [...] more transparent" (Chantal) and more "equitable" (François)²³⁴ mental space of the diasporic context has given rise to a physical transformation of the working environment. In "a sort of spontaneous metaphor" (Bourdieu, 1996:13), the rigid,

230 Original: "Au niveau professionnel, en France on est plutôt sur des statuts attribués par rapport à l'âge, par rapport au sexe, ce genre de choses, parfois même à l'origine. J'ai expérimenté en Angleterre c'est pas ça, c'est plutôt les compétences, les qualités, les valeurs de la personne. En fonction de ce genre de choses, on voit les personnes qui montent en grade ou qui obtiennent des promotions, et je sais que ce n'est pas exactement comme ça en France, pour l'instant."

231 Original: "C'était dur pour moi. J'ai eu des problèmes de racisme: au travail on vous traitait comme si vous étiez un esclave. [...] Je faisais tout ce qu'il fallait pour plaire aux personnes; il y a des gens qui ont aucune notion du respect."

232 Original: "assez rigide, hiérarchique, structuré."

233 Original: "Celui qui ne sait pas qui est le boss ici, et qui rentre, ne le saura pas. En France, le directeur général, il a un bureau séparé avec sa secrétaire qui a elle-même un bureau séparé. C'est pas du tout pareil. D'ailleurs, notre bureau en France est comme ça; c'est la même société, mais le directeur général à son bureau séparé."

234 Original: "plus ouvert, [...] plus transparent" (Chantal) and "équitable" (François).

hierarchical mental structures to which Marie alludes are converted into stratified material spaces in France, functioning socio-semiotically regarding the CEO's supremacy over, and distinction from, the hierarchically, physically and perhaps socially inferior employees. At variance with this model is the configuration of the office space of the English branch of the *same* company, where all desks (CEO included) are positioned within the same open space, the few physical divisions taking the form of transparent partitions (behind one of which Paulette and I are talking). This layout therefore objectifies the words ("more open, [...] more transparent") of the interviewees in respect of London *mentalities*, serving, as seen in King et al.'s (2014) study, as a compelling migration pull factor. It suggests a transformation of both originary (corporate) field and (individual) habituses to a more egalitarian ("equitable") framework in the diasporic context. The French office space, on the other hand, could be understood as a material incarnation of the discrepancy between France's egalitarian ideals and the inequity of its practices.

By analysing the interview data through the prism of workplace symbolic violence and symbolic domination, this section has drawn attention to the powerful, yet often implicit, forms of professional discrimination that have led some of my research participants to seek fairer and more promising professional opportunities in London. Whether in terms of the institutionalised symbolic capital which makes targeted qualifications a prerequisite for even the most menial of jobs and the seal of a *grande école* the passport to the most lucrative; or the social capital that is inherited from those fortunate enough to have been born into influential social circles; or the insidious racism that often prevents France's second and third generation non-white migrants from attaining positions which tally with their abilities; or indeed the social hierarchies that exist in the mentalities and materialities of the French workplace, the manifestations of symbolic violence and domination discussed here have all played their part in the interviewees' decision to migrate and/or settle in London. The final section of this chapter will assess the extent to which non-physical articulations of violence in the broader social space have also contributed to the decision-making, and how such discriminatory attitudes and practices are able to flourish in France.

3.3 SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN THE BROADER FRENCH SOCIAL SPACE: "The tolerance of intolerance is huge in France"

Extending beyond the field of education and employment, this section considers insidious migration push factors in France's broader social field, focusing in particular on the invisibilisation of cultural differences and on gendered symbolic violence, in both

misogynistic and homophobic forms. Developing the transnational approach prescribed by Kelly & Lusia (2005:832), whereby migrants' current lived experience should be apprehended in relation to their trajectories from and including the originary social space, it unearths additional sub-surface motivations for leaving the "home"land.

3.3.1 SAMENESS AND DIFFERENCE: "You can't force integration"

In France, as seen above, Paulette's skin colour is deemed highly visible in the collective consciousness, yet rendered *invisible* in the official discourse, with the authorities "using the old republican ideas of 'one France, indivisible' to cover over very deep differences" (Stille, 2014:5). Owing to legislation preventing French authorities from discriminating between its citizens in ethnic, racial or religious terms, discrimination is allowed to prosper "legitimately".²³⁵ This cultural and administrative "erasure" (Puwar, 2004:117) provokes resentment on the part of the victims of such insidious symbolic violence, fuelling social unease and, in turn, migration. Bourdieu notes this phenomenon in relation to France's LGBT community, conceptualising State "invisibilisation" as a form of oppression (Bourdieu, 1998:162), but the same stigmatisation applies to France's ethnic and religious groups. Charles draws attention to it regarding France's disenfranchised minority youth:

Young people from immigrant backgrounds aren't naïve [about] racism; what shocks them deeply is the inertia of the French authorities. We've had an earful of rhetoric about Republican qualities, but in general the tolerance of intolerance is huge in France.²³⁶

The French authorities' failure to acknowledge racism is thus in itself racist, experienced by the victims of such institutional "inertia" as an unequivocal act of symbolic violence.²³⁷ Not appearing in official statistics denies France's minority groups a social presence, just as their physical marginalisation in the *banlieues* demonstrates abandonment by the State (Bourdieu

235 Article 8 of French Law number 78-17 of 6 January 1978 stipulates that "It is forbidden to collect or process personal data which, directly or indirectly, reveals ethnic or racial origins [...] or religious opinions" (French Data Protection Act, 1978) [Original: "Il est interdit de collecter ou de traiter des données à caractère personnel qui font apparaître, directement ou indirectement, les origines raciales ou ethniques, les opinions politiques, philosophiques ou religieuses"].

236 Original: "Les jeunes issus de l'immigration ne sont pas naïfs [quant au...] racisme; ce qui les choque profondément, c'est l'inertie des autorités françaises. Nous, on en a plein la bouche de discours des qualités républicaines, mais, de manière générale, la tolérance vis-à-vis de l'intolérance est énorme en France."

237 It is precisely this type of institutional negation that has caused thousands of French Jews to flee France in recent years, many of whom are choosing London as a place of refuge (Malka & Malka, 2016).

et al., 1993:262).²³⁸ Ethnic minorities therefore feel rejected, any questions linked to their “otherness” being effaced from the national debate: “in France, we’re all equals [...]. In the name of universality, we crush people whose roots aren’t French” (Roudaut, 2009:70, citing Odile, originally from the French Caribbean).²³⁹ The State’s manipulation of an egalitarian discourse to camouflage symbolically violent acts of division, rejection and suppression is not a novel phenomenon.²⁴⁰ Nor is this hypocritical universality restricted to political/State rhetoric, since its ubiquity in the social space has infiltrated the collective “subconscious”, as Marie bears witness reflecting on the attitudes of those around her: “deep in their hearts, I think people would quite like them to go back to where they came from. They feel like they’re raking up all their jobs; they don’t really get it.”²⁴¹

Such widespread attitudes that have not only triggered migration among my research participants, but caused Paulette to conclude that she will “never go back to France; it’s over. According to my friends who’ve stayed, it’s not getting any better; it’s not a life I want for my children.”²⁴² France is thus permanently denied the cultural capital Paulette and her offspring (re)present in the London diasporic context, in her words the richness of their “difference, just the fact that they’re different.”²⁴³ Yet, since it is difference itself that the universal tenets of the Republic seek to eliminate, the loss of Paulette, and of many more London-French migrants like her, may well be perceived as France’s gain, for “asserting one’s difference is almost a betrayal of the, clearly very exclusive, Republic” (Roudaut,

238 Similarly, the fact that hate crimes are not recorded as such in France, owing to the same egalitarian rationale, has the two-fold consequence of validating their absence from political debate and diminishing their social significance; this erases the true, prejudicial motivation from the collective conscience and in turn trivialises both crime and injury. On a broader scale, it also serves as a convenient mechanism for the State to negate the social damage caused by its colonial past, the repercussions of which continue to be felt today. As Puwar highlights, “the national amnesia of French empire and racism is only very recently being addressed” (Puwar, 2009:372).

239 Original: “en France, on est tous des égaux [...]. Au nom de l’universalité, on écrase les gens qui ne sont pas des Français de souche”.

240 Roudaut compares it to the Republican attempt to eradicate France’s regional identities in the generations following the French Revolution, the emphasis of which has since shifted to France’s minority communities: “This steamroller approach, which crushed France’s regional languages and cultures during the 19th and 20th centuries, continues to be applied to ethnic minorities today” (2009:70) [Original : “Cette logique du rouleau compresseur, qui a écrasé les langues et les cultures régionales durant le XIXe et le XXe siècle, continue de s’appliquer aujourd’hui aux minorités ethniques”].

241 Original: “dans le fond du cœur des gens, je pense qu’ils aimeraient bien que les gens rentrent chez eux. Ils ont l’impression qu’on bouffe leur travail; ils ont pas trop compris.”

242 Original: “jamais rentrer en France; c’est fini. De par de mes amis qui restent, ça ne s’améliore pas; ce n’est pas une vie que je souhaite à mes enfants.”

243 Original: “différence, juste le fait d’être différent.”

In France's attempt to achieve a socially uniform nation, with equality for all, it is effectively refusing its citizens the right to difference. Séverine expresses her frustrations at the vanity of such an idealistic enterprise stating that "France's effort to transform non-French people into citizens is hopeless."²⁴⁵ She consequently prefers "the more realistic, more tolerant [...] British approach".²⁴⁶ Chantal, a 48-year-old mother of two, shares the sentiment, declaring that "integration by force doesn't work".²⁴⁷ It would appear that the founding principles of the notion of *laïcité*, namely to award *all* religions equal status,²⁴⁸ have over time metamorphosed from tenets of tolerance to an ideology of eradication, of blanket conformity at the expense of diversity. This refusal to embrace, or even tolerate, difference is isolating entire sections of French society, be they communities of faith, ethnicity, class, or other dissenters from the norm, and is hence a migration driver: "[w]hen the mother country rejects its children, the least stable will look for replacement parents" (Diallo, 2015). In this way, those who do not conform to the conventional model, and who are therefore marginalised in State, societal, field and habitus terms, have sought adoption by other, more open-minded "replacement parents".

Many have found such a surrogate progenitress in London, with a Focus Group 2 participant indicating the sartorial constraints of the originary field as a migration driver: "you can dress how you like here and no-one will say anything. But in Paris, you have to stick to the template."²⁴⁹ In London, an impression of social cohesion is achieved precisely through a perceived willingness to respect, even celebrate, differences rather than vainly impose a model of sameness that inevitably results in frustration or dissent.

Valentine argues that "[b]odies are marked by social norms and expectations which shape what we think they can and cannot do" (2001:49). Added to this is a cultural dimension, for in France, thinking has purportedly been shaped into far narrower parameters than in the adopted habitat. The internalised habituses of France's population have over time absorbed the egalitarian rhetoric that has dominated for generations, both in terms of their

244 Original: "[r]evendiquer sa différence, c'est presque trahir une République décidément très exclusive."

245 Original: "la France fait un effort désespéré pour transformer des non-Français en citoyens".

246 Original: "la vision britannique [...] plus réaliste, plus tolérante".

247 Original: "l'intégration par la force ne marche pas".

248 As stipulated in Article 1 of France's 1958 Constitution, still in force today, whereby the Republic respects all beliefs and makes no distinctions on the basis of religion (French Constitution, 1958).

249 Original: "ici on peut s'habiller comme on veut, personne dira rien. Alors qu'à Paris, il faut que tu suives le modèle."

objective gaze and subjective, incorporated dispositions, as such, individual materialisations of difference are reprobed, “as soon as you distance yourself a bit from the standard look, everyone stares at you.”²⁵⁰ It is this intolerance of difference that is interpreted as an act of symbolic violence and has attracted some to the indiscriminatory atmosphere of the London social space.

The enmity found in the originary is space is perceptible in the words of Miranda, adorned with multiple tattoos and piercings: “when I go out in Paris, if my legs aren’t covered, people are like ‘oh my God, she’s different’. When I go back home, people hurl abuse at me in the street. But no-one bothers me here.”²⁵¹ In fact, the non-acceptance of her “otherness” constituted a key migration trigger for Miranda, such was the symbolic violence suffered on a daily basis: “I was really suffocating in that very judgemental, very narrow-minded village; I really needed to go somewhere where nobody knew me”.²⁵² Sadia experienced comparable articulations of sartorially defined symbolic violence, referring to the animosity endured in Paris:

There’s an aggressive side. In fact, I could never wear a skirt. I put a skirt on about twice, skirt plus high-heels, and it was horrendous. Everyone stares at you. It wasn’t a mini-skirt, I’d wear it here no problem. And I know my sister’s never dressed “like a girl” in her entire lifetime.²⁵³

The silent aggression testified to here is said to pervade the social space and is considered so potent that it has forced Sadia’s sister to negate any sartorial objectivation of her womanhood through fear of implicit abasement. Thus, by pernicious, perhaps subconscious, means there is a societal movement to “force integration” into a standardised form of dress. Through non-verbal ostracism, especially, but not exclusively, against women (for Brice, a 34-year-old business consultant, and other male participants also report being “more at ease here now than in France, [because] you can wear anything whatsoever and no-one will notice”),²⁵⁴ French women in the originary social field are pressurised into conforming to

250 Original: “dès que tu sors un peu du cadre des looks types, tout le monde te regarde.”

251 Original: “quand je sors à Paris, si j’ai les jambes à l’air, les gens sont là, ‘mon Dieu, elle est différente’.”

252 Original: “J’étais vraiment suffoquée dans ce village très ‘judgmental’ [...], très ‘narrow-minded’; j’avais vraiment besoin de partir quelque part où personne me connaissait.”

253 Original: “Il y a ce côté agressif. Je ne pourrais jamais me mettre en jupe, en fait. Je me suis mise en jupe peut être deux fois, talons plus jupe, et c’était affreux. Tout le monde te regarde. C’était pas une mini-jupe, je la mettrais ici sans problème. Et je sais que ma sœur aussi, toute sa vie, elle ne s’habillait jamais ‘en fille’.”

254 Original: “plus à l’aise ici maintenant qu’en France, [car] on peut être habillé n’importe comment et personne va le remarquer.”

the emasculating “jeans & T-shirt” (Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013:415) standard.²⁵⁵

Adding a further dimension to the problematics is cultural assimilation, a model to which France adheres, but which the UK rejects in favour of a more inclusive form of integration, namely, multiculturalism (Koser, 2007:23-24), or the “mosaic multiculturalism” referred to by Block (2006:24, citing Benhabib, 2002). It would appear that the contrasting degrees and displays of prejudice made manifest in the social spaces of France and London may not, therefore, be due to innate national characteristics, neither are they derived from organic social developments, nor even the adoption of various positive-discrimination (or negatively meritocratic in the case of France) measures, but the outcome of the very structures that underpin the entire immigration policy of each nation, themselves embedded in deeper historic strata, some of which are likely to be unbeknown to many of the inhabitants of both countries, yet shape both collective field(s) and individual habitus, as Bourdieu asserts (Bourdieu, 1998:166).

Owing to the empirical evidence discussed above, “forced integration” is considered an unsuccessful model in France by the majority of my research participants and has, in several cases, served to push them from the originary social field. Perhaps, therefore, as Charles suggests, the French State could encourage integration by giving those who do not

255 This sense of universalising repression issuing from reactions to research participants’ outward divorce from the standard model is the materialisation of a generalised conservatism that is arguably the unintended upshot of Republican ideologies constituted after the Revolution. One interviewee made a particularly insightful comment in this respect, suggesting that London’s open-mindedness and politically instituted “l’unité [...] dans la diversité” (Suzanne), and France’s comparative narrow-mindedness and legally constituted “integration through force”, could, however, be the consequence of their more recent respective geopolitical histories: that is to say, the former’s unoccupied, isolated, island status during the Second World War, set against the latter’s humiliating occupation by the Germans. The hypothesis of the historic social field imperceptibly informing current national attitudes is supported by Bourdieu (1972:263) and arguably by each European State’s fundamentally divergent domestic immigration policies (Koser, 2007:22). In Chantal’s words, however, “We had to fight to keep our identity, our language, and we were invaded, while maybe the English are not so bothered by having other communities because they don’t feel they’ve been invaded.” [Original: “nous, il a fallu qu’on se batte pour garder notre identité, notre langue, etc., et on a été envahis, alors que les Anglais, ça ne les gêne peut-être pas d’avoir des communautés autres parce qu’ils n’ont pas l’impression qu’ils sont envahis”]. It is hence reasonable to postulate that today the British feel less threatened and are in turn more “relaxed” in the face of migration and dissent from “the norm” more generally, than the French, as a direct consequence of their geopolitical inheritance, whereas the bitterness and shame felt at the very core of France’s collective national identity has left a negative, lasting mark on the habitus of its people in the form of impulsive hostility to difference and change. (Since writing this, there has nevertheless been a rise in anti-immigration discourse in the UK social space; although the recent election of a second-generation Pakistani Muslim, Sadiq Kahn, to the office of Mayor of London tends to undermine the politico-media rhetoric).

conform to type and who are the victims of “oppressive invisibilisation” in official statistics and discourses a voice, objectified in the form of a democratic vote:

If we want to integrate people [...], it would be good if they could be included in some decisions other than by paying their local taxes. I find it fundamentally wrong that non-European foreigners don't have the right to vote in local elections.²⁵⁶

Only a through a willingness on the part of French public policy-makers to consider a more flexible interpretation of the nation's founding constitutional principles, notably this “hypocritical universalism” (Bourdieu, 1998:167),²⁵⁷ and by awarding first-generation migrants basic suffrage rights can integration and social cohesion have a chance of success, and only then will London-French migrants, such as Paulette, ever contemplate going “home”.

3.3.2 GENDERED SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE: “I experienced the aggression, the sexual aggression”

Linked to the sartorial discrimination taken as an example above²⁵⁸ is the notion of sexism. While France statistically outperforms the UK with respect to gender pay equity,²⁵⁹ and France's childcare provision is more conducive to women working in both cost and breadth of provision, the empirical data gathered for this thesis suggests that “everyday sexism”²⁶⁰ is more prevalent in France than the diasporic social space. Indeed, such high-profile examples as the Dominique Strauss-Khan (DSK) case serve as testimony to this pervasive, gendered form of symbolic violence.²⁶¹ The fact that multiple Air France complaints lodged against DSK were not endorsed by the airline or its unions, and therefore never reached

256 Original: “Si on veut intégrer les gens [...], ça serait bien qu'ils puissent être associés à certaines décisions autrement qu'en payant leurs impôts locaux. Je trouve absolument pas normal en France que les étrangers non-européens n'aient pas le droit de vote aux élections municipales.”

257 Original: “universalisme hypocrite”.

258 A phenomenon known as “lookism” and attracting increasing attention in a variety of academic fields, from law and education to psychology (e.g. Cavico et al., 2013; DeCastro-Ambrosetti & Cho, 2011; Warhurst et al., 2012).

259 With France ranked 16th in the world in 2014 and the UK 26th (World Economic Forum, 2014).

260 See <http://everydaysexism.com/>

261 In particular, several hundred complaints were brought against the former head of the IMF by Air France clients, employees and cabin crew, to the extent that, according to an anonymous letter, “only male employees could be assigned to the first-class section when this client [DSK] was travelling” [Original: “[s]euls des employés masculins devaient être affectés dans les salons première classe quand ce client [DSK] voyageait”] (*Le Journal du Dimanche*, 2011).

court, is perhaps further evidence of the normalisation of this symbolic violence: “in France”, as Bruno explains “that type of sexism is normal”.^{262 263} It is precisely this universal code of silence in the French social space that allows such practices to prosper, women trapped in a cycle of denial for fear of objection being perceived as a weakness, an embodiment of victimisation they are keen to negate. Naturally, this negation leads to the perpetuation of gendered power dynamics, with masculine domination being maintained and the perpetrators of the sexually motivated symbolic violence enjoying impunity. Such attitudes were referred to spontaneously by several interviewees and, at times, singled out as contributing factors to the decision to settle in London.

Confirming the omnipresence of this gendered symbolic violence are the remarks of a US Study Abroad student of East Asian heritage, whom I encountered during my fieldwork: “I didn’t go out much in Paris because it was too anxiety-inducive. [...] The men come up to you all the time, greet you in a soft low voice, expecting a reaction, or blatantly grope you in the street.” Significantly, she compared this everyday sexism with the everyday racism discovered while studying in the city: “Paris is quite racist. People would ‘ni-hao’ me all the time. Strangers, they’d just come up to me and say ‘ni hao’.” Conversely, she reported feeling considerably more at ease in London. This testimony seconds Sadia’s recollection of the male aggression she experienced in Paris. The distinct sartorial/moral standards which she claimed French women are societally expected to maintain are themselves the incarnation of gendered discrimination brought about by the dominant male gaze.²⁶⁴ That is, the prejudice of men in relation to how *they* believe women should look, as Moses unwittingly exemplifies: “the way I saw some women dress at night [in London], freely, completely undressed; I mean I know they’d be a bit more careful in Paris.”²⁶⁵ He denigrates not only the nakedness women feel at liberty to reveal in the diasporic social space, but also

262 Original: “en France [...] ce genre de sexisme est normal”.

263 This normalisation may also be a contributing factor in the jury’s decision in 2015 to acquit DSK of the formal “aggravated pimping” charge brought against him and several other leading figures, including powerful entrepreneurs and a police chief. Alternatively, the verdict could have been the inevitable reflection of a “shipwreck of an investigation” (Robert-Diar, 2015) [Original: “naufrage de l’instruction”], itself the result of societal acceptance of male chauvinistic behaviour. For, as revealed repeatedly in French newspaper *Libération* concerning normalised sexual harassment in the field of French politics, “When it is only a matter of harassment, the code of silence is constructed collectively” [Original: “Quand il ne s’agit ‘que’ de harcèlement l’omerta se construit collectivement”, Collectif “Levons l’omerta”, 2016).

264 Such gendered standards are also evidenced in relation to drinking habits, as discussed in Chapter 6.

265 Original: “la façon dont je voyais certaines femmes s’habiller la nuit [à Londres], librement, totalement dévêtues; je sais qu’à Paris on ferait un petit peu plus attention quand même.”

the very freedom which enables them to assert such sartorial power. Rather than recognise these dress choices as a materialisation of women's rights, Moses – whose habitus has been shaped by the field of the Parisian *banlieue* where he grew up and little affected by his limited period in London – considers them reckless, implying that their sartorial choices place the women at risk of consequent harm, and in turn that the blame for any harm committed would lie with the women themselves. The act of gendered symbolic violence is therefore three-fold: firstly, Moses's interpretation of the attire as an objectification of promiscuity is disparaging to its wearers; secondly, his insinuated assignation of culpability to the female victims of a hypothetical act of violence committed by men is simultaneously an affront to women and an exculpation for male aggressors;²⁶⁶ and thirdly, his obliviousness to the offensiveness of his gendered gaze adds to its potency and qualification as symbolically violent. Moses's judgemental stance is arguably an embodiment of “the masculine domination which constructs women as symbolic objects [...]: they exist primarily through and for the gaze of others” (Bourdieu, 1998:94).²⁶⁷ Therefore, in its failure to correspond to the model established by the objectifying masculine gaze said to dominate the French social space, the corporeal liberation of the women witnessed in the London space is belittled by Moses, perhaps as a mechanism to counteract the threat such subversion of the French norm poses.²⁶⁸

266 A phenomenon so widespread that self-blame is commonplace among rape victims (Janoff-Bulman, 1979).

267 Original: “[l]a domination masculine, qui constitue les femmes en objets symboliques [...]: elles existent d'abord par et pour le regard des autres”.

268 In this light, Laura's decision to wear different attire for her French and English audiences, as explored in Chapter 5, could either be seen as the result of her habituation to the more eccentric sartorial expressions permitted in the diasporic field or her growing confidence to assert her sartorial freedom, as argued earlier, or, conversely, it could be the result of her own complicity in the symbolic violence present in the originary field. Having embodied the pervasive objectifying gaze of the social space, Laura, when on stage in France perhaps feels compelled to wear an attire that matches the “collective expectations” (Bourdieu, 1998:88) [Original: “attentes collectives”] of that space, since they “tend to be reflected in bodies in the form of permanent dispositions” (ibid.) [Original: “tendent à s'inscrire dans les corps sous formes de dispositions permanentes”]. This places her in an implicit position of gendered inferiority, “dominated by the male gaze: [...] perceived by the male eye or by an eye inhabited by male categories” (Bourdieu, 1998:136) [Original: “dominé[e] par la vision masculine : [...] perçu[e] par l'œil masculin ou par un œil habité par les catégories masculines”]. By refusing herself the right to dress in the exaggeratedly feminine “froufrou” manner adopted in the diasporic field, Laura is at once displaying her tacit conformity – to the jeans and T-shirt standardised model of the French field – and her embodiment of a vestimentary style that has arguably evolved in the originary social space precisely to counter the systematic objectification that typically “feminine” attire initiates and which in turn reduces the woman to a position of powerlessness: “to describe a powerful woman as ‘very feminine’ is nothing more than an extremely subtle way of denying her the right to the strictly male attribute that power constitutes” (ibid.) [Original: “dire d'une femme

Like Moses, Sadia has lived in a disadvantaged Paris suburb, where she sensed the very objectifying masculine gaze adopted by the former.

there might be a false sexual attraction. I used to live in Barbès, and I experienced the aggression, the sexual aggression, like from men, like, when I was a teenager actually, who'd look at me, accost me, speak to me, as if... So, like it traumatised me a bit, and now I see men a bit like... There's a real "humph" to it.²⁶⁹

In this excerpt, Sadia's accusation of aggression is redefined as sexual aggression,²⁷⁰ as such the symbolic violence has developed into a physical form of violence, a violation of Sadia's personal space and being. She alludes to the traumatic effect of everyday sexist attitudes and acts, the repetitive commonplaceness of which is conveyed by her use of the imperfect tense (in French) and has led her to now harbour resentment against the entire male gender. Likewise, Sadia's trauma is evidenced through her lexical *lacunae*, the sense of injury suffered so intense that she is unwilling to reanimate them through articulation into words. Consequently, many of her sentences remain tellingly unfinished, with suspension points littering her narrative, and a high density of lexical "fillers", serving to postpone particularly painful episodes, such as "like" and "actually". It is this "sexism faced on a daily basis, by ordinary women, in ordinary places" (Everyday Sexism Project, no date)²⁷¹ which prevents Sadia from dressing as she desires when in France, and which is still considered by my research participants to pervade the French social space, consequently functioning as a migratory push factor.

The pressure felt in French society to conform to an objectified, gendered norm, was referenced repeatedly during my field research. One of my London-French students was unequivocal in this respect, describing an unarticulated form of oppression in the French social field which requires women to conform to both a "slim" body type and a particular understated, "sophisticated" dress code. The objectifying gendered aesthetics of the French

de pouvoir qu'elle est 'très féminine' n'est qu'une manière particulièrement subtile de lui dénier le droit à cet attribut proprement masculin qu'est le pouvoir"]. Thus, in order to maintain a sense of authority and presence during her performances in the French social field, Laura denies *herself* the vestimentary, feminised freedoms permitted and incorporated in the migratory space, just as Sadia's sister denied herself the right to dress "like a girl".

269 Original: "il y a peut-être une fausse attraction sexuelle. J'habitais à Barbès, et je l'ai vécue l'agression, l'agression sexuelle, quoi, d'hommes quoi, alors que j'étais une adolescente en fait, qui me regardaient, qui m'accostaient, qui me parlaient, comme si... Et du coup, ça m'a un peu traumatisée quoi, donc maintenant je vois un peu les hommes... C'est vrai qu'il y a un côté 'humph'."

270 Even sexual assault, "agression sexuelle" being ambivalent in French.

271 Significantly, "ordinary sexism" is a term coined by Simone de Beauvoir (1979) almost 40 years ago.

social space permeate both habitus and field so profusely that the majority of women appear to be filled with a sense “corporeal insecurity” (Bourdieu, 1998:94), existing primarily “as inviting, attractive, available objects” (ibid.).²⁷² While acknowledging the presence of similar tacit aesthetic imperatives in the diasporic social space, this student was adamant that they were less oppressive in London than in France.²⁷³ Paulette’s account is also revealing in this regard: “when I was a student here, I ate at the canteen and actually put on 10 kilos”.²⁷⁴ It is important to question whether such bodily transformation was due to the high fat content of the canteen diet or rather to a relaxing of Paulette’s own alimentary regime and aesthetic standards, feeling less constrained by the forces of the migratory social field to conform to the myth that “*French Women Don’t Get Fat*” (Guiliano, 2007). Rather than naturally not “get fat”, however, my field research reveals that French women wilfully seek to achieve the societally dictated “thin” archetype, through self-deprivation and considerable investment in remedies and treatments,²⁷⁵ an aesthetic self-objectification substantiated by Bourdieu (1998:136). Significantly, Paulette self-identifies as French only in relation to her sartorially objectivated image: “Us French – and now I’m saying ‘we’ – we know how to dress, how to combine colours... They find it a bit more difficult here. I wouldn’t have taken on an English dress sense. No way.”²⁷⁶ For Paulette, therefore, it is her aesthetic sensitivity and her material embodiment thereof that are the markers of her Frenchness and distinguish her – favourably in her eyes – from English women in the migratory field.

Perhaps the most disquieting and unexpected example of the pervasiveness of everyday sexism, reaching the youngest echelons of the French social space, came in the form of an overtly misogynistic diatribe from a teenage participant in Focus Group 2. His habitus having been shaped by the “French” fields in which he was raised, that is to say the French community “proper” in South Kensington and the Lycée Charles de Gaulle, the apparently unwitting prejudice of the account was all the more remarkable. In other words,

272 Original: “d’insécurité corporelle [...] en tant qu’*objets* accueillants, attrayants, disponibles.”

273 In her first year at university in London, she therefore felt at liberty to have her tongue pierced, her hair dyed pink and to visibly gain weight, not fearing societal rejection as a result.

274 Original: “quand j’étais étudiante ici, je mangeais à la cantine, et j’ai quand même pris 10 kilos.”

275 It is perhaps not coincidental that often the smallest, remotest of France’s rural villages are served by a pharmacy and dedicated *esthéticienne*.

276 Original: “Nous les Français – et là je dis ‘nous’ – on sait s’habiller, marier les couleurs... Ici, ils ont un peu plus de mal. Je n’aurais pas adopté la tenue vestimentaire anglaise. Non.”

the “naturalness” of the utterance²⁷⁷ compounded its offensiveness.²⁷⁸

Having examined the way in which the French social space objectifies women through its gendered aesthetic criteria and “the countless, often subliminal, injuries inflicted by the male order” (Bourdieu, 1998:128),²⁷⁹ it is perhaps surprising to learn that Catherine Poirier claims French society to be *feminine*, as displayed through its “galanterie”, whereas English society is conceptualised as masculine and virile (2006:80), manifested through its “bullying” culture (2006:85). Poirier fails to recognise, however, the French male seductive discourse as the very embodiment of a form of symbolic violence or everyday sexism, as identified by Bourdieu (1998:85-86). Therefore, when *The Guardian* published a photograph of Chirac kissing the hand of Angela Merkel alongside one of Tony Blair shaking the German Chancellor’s hand (Poirier, 2006:82), it is not so much that this expression of “French gallantry is [...] considered [...] evidence of outdated affectation, galling vanity, weakness of character or even a lack of virility” (ibid.)²⁸⁰ by the British newspaper and its readers vis-à-vis the French, as Poirier posits, rather the gesture is considered misplaced in such a highly formal context. It serves, as Bourdieu writes, as yet another example of the imperceptible acts of gendered symbolic violence in French society “which, in accumulation, serve to establish women’s diminished positioning” (1998:86).²⁸¹ The kiss, rather than a

277 Recorded as follows: “Women stay in their place in England. Whereas in France they get on their high horses. They want their rights. In England they assume them; they’ve got rights, and they’re content. French women always want more, so they put on a burqa to make people notice them, or they go out to work just to annoy their husbands, or they divorce and leave them with the kids, they smoke to look cool”. [Original: “La femme elle reste à sa place en Angleterre. Alors qu’en France elles montent en bloc. Elle veut ses droits. En Angleterre elles les assument; elle a des droits, et elles sont contentes. Les Françaises elles en veulent plus, alors elles mettent la burqa pour se faire remarquer ou alors elles vont au travail juste pour embêter leurs maris, ou alors elles les divorcent et elles les laissent avec les enfants, elles fument pour faire cool.”]

278 Furthermore, “naturally” bending to societal pressures and demonstrating “a form of complacency in relation to real or assumed masculine expectations” (Bourdieu, 1998:94) [Original: “une forme de complaisance à l’égard des attentes masculines, réelles ou supposées”], neither myself nor the other female participant in the focus group challenged this stereotyped view. Instead we embodied our expected “femininity”, being “smiley, friendly, considerate, submissive, discreet, restrained, even erased” (ibid.) [Original: “souriantes, sympathiques, attentionnées, soumises, discrètes, retenues, voire effacées”] and politely moved on to the next topic of conversation, thus accentuating the symbolic violence through our very complicity.

279 Original: “les innombrables blessures, souvent subliminales, infligées par l’ordre masculin”.

280 Original: “galanterie française est [...] considérée [...] comme le témoignage d’un maniérisme dépassé, d’une vanité exaspérante, bref, comme une faiblesse de caractère et même un manque de virilité”.

281 Original: “qui, en s’additionnant, contribuent à construire la situation diminuée des femmes”.

positive act of gallantry, as Poirier argues, could be perceived as one of humiliation and degradation, that is, a less explicit but equally damaging form of the very “bullying” Poirier associates with British culture.²⁸² Although some British women might yield to the romantically-versed “French touch”, as Merkel did to Chirac’s gesture, and their male counterparts may envy it (Poirier, 2006:82), so too have some French women tried to escape the tacit institutionalised sexism. This appears almost integral to social codes between the sexes in France, as Poirier openly affirms, but can be experienced as retrograde and oppressive by women who have moved to London, their migration serving to shed light on the gendered symbolic violence and domination of the ordinary social space.

In addition to research participants’ emphasis on everyday sexism and normalised misogynistic attitudes in the French social space, one interviewee evoked the homophobic mentalities encountered therein. The more Robert and I speak, the more he feels able to share closely guarded experiences with me. He recounts that, with hindsight, one of the principal drivers instigating his migration was a desire to escape small-minded mis- and pre-conceptions regarding homosexuality, both on field and habitus levels: “I wanted to leave; I’d fallen out with my parents about my sexuality [...]. It’s a lot more restricted in France, still. People are less open-minded too. I get the feeling people in England don’t really care”.²⁸³ People’s difficulty in accepting his sexuality was experienced as a symbolic injury, causing him to separate himself from them through physical distance, his migration acting as a protective barrier. Robert also reveals an explicit, and equally damaging, form of rejection in the French educational field, with fellow students shunning him purely on the basis of his sexual orientation: “at uni, when they found out I was gay, some of my friends turned their backs on me. Whereas here, that’s never happened. I don’t feel that burden.”²⁸⁴ Such symbolic violence also permeated the field of work, where the risk of social humiliation or professional rejection, or both, caused Robert to conceal his sexuality from recruiters and colleagues: “it was heavy-going. I had to hide it in certain spheres; I was uncomfortable

282 This so-called gallantry, therefore, far from *feminising* French culture, serves to perpetuate gendered power relations, subtly granting the male player the position of dominance, the (former French president’s) kiss symbolising the sexual objectification of the (Head of the German State) woman, with, more often than not, females contributing to the reproductive cycle through their own acquiescence. Intuitively flattered by the gesture and her behaviour pre-reflexively shaped by societal expectations, Merkel is likely to have succumbed, “despite herself” (Bourdieu, 1998:60), to the subsurface complicity imposed by the surrounding social structures (ibid).

283 Original: “je voulais partir; j’étais fâché avec mes parents par rapport à ma sexualité [...]. En France, c’est beaucoup plus fermé, encore. Et au niveau des gens aussi. J’ai l’impression que les gens ici en Angleterre s’en fichent un petit peu.”

284 Original: “j’ai eu des amis qui m’ont tourné le dos à la fac quand ils ont appris que j’étais gay. Alors qu’ici, jamais. Je ne ressens pas cette lourdeur.”

saying it. But I've never felt uncomfortable saying it here."²⁸⁵ From Robert's lexis, it is evident that his sexuality was an onerous experience in France, the symbolically violent actions and perceptions of others weighing him down in his daily activities, which contrasted the openness and lightness encountered in the diasporic field.

According to Bourdieu, Robert's burden is likely to be the physical effect of the sense of shame engendered through the victim's incorporation of the negative forces surrounding him, caught between a fear of revealing his sexuality, as was the case in the professional field in France, and a need to assert it, as Robert attempted to do in the familial habitat and at university (Bourdieu, 1998:162). In these terms, Robert's mobility could be seen as an incarnation of "ideological" (Chiswick, 2008:64) migration, if not asylum *per se*, with escape²⁸⁶ from the prejudicial mental structures that reduced Robert's identity to nothing more than his queerness, and the quest for less judgemental "thinking patterns" (Bourdieu, 1998:164),²⁸⁷ informing his decision. Thus, through migration, crucially, he has obtained "the right to *invisible visibility*" (Bourdieu, 1998:165; original italics),²⁸⁸ namely a recognised, unstigmatised, existence, denied him in France, which recalls the liberating sensation Paulette experienced vis-à-vis her ethnicity.

Reflecting the degree of the symbolic injury suffered in the French social space, the prospect of return migration remains slim for Robert, just as it was rejected by Paulette, neither of them wishing to expose themselves to systemic discrimination for anything more than "express visits", as Paulette phrases it. Robert's return visits revive memories of the homophobic attitudes his mobility intended to erase, and today serve both as reminder and deterrent:

[In London] we can hold hands, without fear of being insulted or even feeling threatened. But last weekend we went to France, and at the bank there was a moment's silence when we announced we were a couple. And at a pizzeria on the Saturday evening, the waiter blatantly asked: "but are you a couple?" It's the first time anyone's asked us directly. In London, people understand we're a couple, in a subtle way. But there's always this silence and need for justification there. People always ask how things are going for us as a couple, even though it's very personal and very private. That's something which bothers me in that French town.²⁸⁹

285 Original: "c'était pesant. J'étais obligé de le cacher dans certains domaines; j'étais gêné de le dire. Alors qu'ici ça ne m'a jamais gêné de le dire."

286 Robert later described his migration as "a distancing, an escape and a desire to discover something elsewhere" [Original: "un éloignement, une fuite, et une envie de découvrir quelque chose ailleurs"].

287 Original: "schèmes de pensées".

288 Original: "le droit à la *visibilité invisible*".

289 Original: "[A Londres] on peut se tenir la main, sans avoir peur de se faire insulter, ou se sentir même menacés [...]. Alors que, ce weekend, on est allés en France, et à la banque

Robert is perceived to be an outsider in his *native* country, in a paradoxical inversion of the traditional model. Rather than his migrant status creating a relationship of otherness (Sayad, 1999), it is his sexuality that marginalises him in the French social space. Migrating to London has freed him from the stigmatisation linked to his homosexuality and allowed him to fully, yet invisibly, embrace his true identity. It is significant that during Robert’s 15 years in London, only once has he fallen victim to a remark related to his sexuality; meanwhile in France, it is a regular occurrence. The self-contradictory phenomenon of feeling an outsider in one’s primary habitat to which Robert alludes in relation to his parents, is identified by Valentine, who acknowledges the implicit, yet omnipresent heterosexual conditioning of such spaces, translating, on the level of habitus, into a form of unwitting homophobia: “Although home is supposed to be a medium for the expression of individual identity, a site of creativity or a symbol of the self, in practice this can mean that family homes express a heterosexual identity [...] while gay identities of individual household members are submerged or concealed. Because of this, many sexual dissidents can feel ‘out of place’ and that they do not belong ‘at home’” (Valentine, 2001:84). It is precisely this sense of unease and otherness which, particularly in its extension to the macro level of the social field at large, caused Robert to flee his primary habitat. Emanating from a social space where conforming to the “accepted” model is a prerequisite for integration, and where, in Robert’s words, the “redneck” represents the “contemporary hero” of “life revolving around family meals and Sunday-best”,²⁹⁰ by virtue of his sexuality Robert no longer feels he belongs in his “home”land. In stark contrast to both his provincial and urban French experiences, London provides a setting in which Robert can “fit in”, not to a distinct gay community as such – “il n’y a pas de communauté gay [française] à ma connaissance”, he declares – but, all the more legitimately (Bourdieu, 1998:164), to the established, heterosexual community. This is a significant distinction as it emphasises the sense of self-portrayed belonging and consequent feeling of assimilation (Bourdieu, 1998:163) into heterosexual/London contexts, rather than homosexual ghettoisation (Valentine, 2001:221). In addition, living in a

il y a eu un petit moment d’arrêt quand on a annoncé qu’on était un couple. Et le samedi soir, à la pizzeria, le serveur nous a demandé de bout en blanc: ‘mais vous êtes un couple?’. C’est la première fois que les gens nous demandent directement. A Londres, les gens comprennent, d’une façon subtile, qu’on est un couple. Alors que là-bas, il y a toujours ce temps d’arrêt, et cette justification. Les gens nous demandent toujours ‘comment ça se passe dans votre couple?’, alors que c’est quelque chose de très personnel, et très intime. Ça, c’est quelque chose qui me gêne dans cette ville française.”

290 Original: “beauf [...] héros contemporain [...] la vie centrée aux repas, au weekend dominical”.

predominantly “straight street” (ibid.) in London²⁹¹ has aided his desired invisibility through the very commonplaceness of his visibility.

CONCLUSION

By examining symbolic violence in France’s educational and professional fields, as well as in the broader social field, this chapter has attempted to reveal often unarticulated, and hence overlooked, migration triggers. Whether regarding the inequitable “equality” found in the classroom, the rigid hierarchical stratification of the workplace, the social capital drawn on in the pivotal space between the two, or the racialised and gendered symbolic violence permeating the social field, their role as an insidious migration driver is unequivocal. These latent forces call into question the superficial motivations and desires, such as learning English (Ledain, 2010), finding romance (Favell et al., 2011) or changing lifestyle (Oliver & O’Reilly, 2010), often cited in the literature and by my own research participants prior to deeper probing and subsequent reflection on their part.

London, as a diverse, multicultural, “denationalised” (Block, 2006:45) global city (Block, 2006; Favell, 2008a; Tzeng, 2012; Ryan & Mulholland, 2013) is often conceptualised as a magnet for those seeking opportunity and openness (Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013), and as such studies focus on the appeal/advantages of London and migrant relationships within the capital (Ryan & Mulholland, 2013, 2014a, 2014b), but rarely scrutinise the social factors influencing mobility in the originary field. Indeed, non-economic, non-lifestyle factors in the field of origin are usually underplayed if not altogether ignored, particularly in the case of intra-EU migration, the agents of which are referred to with such positive, somewhat whimsical, terms as free “movers” (Braun & Arsene, 2009) and “Eurostars” (Favell, 2008a), which serve to negate the seriousness of their motivations, developed in this chapter and introduced previously (Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013).

By setting the research participants’ current situation within the comparative context of the originary space, this chapter has demonstrated why my interviewees and other French migrants conceive of London in the optimistic, open-minded, cosmopolitan terms described above. It is precisely the *contrast* London constitutes in relation to the originary social space, even in comparison to the French Capital, which Block defines as a global city (2006:45) but which fails to attract to the same degree, that increases London’s appeal. In other words, if the field of origin is not examined as an integral component of the migratory

291 Robert has been embraced by the local residents to the degree that he is now on Christmas-card terms with his *Catholic* neighbours.

process/experience, as in this chapter, any assessment of motivations or search for reasons remains wanting. To address this shortfall, rather than examine the London French in a contextual vacuum, this chapter has identified deep-seated push factors, enabled by the cultural insights and linguistic competence deployed during the in-depth interviews. In this way, fundamentally important differences perceived between France and the UK have been factored into the mobility process, instead of, as is often the case in macro-level migration research, envisaging both nations as relatively alike in broad socio-economic, demographic and cultural terms, hence brushing over the significant meso- and micro-level triggers revealed here.

In short, the nuanced understanding of the negative symbolic forces found to be at play in France, and thought to be less pervasive in London, as discussed in this chapter, represents an essential component of the sociocultural complex that is migration, as well as providing a necessary backdrop for the subsequent chapters of the thesis.

CHAPTER 4
DECONSTRUCTING HABITUS:
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INTRODUCTION

‘[D]espite movement to a new [diasporic] field, there are ultimately limits to the possibilities of reinventing and transforming habitus’ (Oliver and O’Reilly, 2010:25).

Metaphorically defined as a “virtual backpack” (Peters, 2014: 108) or “soup” (O’Reilly, 2014: BSA presentation), habitus is potentially mutable, yet fundamentally engrained and “durable” (Bourdieu, 1980a:88).²⁹² Bourdieu distinguishes between primary habitus (family upbringing/childhood) and secondary habitus (formal education/towards adulthood) in an attempt to acknowledge its potential for change despite its typically *reproductive* nature. However, this binary distinction is perhaps over-simplistic, for habitus is more plastic in practice, possessing both “a generative capacity” (Bourdieu, 2005:46) and the possibility to “be *changed by history*, that is by new experiences” (Bourdieu, 2005:45). This is particularly pertinent in the context of migration, where it is the rule rather than the exception to develop a “tertiary” habitus, to extend Bourdieu’s concept, conceptualised elsewhere as a “third timespace” (Sprio, 2013:61, citing Lavie and Swedenburg, 1996), an “ethnicised habitus” (Noble, 2013:351), a “diasporic habitus” (Parker, 2000:75), a “patchworked existence” (Mata Codesal, 2008:15), or, more widely, as a “transnational” space (Basch et al., 1994; Kivisto, 2003; Mata Codesal, 2008; Portes, 2003; etc.) or “transnational habitus” (Kelly & Lusia, 2006), all of which attempt to encapsulate the “in-betweenness” of the migratory experience. Like a backpack, therefore, whose contents evolve over the course of its owner’s travels but whose basic form remains unchanged, or a soup, the ingredients of which may be enriched as it matures but the underlying stock is a constant, the habitus of a migrant is at once fundamentally rooted in its sociocultural origins and open to transformation. While there may be “limits” (Oliver & O’Reilly, 2010:25), the scope for habitus to evolve is significantly greater for migrants than “stayers” (Favell, 2008a:ix; Braun & Arsene, 2009), given their exposure to new ways of experiencing the world in new fields and communities of people and practice (Block, 2006:28).

In this chapter, attention shall move away from the field of origin and instead address the current position of the London French within the diasporic space. First-hand, on-land

292 The literal translation of “durable” in French as “durable” in English throughout the Bourdieusian oeuvre is misleading. As a qualified translator, I would more readily translate the term as “lasting”, which not only concurs with the translation (“long-lasting”, 2005:43) deployed in one of Bourdieu’s last pieces of writing prior to his death, but is suggestive of the prolonged, yet not entirely resistant to change, nature of habitus. Indeed, Bourdieu emphatically refutes the widespread accusation of his concept being a “vicious cycle of structure producing habitus which reproduces structure *ad infinitum* [, deeming it] a product of commentators” (2005:45).

evidence will be explored in order to deconstruct the habitus of the participants and to ascertain whether the habitus of origin has been transposed (Bourdieu, 1980a:88) to the migration setting or transformed therein (Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016), and whether there are any common threads which weave together to form a unified London-French habitus. Although in any discussion of habitus it is necessary to acknowledge Bourdieu's twinned concept of field, for the "habitus of concrete social practices does not exist in a vacuum of social relations" (Friedmann, 2005:315-6, and as explained in Chapter 1), it is not my intention in the following three chapters to devote detailed attention to the field(s) of the London French. This can in part be justified by the field-level forces examined in the previous chapter and readdressed in Chapters 7 and 8, and in part by my ethnographic approach, stemming from an arguably more "habitus-centric" anthropological discipline, concerned with microlevel (Favell, 2008b) (material) culture and kinship (Miller, 2005:15), as opposed to meso or macrolevel societal structures, of greater concern to sociologists. It is, nevertheless, important to recognise London-French habitus as being set within, and contingent on, not only the field of the migration setting, which can (as Oliver & O'Reilly intimate above) be conceived of as an overarching "migratory" or "diasporic" field (and habitat), in which recent migrants with their unaccustomed habituses must learn the (usually unarticulated) rules of the game/city (Noble, 2013:349; Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016:88), but in relation to the various fields within which they operate to conduct their daily practices (habits), such as the fields of work, leisure, accommodation, schooling, etc., all of which will be, to varying degrees of subtlety, different than those to which they are used (habituated).

The following examination of habitus, therefore, should be understood as inextricably linked to the diasporic or migratory field,²⁹³ despite the confines of this thesis not accommodating a detailed mapping of the broader social structures involved, for field and habitus are intrinsically dynamic and mutually-constructive (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In order to examine the three aspects of habitus which emerged when analysing my interview data, the concept is deconstructed into its concrete manifestations of habitat (in this chapter), habituation (in Chapter 5) and habits (in Chapter 6). Although this crude subdivision of habitus into a triad of practice could be seen as reductive, denying the concept its singular position at the interface of subjectivity and objectivity, and rendering habitus "a mere principle of repetition", rather than "a dynamic system of dispositions that interact with one another" (Bourdieu, 2005:46), the intention, *al contrario*, is that the triad itself be envisaged as an inherently interconnected construct: if one element were removed, the triangle would collapse. Similarly, like the individual within the social field who cannot but

293 Both terms will be used interchangeably.

experience it through a subjective interaction, this triad serves as an “attempt to transcend subjects and objects” (Miller, 2005:11) and explore the extent to which “home and its inhabitants transform each other” (Miller, 2001:2). Therefore, through the assemblage of a triangular whole, the objectified (habitat), embodied (habituated) and practised (habits) dimensions²⁹⁴ of the London-French experience can be better examined and united under the concept of Habitus. The component to be scrutinised in this chapter is habitat: habitat as a macro external space, that is the global city inhabited by the community, as a micro interior space filled with meaningful material objects, and as an immaterial space realised through the intangible media of radio, television and Internet broadcasting.

4.1 MAPPING HOME: “[I]n England, there is only London”

When assessing the settlement of migrant communities in a given locale, “anthropologists have often drawn on the research of geographers, for whom space and place are equally important theoretical constructs” (Brettell, 2008:130). Likewise, I begin this chapter with a physical mapping of the London places occupied by my participants, prior to conducting a finer-grained analysis of individuals’ material habitats, reflecting on the degree to which they are “spatially interwoven” (Hardwick, 2008:170) with their remembered or re-embodied homeland. Furthermore, the discussion of topological and demographic place-making processes addresses, albeit limitedly, the concern voiced by Hardwick that “transnational literature [...] all too often fails to consider scale, context and place” (ibid.:171). Below, therefore, is an attempt to consider such physical dimensions.

Free movement within the EU has rendered attempts to establish the precise number of London-French inhabitants almost futile. Since a declaration made by former president, Nicolas Sarkozy, during a State visit to London in 2008,²⁹⁵ the media on both sides of the Channel have repeatedly reported London’s French population as quantitatively equivalent to that of France’s fifth or sixth largest city (Huc-Hepher and Drake, 2013:391). Such claims are both unreliable and misleading, firstly because the initial estimate is based on speculation not solid data (according to a vague, and arguably inflated (Ryan & Mulholland, 2013) consular approximation). Secondly, French city population numbers include only *intramuros*

294 It is perhaps no coincidence that these three facets recall the three dimensions of cultural capital delineated in Bourdieu’s seminal essay, “Les Trois états du capital culturel” (1979a), namely the “institutionalised”, “objectified” and “embodied state” [Original: “l’état incorporé”, “objectivé” and “institutionnalisés”].

295 According to Smith and Guarnizo (1998, cited by Schmitter Heisler, 2008:96), engagement in diasporic politics on the part of “sending” nations’ governments is a defining factor of “transnationalism from above”.

residents – for instance, central Bordeaux’s 239,399 inhabitants – and exclude all those residents inhabiting the outer municipalities, whom, in the example of Bordeaux, would raise its population to a more accurate 1.18 million (Population Data, 2014). This would consequently place London’s French community (assuming the Consulate’s estimations are deemed accurate) on a par with the populations of small towns such as Pau or Annecy, in other words, France’s 44th largest “city” (*La Tribune*, 2014).

The French Consulate’s latest estimations place the figure at 300,000, although there are but 120,000 French residents throughout the UK formally registered at the Embassy (Consulat général de France à Londres, 2013). The 2011 ONS census, on the other hand, recorded French-passport holders as the fourth highest-ranking non-British group in London (after Poland, Ireland and India, in descending order), yet in terms of the number of French-born citizens, only 66,654 were recorded, ranking the population ninth (Krausova & Vargas Silva, 2013). Neither of these match the inflated media claims, but both could be underestimates, as most French migrants fail to register at the Embassy unless or until administrative formalities require them to do so, as my empirical findings confirmed: “I was [registered] but I’ve let it lapse. I did try to do it electronically, but it was so complicated...” (Antoine). Ledain’s (2010) study corroborates my evidence, with two-thirds of the 18-25-year-olds surveyed not having registered at the Consulate. Furthermore, there is currently no formal obligation for household²⁹⁶ members to respond to the national census. Therefore, rather than dwell on an intrinsically dubious quantitative assessment of the French presence in London, “since there is no need to commit oneself to becoming a citizen [...] and in many cases they [EU migrants] need not even show up as official residents” (Favell, 2008b:274), it is far more valuable here to consider the qualitative and geographical dimensions of the place-making process, beginning with the on-land London-French habitat.

The results of the London-French vote at the presidential elections in 2012 for the first time mirrored those of France as a whole. The London vote no longer leaned to the right as it had done in previous elections, rather it reflected the new diversity of the French population residing in the capital, acting as a political microcosm of France itself. The similarity between the national and London-French voting patterns would suggest the demographic characteristics of the diasporic community are today as varied as those of France (an observation supported by Ryan & Mulholland, 2013). The stereotypical image of the French diplomat, investment banker or tax-avoiding entrepreneur living in South

296 Many French migrants live in shared accommodation for the initial months or years in the capital. Bruno reported having spent three months in an over-crowded house in Maida Vale when he arrived, before moving to a more comfortable one-bedroom flat, with another French colleague.

Kensington and sending his progeny to the Lycée Français no longer tallies with the voting practices or places of abode of the French on the ground. The physical spaces inhabited by my research participants (Fig. 1) clearly demonstrate that all parts of London, north, east, south and west, have been chosen as places to set down roots, hence dispelling the South Kensington community myth.²⁹⁷

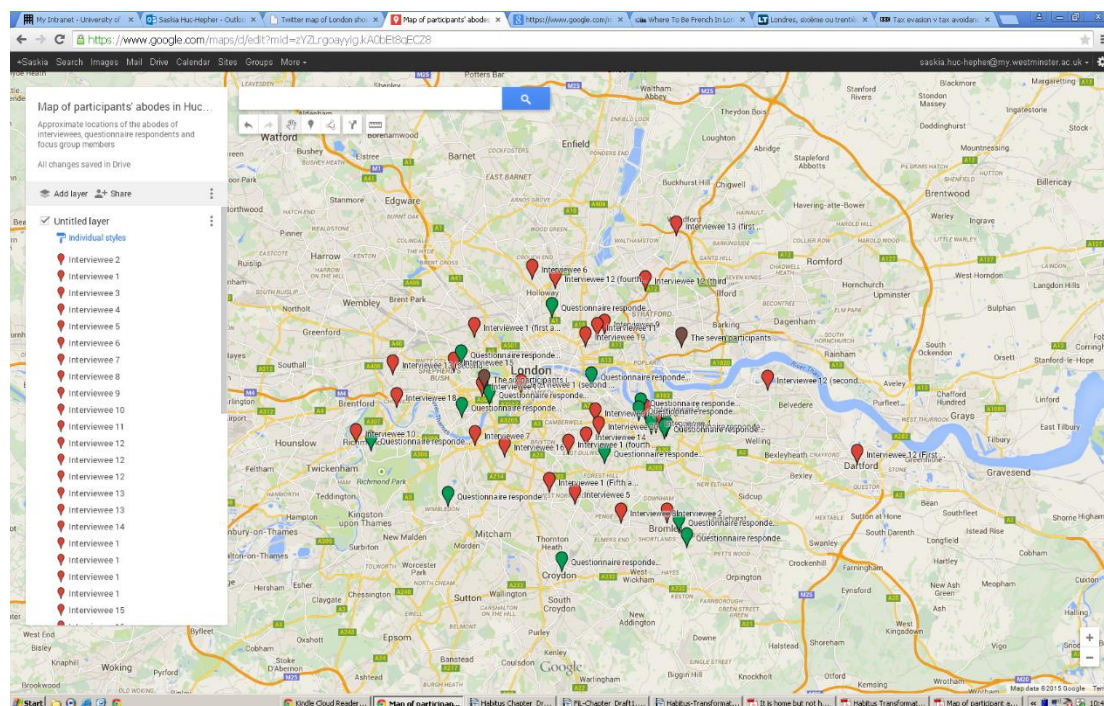


Fig. 1. Map of participants' places of residence in London

Additionally, the map confirms that the majority of informants live in central boroughs, inside the north-/south-circular periphery, with one alone nearing the definitive M25 boundary. This trend is supported by the ONS 2011 census statistics (Office of National Statistics, 2012), wherein a total of 45,669 French-born residents are recorded in inner-London local authorities and less than half that amount (20,985) in outer-London boroughs, with fewer still choosing to live in the “home” counties. This preference for urbanised London, as opposed to its circumferential countryside or market towns, is demonstrated unequivocally by the 2011 census rankings, in which Oxford, Elmbridge and Canterbury are the local authorities accounting for the highest concentrations of French-born residents outside London, but where the said communities are placed in 14th, 29th and 31st numeric position respectively. By comparison, French-born inhabitants constitute the most populous community in Kensington and Chelsea (representing 4.2% of the local population, that is, 6,659 individuals), the second-largest in Hammersmith and Fulham (with a 2.7% share or

²⁹⁷ This is a finding corroborated by the on-line evidence discussed in Chapter 10.

4,977), third in Westminster (2.6%) and fourth in the City of London (2%). While these figures appear modest in relation to media depictions, the *consistency* of the relatively high distribution of French-born citizens *across* the capital is significant, with the inner-London boroughs of Camden, Islington, Lambeth, Tower Hamlets, Wandsworth, Southwark and Hackney all recording proportions of French-born citizens between 1% and 1.7%, and Lewisham, Haringey and Newham between 0.5% and 0.8%. To put these French sub-communities into perspective, the largest concentrations of other founder-member EU communities struggle to approach the French numbers,²⁹⁸ with Italian residents representing the next highest (with 2.7% in Kensington and Chelsea), then the Portuguese (2.3% in Lambeth), German (1.7%, again in Kensington and Chelsea) and Spanish (1.4% *again* in Kensington and Chelsea) communities. These figures not only reveal the quantitative importance of French migrants compared to their EU counterparts, with over 50% more inhabitants than the subsequent largest sub-community, namely London's Italian diaspora, but they also highlight that the borough of Kensington and Chelsea is not the sole preserve of the French community, since it accommodates the largest concentrations of Germans, Italians and Spanish alike. Thus, whilst the borough is indeed the local authority where the French community is at its densest, this phenomenon is not peculiar to the French community, as Kensington and Chelsea is equally popular among other (affluent) migrants, just as other boroughs are popular among the (less affluent) French.

Setting the French-community figures against statistics for inner-London populations born in EU-accession countries²⁹⁹ brings them into relief further. For instance, according to the 2011 census, the largest community of Romanians is found in Newham and represents only 1.6% of the local population (compared with 4.2% French residents in Kensington and Chelsea), with Lithuanians constituting 2.7% in the same borough. The Polish inner-London community in Haringey is the sole European group that equals that of the French in a single local authority, just surpassing it at 4.3%. This gives a more concrete impression of the significance of the French population numbers in relation to media portrayals of London's migrant communities more generally, and by extension the (pre/mis)conceptions of the

298 This is somewhat unexpected given the visible, physical presence of communities such as the Italians (see Sprio, 2013 and Scotto, 2010) and Spanish (who emigrated *en masse* to the UK under Franco) in London. These figures may, therefore, be suggestive of a phenomenon of first-generation return migration (the intent of many), coinciding with euro-zone growth at the turn of the 21st century (which led to increased youth employment in Spain and Italy, and plausibly, therefore, reduced the need to migrate). Further, second and third generations would systematically be absent from the census figures, since they are based on country of *birth*.

299 A migrant population greatly publicised, exaggerated and ostracised in the national media, the negative tone of which doubtless contributed to the 2016 "Brexit" vote.

collective “host” imagination, in addition to reasserting the French preference for cosmopolitan London life, as opposed to the suburban existence to which many “locals” aspire. The 2011 census stratifications for French communities in outer-London local authorities substantiate this point further, with the French ranked 127th in Bexley and 207th in Havering. It is evident, therefore, that relatively few choose to settle among “non-Londoners” in the outer boroughs and “counties [which] exist in apposition to London, their nature determined by the extent to which Londonishness pervades them” (Engel, 2014:496; XX),³⁰⁰ precisely because such areas are *not* London, however proximate and filled with London’s workforce they may be. Indeed, Block refers to his respondents’ conceptualisation of “London as an un-English island” (2006:132), which echoes the sentiment of another French woman in London some two hundred years earlier: “Flora Tristan saw London as a very separate spatial entity, governed principally but not uniquely by a climate that created types of people” (Cross, 2013:145).³⁰¹ Favell encountered the same “London typology” among his highly-skilled EU migrant participants, who referred to the loneliness and isolation experienced in the capital’s commuter belt, where they had (re-)migrated in search of a better quality of life, only to discover that it “was difficult to make contact” (2008a:177) and that “cool Britannia isn’t in fact very multicultural, global, or international *at all*, once you get outside of zones 2 or 3 of London” (ibid., original emphasis). Furthermore, if French migrants, like the Germans in King et al.’s study (2014), are moving to London precisely to escape the boredom of their habitual provincial lifeworld (2014:11), it comes as little surprise that parochial suburbia does not meet their expectations. This might explain why the French outside London seem to favour those small cities pervaded by “Londonishness”, such as Oxford and Canterbury, rather than “the leafy avenues of Respectable Street, Surrey”³⁰² (Favell, 2008a:176). Indeed, echoing this sentiment, Moses, the returnee whom I interviewed by telephone, admits having believed London to be England’s only major city: “I was under the impression that in England there is only London and that all the rest is small; I didn’t think there were other cities like in France. I wondered how they managed to have only one

300 This is a non-academic publication, but illustrative of the pervasiveness of the “London-UK divide” in British popular culture and belief.

301 The “typological” differentiation between London residents and those in the rest of Britain described here arguably accounts for the distinct voting patterns among Londoners and those outside the Capital in the 2016 EU referendum.

302 The local authority of Elmbridge, *Surrey*, appears to be the exception to this rule as, according to the ONS statistics discussed above, its French born community was ranked relatively highly, in 29th position. Similarly, this population could represent the very “sojourner[s]” (Brettell, 2008:116) to whom Favell refers, trialling extra-urban migration, before the realisation that it does not correspond to their cosmopolitan expectations.

city which was London.”³⁰³ Similarly, Chantal, who has lived in the (French) heart of the capital for the last 22 years, makes a clear distinction between London and the home counties, “Respectable Street” in particular, “There’s one place I loathe: it’s Surrey. It’s everything I wouldn’t like. All those English houses with nothing but English people in English schools, and the women who are together all the time and the men who go to work in the City during the week. Now that, that’s really a way of life which is of no interest to me whatsoever. And it’s true that when I say I love England, it’s probably very untrue; what we like is London.”³⁰⁴ Thus, the mental images the interviewees create of London in comparison to its surrounding rural and urbanised spaces confirm the physical topography of their places of abode. For them, in both their habituated perspectives and habitual residences, London does not equate to England, nor does it restrict itself to South Kensington.

Dispelling the South Kensington myth further are the physical spaces frequented by London’s French-*speaking* members, brought to light (quite literally) by the map of Twitter languages produced by Ed Manley and James Cheshire (Department of Geography, UCL) (Fig. 2), which shows that French is the third most-spoken (or most-Tweeted) language in London, with 28,226 tweets recorded (Cheshire, 2012b), and, of greater pertinence to this study, that there are significant concentrations of French usage in locations considered atypical, such as Lewisham in the south east. In the words of Cheshire, the “geography of the French tweets (red) is perhaps most surprising as they appear to exist in high density pockets around the centre and don’t stand out in South Kensington” (2012a).

303 Original: “j’avais l’impression qu’en Angleterre il n’y a que Londres, et que tout le reste c’est petit; je n’avais pas l’impression qu’il y avait d’autres grandes villes comme en France. Je me demandais comment ils faisaient pour avoir qu’une seule ville, qui était Londres.”

304 Original: “il y a un coin dont j’ai horreur: c’est le Surrey. C’est tout ce que j’aimerais pas. Toutes ces maisons anglaises avec que des Anglais dans les écoles anglaises, et les femmes qui sont tout le temps ensemble et les hommes qui vont travailler dans la City la semaine. Alors ça, c’est vraiment un mode de vie qui ne m’intéresse pas. Et c’est vrai que quand je dis que j’adore l’Angleterre, c’est certainement très faux; c’est qu’on aime Londres.”

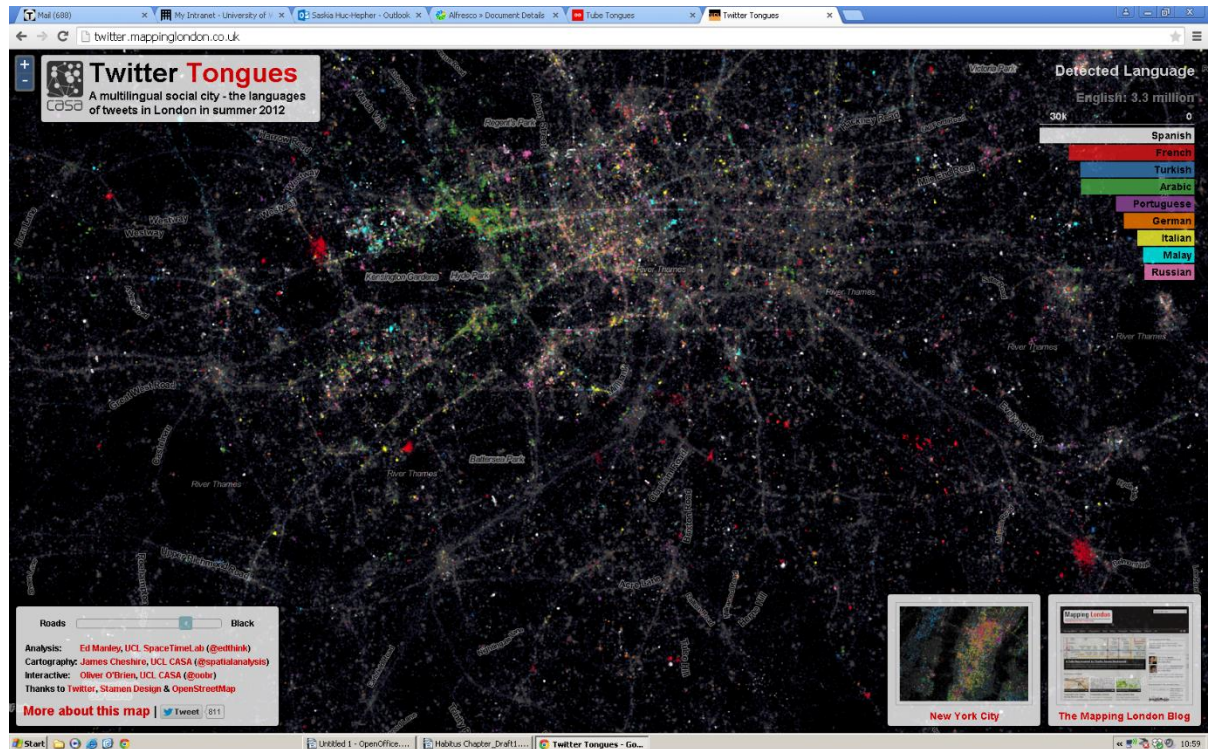


Fig. 2. Twitter language communities in London, summer 2012 (Cheshire & Manley, 2012)

Perplexed by these dispersed concentrations of French tweets, the cartographers accounted for them in technical, as opposed to demographic, terms: “It may be that as a proportion of tweeters in this area they are small so they don’t stand out, or it could be that there are prolific tweeters (or bots) in the highly concentrated areas” (Cheshire, 2012a). However, in view of the participants’ abodes illustrated in Fig. 1, and my having observed many French and Francophone families in the Lewisham area, these findings are far from unexpected.³⁰⁵ In addition, it is noteworthy that this cluster coincides with the Annual School Census (ASC) 2008³⁰⁶ findings on the languages state-school pupils speak at home (Greater London Authority, 2011) in which the London Boroughs of Lambeth (2.9%) and Lewisham (2.1%) recorded higher proportions of French-speakers among its schoolchildren than Ealing (0.8%) or Richmond (0.9%), districts often associated with large numbers of French residents. This is undoubtedly due to the density of the Francophone African populations in the Lewisham and Lambeth boroughs,³⁰⁷ as Huc-Hepher & Drake have previously suggested (2013:208),

305 The fact that the study took place in the summer is also likely to have skewed the results, since many French Londoners escape the city during the summer months, as is common practice in France, where it is not uncommon for SMEs to cease their business operations for the month of August.

306 More recent raw data has proved more difficult to locate on-line. However, the Department for Education’s 2014-15 School Census Business and Technical Specification indicates that the survey continues to collect ethnicity and language data (Dent, 2014:38-40).

307 It could also be the consequence of many French residents living in Ealing and

and von Ahn et al. (2010:6) confirm, asserting, through cross-analysis of the ASC language and ethnicity data, that “57% of French speakers [in the ASC] are ‘black’ [and that] [w]hite French speakers tend to reside in West London, black French speakers in East London” (von Ahn et al., 2010:6). This is doubtless an oversimplification, as my self-proclaimedly “black other” interviewee, Paulette, made a deliberate choice to reside in leafy Chiswick (West London), deeming it a “bon quartier” (nice area), if expensive, with good transport links to French schools. Conversely, many of my middle-aged, middle-class, white participants live in the East / South East of the capital, with Bethnal Green, Bermondsey,³⁰⁸ Dulwich and Greenwich being particularly popular. The findings of von Ahn et al. (2010) nevertheless demonstrate the diversity and geographical spread of the French community in London.

A final map (Fig. 3), produced by Oliver O’Brien (Department of Geography, UCL) on the basis of the 2011 census metric on language use, demonstrates that, whilst French is expectedly the foreign language most commonly spoken within a 200-metre radius of many tube stations in South West London, South Kensington in particular, there are also several other less predictable concentrations (indicated in mauve). For example, French is dominant at almost all the stations in the square mile of the City of London (probably a result of the significant number of French highly-skilled migrants working in the finance and banking sector), and at stations such Brockley and Deptford Bridge (both of which are in the London Borough of Lewisham, which corroborates the Twitter, ASC and observational evidence), Pontoon Dock (perhaps because of its closeness to Docklands’ financial hub), as well as Hampstead, Hampstead Heath, Finchley Road and Frognal, Belsize Park and Tufnell Park, all of which are significant as they correspond to areas where many French Jews are said to have migrated subsequent to growing persecution in France (McLaren, 2015; Pollard, 2014) and to the burgeoning French community around the Kentish Town (NW5) Collège Français Bilingue de Londres (opened in September 2011). Clearly, the “French” concentrations identified in this map may be subject to the same demographic influences as those discussed above, with the visualisation being skewed to an even greater extent by the dearth of underground stations in much of South East London. It is noteworthy, however, that in addition to French being the language most commonly spoken in the locations indicated on this image, when clicking on individual stations via the live Web, it becomes apparent that French is in the top five at the vast majority of stations across the Capital, often coming

Richmond sending their children to French schools or bilingual fee-paying schools (for example the Lycée Français in South Kensington which is easily accessed on the District line from both places, or the independent Hampton Court School, which has a dedicated French section) and thus precluding them from the British State-school statistics.

308 Significantly, where the annual Bastille Day festivities take place.

second, for instance in Mile End, Bermondsey and Shoreditch High Street, which again serves to confirm the consistency of the French presence across London.

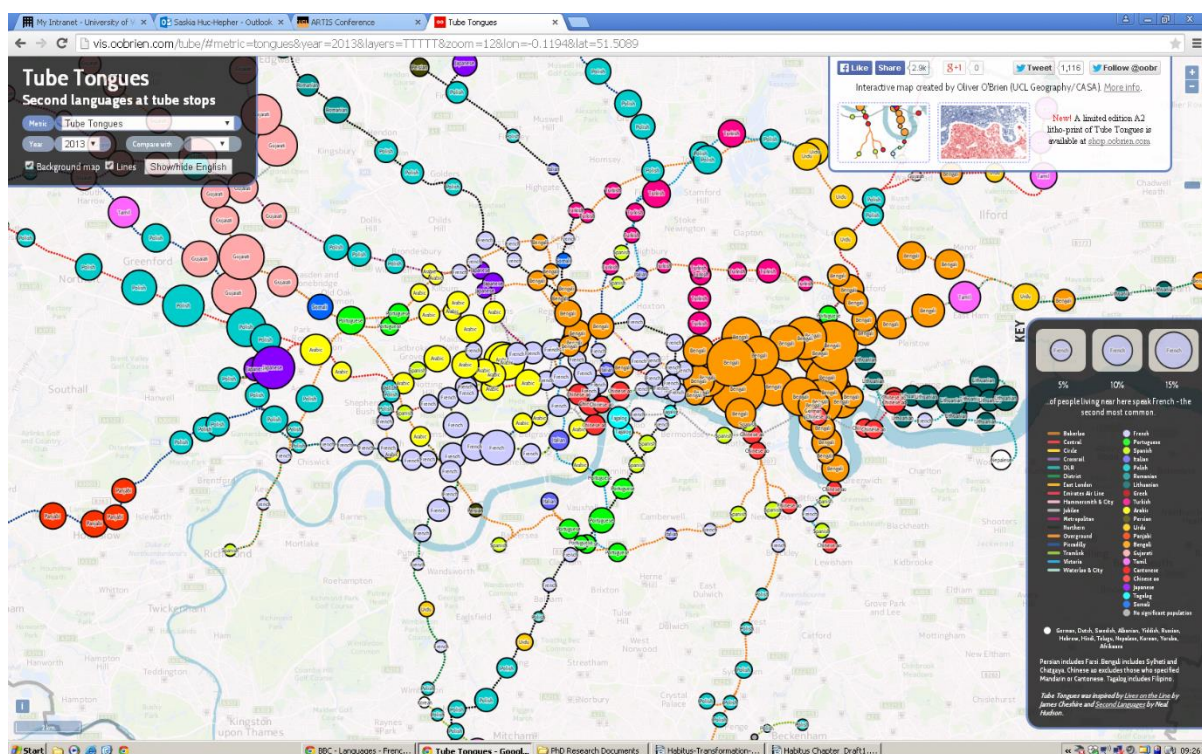


Fig. 3. Tube Tongues (O'Brien, 2013) (French is colour-coded mauve)

In short, whilst the South Kensington community undeniably carries numeric statistical weight, it has tended to overshadow other French sub-communities in London by virtue of the imprint of its history on the physical environment. The French presence there has developed significantly over the course of the last century, since the opening of the Lycée Français Charles de Gaulle in 1905 (Faucher et al., 2015), and today, in addition to the 2000-strong school, the quarter accommodates numerous *librairies*, *cafés*, *épiceries* and *pâtisseries*, alongside the French Institute and the edifices of the French diplomatic corps. It is this legacy³⁰⁹ which obscures the physical habitats chosen as home by London's French community more broadly and which are far more widespread than the South Kensington hub implies. It is also misguided to condense the habitat of London's French community to the reductionist and erroneous black-white binary³¹⁰ alluded to by von Ahn et al. (2010), as the

309 A legacy far more recent than that left by previous waves of French migration to the Capital, which have nonetheless left their mark on the names of distinct London areas and streets, Petty France, Garrick Street and Fournier Street being just three examples among dozens. This historic cultural capital will be developed in Chapter 7.

310 O'Brien's map of the most-spoken second languages by tube station again confirms the geographical diversity of the French population, especially when tube stations are analysed individually, as French is consistently in the top three most-spoken languages across the locations (O'Brien, 2013).

linguistic and geographical mapping and empirical evidence drawn on above testifies. To provide a faithful depiction of the London-French habitat, a finer-grained resolution is therefore required, one which reveals the detail of material interior spaces.

4.2 MAKING HOME: “We’ve recreated a little home right here”

Beginning with Bruno’s physical habitat, it becomes immediately clear that aspects of the primary and secondary habitus have been transposed to the tertiary, diasporic setting. Having resided in several London locations, since his arrival in 1991, aged 19, from Maida Vale to Pimlico, then Peckham to Dulwich, Bruno now lives comfortably in West Norwood (SE27, without a tube station), where a French-run café named *Cul de Sac* has recently opened and the French language can often be heard in surrounding streets. The habitat of Bruno’s home is telling as regards his migrant habitus. His cellar is filled with two-euro bottles of rustically labelled *clairet*, fine Bordeaux *graves*, and one or two bottles of *Ricard* and *Rivesaltes*, which lie in waiting alongside less copious reserves of Teisseire *menthe* and *grenadine* cordials, tins of d’Aucy *petits pois*, La Belle Chaurienne *cassoulet* and *saucisses de Toulouse aux lentilles*, jars of fresh-egg³¹¹ *Bénédicta* and *Lesieur* mayonnaise, home-made *pâté*, *rillettes*, *foie gras*, *confits de canard* and *confiture de reine-claude* (greengage jam). Voluptuous bulbs of plaited white garlic hang from the rafters and a small recipient labelled *piment d’Espelette* stands on the shelf next to the *Peugeot* pepper mill, both overlooking a bowl (made of olive wood from Nice – a family gift) filled with hazelnuts from his brother’s Pessac tree.³¹² Lidless, upturned wine crates bearing the names of Sauternes, Médoc and Côte de Blaye serve as original, unmistakably French, shelving for French DVDs, from *nouvelle vague* classics to childhood *Bronzés* comedies, and provide some insight into Bruno’s provenance as well as the wine they once housed. His bathroom is equipped with year-long supplies of organic vanilla and paraben-free toiletries, as well as a medicine cabinet well-stocked with Doliprane and Aspégic analgesics.³¹³

311 Difficult to source in the UK since the salmonella scare of the late 1980s.

312 It is significant in Bruno’s habitat that the material elements of his “homeland” he has chosen to transpose are those which are closely connected to memories of particular people (family, close friends) and places (familiar, personal territories). This resonates with the practices of the Italian community in Britain: “French olives recently picked from a family member’s tree served as a memory of that person as well as being something to be consumed” (Sprio, 2013:162). Thus, through a process of mobilising elements from one material space, the migrants are able to reconstruct a familiar/al environment in another. This corroborates Miller’s assertion that food “helps people to constitute a ‘home from home’ at a time when people are increasingly having to live with a more portable concept of their home” (2001:9).

313 The equivalent English aspirins are presumably deemed less effective or trustworthy.

Another French Londoner’s intimate habitat, preserved on film in a sharp satire of French quotidian life in the Capital, is illustrated below (Fig.4). The short film transcends the comedic, however, demonstrating the demographic myths discussed above and the *distinction* (Bourdieu, 1979b) between French residents in “South Ken” and “New Cross” (in the borough of Lewisham), embodied through a transposition of the originary habitus by the “actors”.³¹⁴ The film also serves to “emphasise the disruptions to the sensorial and social worlds of the migrant, [and] to illustrate a mismatch between habitus and field” (Noble, 2013:349). Thus, in addition to featuring the illicit sale of products collectively deemed lacking in the migratory field, such as grenadine cordial and “fraises Tagada” confectionery, there are scenes which evoke habits the French struggle to adopt in the diasporic field, for instance, standing on the right of the escalator in the underground. Of particular pertinence to Bruno’s material habitat is that this frame shows it not to be unique, suggesting the possible existence of a “typical” London-French habitus (especially as the film is in itself a parody of the French community/ies in London, which further underlines the commonality of their material “lifeworld” (Friedmann, 2005:330)):



Fig. 4. Screenshot from the short amateur film *Shit French People in London Say*

314 In Fig.4 (Meard Street Productions, 2012), for example, it is evident, through the dispositions of speech (which can be broken down into the modes of accent, intonation, pitch, etc., in keeping with multimodal methodologies), dress (classic cut, silk), bodily accessories (pearl necklace and Alice band), posture (upright, without slouching (in keeping with Bourdieu’s observations several decades previously, 1972; 1979b), attitudes (“But are there really State schools in South Ken? [Original: “Mais il y a des écoles publiques à South Ken?”])), uttered with a facial expression of disbelief), and so on, that this “character” corresponds to the South Kensington stereotype, as envisaged by the London French.

This frame includes both the bathroom products and makeshift wine-crate shelving observed in Bruno's habitat, which hence repositions his objectified habitat within a broader community context. Similarly, these semiotically-loaded material elements of Bruno's (and others') London habitat recall those described by Miranda, who migrated to London from the Aube region 10 years ago. She recounts running "desperately low on Ricoré" [Original: "désespérément en rupture de Ricoré"], a coffee-based product unavailable in most London foodstores, and how in her Brick Lane (East London) flat:

There are clues [that I'm French]: things to make madeleine and cannelé cakes, the pressure cooker, my French ice-cream maker; yeah, I've actually got quite a lot of French stuff, my kettle's French, the blenders [...] And I've got loads of French beauty products: little soaps, surgical spirit, because you can't find it here, yes, mainly beauty products; that's very French.³¹⁵

This account again underlines the commonality between the participants' habitats and their shared understanding of their cultural positioning in the diasporic field, supporting the notion of a defined sense of a London-French habitus. For "[a]s individuals identify with an environment, so their identity comes to be constituted through that environment. This relates not only to individual identity, but also to group identities" (Leach, 2005:308). Thus, the French elements of Miranda's material habitat implicitly connect her to Bruno and others, thereby creating a group identity. Through shared idiosyncratic interior "design" choices, such as the wine crates or the *madeleine* and *cannelé* moulds (which Bruno also owns), the "community" simultaneously, yet subtly, distinguish their habitats from those of their middle-class, *Francophile*, English neighbours, who also carry the material "memories of well-spent holidays" back to Britain "to recreate the holiday experience and fantasy" at home (Sprio, 2013:154). Moreover, like Bruno, the features of Miranda's material habitat that she considers to be predominantly/noticeably French are objects housed in the kitchen or bathroom, significantly, those which ultimately lead to incorporation. This results in something of an inversion of the traditional notion of "immigrant incorporation" (Schmitter Heisler, 2008:86), whereby the "receiving" society incorporates its migrant communities, as here it is elements of the "sending" society which are incorporated in the "transnational habitus" (Kelly & Lusic, 2006:1). Finally, the objects Miranda lists are telling in their extension beyond the food itself to the *process* of preparing it. This emphasis on the potency

315 Original: "il y a des indices [que je suis française]: des trucs pour préparer les madeleines, les cannelés, la cocotte-minute, mon glacier français; oui j'ai pas mal de trucs qui sont français en fait, ma bouilloire est française, les robots [...] Et j'ai pleins de produits de beauté français: des petits savons, l'alcool à 90, parce qu'on trouve pas ça ici. Oui, surtout les produits de beauté; ça c'est très français."

of the ritual of food preparation within the European migrant home is a point drawn attention to by Petridou (2001), who describes the pleasure Greek students in London take in collectively preparing food for themselves and their English counterparts, who “don’t cook. They prepare sandwiches” (2001:94). The students define their Greekness through their rejection of the ready-meals, frozen foods and tinned vegetables found filling the shelves of local London supermarkets. By favouring process over efficient – yet tasteless – end-products, and actively enjoying food preparation, the students are able to distinguish themselves from the “host” population, just as Miranda and Bruno assert their Frenchness through the French foods they store, prepare and relive in the diasporic habitat.

In addition to the kitchen and bathroom products both Miranda and Bruno ritualistically stock, Bruno’s hallway and sitting room contain two vintage French racing bikes, upon which he rides to his gastronomic workplace in central London: “Two years ago I would’ve said public transport annoyed me most here, but now I use a bike every day to go to work, so that’s progress, or rather, it doesn’t annoy me any more [...] Public transport here is packed full of people, it’s expensive, it’s often late and it’s dirty.”³¹⁶ As well as offering a purportedly cleaner,³¹⁷ more reliable means of intra-urban transportation, riding vintage French bicycles perhaps reignites a sense of youthful freedom linked to the primary habitus, simultaneously compensating for the sense of claustrophobia experienced in the megacity, itself boxed within the geographical borders of the Green Belt and ultimately the coastline, which intensifies the feeling of enclosure for Bruno: “From time to time I feel a bit hemmed in here because... It’s hard to get outside London to go and see something different, because it takes so long to get out of London that you think twice before doing anything out of town. And this sensation is accentuated by the fact we’re on an island.”³¹⁸ It would appear that Bruno is “struggling to reconcile [his] indigenous culture (habitus) with those objectified cultures” (Robbins, 2005:21) which dominate the migratory field and local habituses, that is, the unquestioning acceptance on the part of Londoners to endure the dehumanising crush that constitutes their daily commute.

An alternative strategy Bruno adopts to counter the oppression experienced through

316 Original: “il y a deux ans j’aurais dit que les transports en commun m’agaçait le plus ici, mais maintenant j’utilise un vélo tous les jours pour aller travailler, donc j’ai gagné ça déjà, ou plutôt j’ai perdu cet agacement. [...] Les transports publics ici, c’est bourré de monde, c’est cher, c’est souvent en retard, c’est sale.”

317 “Practices of cleanliness” (2001:96) are another distinguishing habitus feature identified by Petridou’s Greek students.

318 Original: “J’ai l’impression de temps en temps d’être un peu enfermé ici parce que... On a des difficultés pour quitter Londres pour aller voir autre chose, parce que ça prend tellement de temps pour sortir de Londres déjà qu’on hésite à faire quoi que ce soit en dehors de la ville. Et cette sensation est accentuée par le fait qu’on est sur une île.”

the sheer volume of the city's 8 million inhabitants, which contrasts the comparatively low population (1.1 million) of his hometown (Bordeaux) and his consequent ease of movement through space in his ordinary habitus, is found to the exterior of his material home. From the south-facing wall of the Victorian, semi-detached, London-brick house protrudes the arm of a satellite dish, carefully positioned to receive French television signals and symbolically pointing in the direction of the *terre patrie*, acting as a constant reminder of his first home and devoid of the (English) class significations to which Fox³¹⁹ alludes (2014:183), yet holding implicit meanings nonetheless. Like the bicycles, the satellite dish can be understood beyond its functional purpose: in this transnational space, objects superficially of transportational and communicational value are instead the materialisation of memories of a culture left behind and highly-charged with personal and environmental mythologised meanings. Integral to the material bike is the practice of annually watching the *Tour de France* (live via the satellite dish), which reconnects Bruno not only with the French landscapes of his youth, but with dormant memories of previous existence: picnicking with his late paternal Basque grandfather on the verges of Pyrenean lanes, or repairing a *vélo de course* (racing-bike) with his late maternal Italian grandfather. The satellite dish allows him to inhabit an "in-betweenness", "suspended" between the "here" of his present and the "there" (Mata Codesal, 2008:15) of his past, and consequently suspended through space and time, "haunted by pleasures past, present and future" (Pile, 2005:236) and carrying "a double hauntedness [...] material and spectral; [...] present and absent" (Pile, 2005:248), since "[o]ne's past is forever apparent in its ghostly presence" (Sprio, 2013:225).

Irrespective of their ghostlike qualities, these material objects are all constitutive of Bruno's "fractal habitus" (Rowell, 2011:333); "stuff" (Miller, 2012) which silently speaks of his "annual ritual (unload and reload)" (King & Christou, 2008:15) journey to family members in the Pyrenees, who each year replenish his supplies of home-slaughtered and -prepared *cochon* (pig), and of his customary visit to a French supermarket to stock up on the *cornichons* (gherkins), *moutarde de Dijon* and *biscottes*, before regretfully heading north at the end of the summer, unsure whether his dolefulness is due to the renewed upheaval from the "home" habitat, where he was at ease in his native culture, or whether the melancholy is the same as that experienced by many holiday-makers once the sojourn nears its inevitable end. As King & Christou emphasise, "when return visits take place, they occur at a time of year (summer) and to places (villages, the seaside, islands) which are redolent of a holiday

319 Whilst Kate Fox's work targets a lay audience, the methodologies she deploys and the insightful observations she makes are academically valid, as are her anthropological credentials.

atmosphere where life is lived outdoors and at a leisurely pace. For the returning family on holiday, the homeland is indeed a ‘big playground’ where life is to be enjoyed away from work, and money spent not earned” (2008:18). In these terms, the ritual visit to the homeland and replenishment of vital supplies place the migrant in the position of both outsider and insider: “roots tourist” (King and Christou, 2008:10) and local inhabitant, experiencing the remembered and since mythologised “home” through an exoticising lens. Thus, the culinary products tightly-packed into Bruno’s car on the north-bound route will serve to keep the myth alive on his return to his diasporic habitat, constituting aspects of the physical space of his London “home”, and ultimately being ingested and embodied by Bruno, and as such embodying part of his Frenchness, the primordial part which is most deeply embedded in his subconscious being. By bringing back these edible goods from his homeland, he is paving the way for a sustained carnal connection with his habitus of origin, one that can be hoarded, admired, (re)visited, anticipated, then physically consumed and digested, during which an intense, sensual proximity to the tastes, smells, sounds and preparers of the food and drinks of Bruno’s primary habitus are vividly, if not entirely consciously, recollected and given form (Longhurst et al., 2009; Pink, 2004). Miller confirms the intense physicality of eating and drinking elements of one’s originary habitus in almost alchemistic terms, with “food, cooking and eating, [turning] the superficial quality of taste into something that is sufficiently profound and rooted that it can appear as a more solid version of home than the mere house or flat in which [migrants] reside” (2001:9). Thus, their inclusion in Bruno’s home, as object and consumable, serves to construct a habitat that incorporates material elements of his habitus of origin, bridging the spatio-temporal gap (Law, 2001) alluded to above and creating a transnational/regional space that encapsulates the “habitus-turned-habitat” (Friedmann, 2005:328) of Bourdieu’s ethnographic study of the Kabyle household (1980a).

Reinforcing the sense of a collective rite, many of the London-French narratives collected during my fieldwork include allusions to foodstuffs “religiously”³²⁰ transported from the habitat of origin to that of adoption, retracing the same migratory pathways as the individuals themselves. As Gabaccia (2006) explains in her study of the “yo-yo migration” (Brettell, citing Margolis 1995, 2008:117) routes of tomatoes, pasta and pizza, “[p]eople crossing borders carry along the tastes and sometimes also the seeds., recipes and ingredients of their homes” (Gabaccia, 2006:1). Sarah, originally from Lyon, who has been in London

320 Indeed, consumption (bread and wine), embodiment (“this is my body” and “this is my blood”) and memory (“do this in remembrance of me”) are key to the practice of the Christian faith.

for 10 years and currently lives in Greenwich, is another case in point. She describes the sorts of comestibles taken from home to home in the following terms: “I don’t use any French on-line shops at all to buy goods. We like to bring wine back with us; I bring back black pudding, pastry-cased pâté, *Poulain* chocolate when I go, but otherwise I do without.”³²¹ It is pertinent here that Sarah would rather “do without”, than buy French food and beverages from a specialist London-based retailer. Given her comfortable socio-economic background (Head of Investment Risk in a City firm), this is unlikely to be because of the exaggerated pricing practised in such delicatessens,³²² rather, in keeping with the other migrants studied, it is a manifestation of Sarah’s pre-reflexive desire to relocate and physically absorb material elements of *her* habitus of origin, part of the visceral pleasure being in the mental connections she, like the other migrants, makes between the act of consumption, displacement and ultimately home (Longhurst et al., 2009:333), the food and drink taking her on a spatio-temporal journey through her memory that mirrors that of the pathway of the foodstuff itself. Such a vivid reimagining could not be achieved through a *boudin* purchased from <frenchlick.co.uk>, for however authentic the produce, it cannot have the authenticity of a shared migratory trajectory. This explains why Gabaccia’s Italian-American migrants sometimes carried seeds. with them, preferring to grow their own “reproduction” of home than to buy a local replica, thus maintaining a more genuine connection. Sprio reports an analogous phenomenon among Southern Italian migrants in the 1950s and 60s, who “brought with them the desperate need for self-sufficiency to Britain and one of the key skills that this involved was the ability to grow their own food on their own plots of land” (2013:160).

Similarly, 80-year-old Suzanne, who moved to London during the same period as the Italian diaspora Sprio describes above, who was born in Lyon but raised predominantly in Dijon, reports regularly bringing back Bourgogne wine after long August holidays in France. In her chic, sumptuously-furnished flat in Holland Park, the many objects and textiles contained within the small space, being “a material statement of who we are, where we have been” (Hecht, 2001:123), speak of journeys to “exotic” climes, possibly North Africa, Asia and beyond. The coffee cup with which I have been attentively provided is of petite, espresso

321 Original: “Je n’utilise pas du tout de magasins français en ligne pour acheter des produits. On aime bien rapporter du vin; je rapporte du boudin, du pâté en croûte, du chocolat *Poulain* quand j’y vais, mais sinon je m’en passe.”

322 The target consumers are undoubtedly members of the South Kensington elite or the middle-class English Francophiles mentioned above. Indeed, the relatively recent introduction of a luxury French grocery range, *Reflets de France*, by the online shopping retailer Ocado, with a distinctly “upmarket image” (*The Guardian*, 2015), serves as testimony to the English buyer keen to recreate the fantasy of holidays past (Sprio, 2013), and pay a premium for it.

size, its contents intensely black – not the milky English mug one might expect in another non-French London habitat – and reflects her immutable taste for the flavours, odours and crockery of the primary habitus, together with her reluctance to adopt those of the “host” culture. As she sips at her freshly filtered coffee, she recalls her first visit to London some 63 years previously: “The first time I came to London, I went via the station, [...] I remember going into a Lyon’s Tea Shop, and I said to myself ‘there are so many different teas here.’ But I don’t like tea; I’ve never liked it, and I still don’t.”³²³ Despite spending most of her adult life in London, her unwillingness, or incapacity, to adapt her tastes maintains a phenomenological relationship with the primary/secondary habitus, which in turn reasserts her French identity. Again, this statement bears a striking resemblance to one made by an interviewee of Sprio: “In Italy they assumed I loved tea! I hate the stuff [...] we grew up on espresso coffee just like them” (2013:105). Both accounts demonstrate that an identification with coffee, and a proactive rejection of the customary hot beverage of the migratory field, are the realisation of a resistance to habitus transformation³²⁴ and an affirmation of cultural positioning within the social field; for as Sprio astutely points out, the line between integration and loss is a fine one (2013:165). Longhurst et al. observe an analogous negotiation of identity-building among migrant women in New Zealand, where identity, home-making and taste are considered closely connected: “Cultural difference is an embodied encounter and creating a domestic space where the body feels ‘at home’ can help resituate and reconstitute the diasporic subject” (Longhurst et al., 2009:340). In addition to ensuring that Suzanne’s personal cultural heritage is not lost through the deliberate selection

323 Original: “La première fois que je suis venue à Londres, [...] je me rappelle d’avoir été dans un *Lyon’s Tea Shop*, et je me suis dit ‘qu’est-ce qu’il y a comme thés ici’ – moi, qui n’aime pas le thé. Je ne l’ai jamais aimé; je ne l’aime toujours pas.”

324 Friedmann (2005:318-20, original italics) establishes five contexts in which habitus is susceptible to transformation: “*Escaping the habitus*” through upward social mobility, for example; “*Forcing the habitus through migration*”; “*Challenging the habitus*” through collective movements, such as feminism; “*Accelerated change of habitus*” in the context of fast-paced 21st-century society (which contrasts the Kabyle or rural Béarn societies of the 1960s, when Bourdieu was planting the seeds of his sociological theories); and “*The breakdown of habitus*”, caused by major socio/geopolitical upheaval or collapse. It would be reasonable to conjecture that Suzanne’s active imperviousness to habitus transformation, as materialised through the coffee, is a form of “challenging the habitus”, but not through a collective enterprise, rather through a fear of *loss* of cultural grounding. The proposition made by Waterson (2005:339) that in contemporary society individuals “are likely to become ever more self-conscious about what elements of the habitual repertoire they choose to maintain or to reject” is a compelling one, therefore, and appears to support the “reconciled habitus” model proposed by Ingram & Abraham (2016), whereby migrants internalise external elements of both the originary and the diasporic field, but have a reflexive hold over such choices.

of coffee,³²⁵ or at least the deliberate rejection of tea, since coffee is arguably the habituated norm, the power of coffee to engender a sense of comfortableness in her skin as a “Française de souche” (native Frenchwoman) is perhaps more crucial for Suzanne than any of the other participants in my research owing to her singular wartime trajectory. Suzanne, being of Jewish-descent, but not raised as such, necessarily had to lead an inconspicuous existence during her formative years, her life depending quite literally (although perhaps beyond her comprehension at so young an age) on her very Frenchness and physical enactments thereof. For the duration of WWII, Suzanne (aged 12 in 1944) was effectively “in hiding” in Chambon-sur-Lignon, where she was baptised a protestant under a new “French” surname and educated by English exiles. Every evening, brushing shoulders with the British soldiers parachuted in to help with the resistance effort, she attended “a protestant service – so we’d already been ‘protestantised’ – and we sang. It was very optimistic; we’d sing *All Things Bright and Beautiful*.”³²⁶ At that time, therefore, she was at once extinguishing and igniting multiple identities: stifling any external displays of her innate Jewishness, inwardly and outwardly embodying her fundamental Frenchness (in addition to her borrowed Huguenot identity) and immersing herself in a refreshing and romanticised (“We used to look at the [English] names of flowers in the fields”)³²⁷ new-found Englishness. Suzanne’s reluctance to relinquish elements of the material habitat of her primary/secondary French habitus, having made the bold decision to make London her home – indefinitely and uncompromisingly, sacrificing a long and happy marriage in return³²⁸ – comes, therefore, as little surprise, anchoring her in otherwise shifting identities. Our long and lively conversation concludes with a bowl of apricots and pistachio ice-cream, which I have no choice but to accept.

From a contrasting background, 32-year-old Sadia, of Franco-Algerian descent, also elicits victuals and the role they play in her diasporic habitat. She speaks of her longing for French foods, lamenting the pitiful inadequacy of the fruit and vegetables on offer in London, which are as “tasteless” and “plastic” as those evoked by the Greek students in Petridou’s study (2001:95 and 97 respectively). In France, Sadia explains, “the garlic cloves are

325 Marcoux (2001) makes a convincing case for the very act of choosing as an assertion of agency over one’s material world, but one which transcends the material, bestowing meaning and value upon a given object through the selection process itself (2001:84).

326 Original: “un service protestant - on était donc protestantisés déjà - et on chantait. C’était très optimiste; on chantait *All Things Bright and Beautiful*.” Chambon-sur-Lignon was a Huguenot Resistance stronghold near the Swiss border.

327 Original: “on regardait le nom des fleurs [en anglais] dans les champs”.

328 She recently divorced her husband after decades of contented matrimony because he wished to return to his native Ireland for his retirement, whereas for Suzanne, London was home and she was not willing to leave it behind.

enormous; they're tiny here, mini. Really, the tomatoes are always green here, the fruits are always green, and the pears are never ripe. And then there's the choice – I mean the lack of choice.”³²⁹ She is mentally transported back to the generously-stocked aisles in the supermarkets of her primary habitus, seeing the hundreds. of different dairy products on offer,³³⁰ reliving the taste(s) and the expectations thereof. Another aspect of her originary habitat that she misses is the marketplace, not only the foodstuff available, but the entire ritual of the weekly trip to the market, for “migrancy is rather tasteless and odourless” (Miller, 2001:14): “I miss the market too, like, the basket, the market, the smells, the flavours, everything that goes with it... In fact, it's more than the food itself, it's the whole art of living.”³³¹ Thus, the visual spectacle and olefactorily rich experience of the French marketplace form “body memories” (Warin & Dennis, 2005:165), being *mentally* reconfigured in the migratory habitus, but are not physically re-enacted, as the diasporic field lacks the necessary structures to render such an enactment satisfactorily credible and pleasurable. Sadia has, in vain, previously tried to recreate this physical dimension of her primary habitus within the migratory habitat by visiting Croydon market, but living several miles away, it seems to her to be an awkward, painstaking and artificial undertaking, never equalling the entire phenomenological *experience* in France, and as such one she has since abandoned.

Conversely, Sarah and Brice both depend on their local markets to complete their tertiary habitat. Indeed, Brice was particularly drawn to his adopted London area, between Hackney and Tower Hamlets (East London), home for the last 10 years (bar one foray south of the river), precisely *because* of its markets and the way of life the habitat permits: “where I live there's a canal, a little park nearby, the organic market, the flower market not far away, some small galleries [...]. There are little pockets almost of village life, right in the middle of town. I really like it.”³³² Aware of its reputation as a disadvantaged, purportedly dangerous

329 Original: “elles sont énormes les gousses d'ail; ici elles sont toutes petites, mini. Ici les tomates sont toujours vertes, les fruits sont toujours verts, les poires ne sont jamais mûres, vraiment. Et puis le choix - enfin le choix - le manque de choix.”

330 It is pertinent here that the inadequacy in supply and quality of supermarket fresh produce is reiterated in the amateur film, *Shit French People in London Say*, in which one of the opening lines, shot in an English supermarket, is as follows: “Is *that* the yoghurt section? It's like being in a third-world country” (Meard Street Productions, 2012) [Original: “C'est ça le rayon de yaourt? Eh ben, c'est le tiers monde”]. Later, the same London-French shopper is seen knocking a pre-packed rectangular block of English cheese onto the shelf in order to auditorily verify its authenticity (i.e. that it was not a plastic replica), exclaiming “That's not cheese!” (ibid.) [Original: “C'est pas du fromage!”] on completion of her test.

331 Original: “Le marché, ça me manque aussi, quoi, le panier, le marché, les odeurs, les saveurs, tout ce qui va avec... C'est au-delà de la nourriture, en fait, c'est l'art de vivre.”

332 Original: “là où j'habite, il y a un canal, un petit parc à côté, le marché bio, le marché

area, yet providing evidence to the contrary, he appears deeply attached to this “gritty” London district, spontaneously returning to it with affection at several points in our two-hour conversation. He describes the diversity of people and foods,³³³ the urban landscape and gradual gentrification³³⁴ of the area, of which he feels an integral part. This participation in *local* community building in turn gives him a sense of ownership and belonging: “having seen this change, having been part of it, makes it ‘home’ even more.”³³⁵ Many of his friends and family from France, and Carcassonne specifically, have also chosen to make this neighbourhood home and together are building a *London-French* community there, having “recreated a little home right here.” In Brice’s opinion, this Bohemian East London district is undoubtedly “the place with the second highest number of French people – but it’s a different population, a lot younger, a lot more students, artists etc.”³³⁶ Miranda, who has lived in E.1 for several years, supports this assertion, stating that “the posh French are in South Kensington and the hip French are more towards Brick Lane.”³³⁷ Both evaluations serve as evidence to disprove von Ahn’s black-white binary, inasmuch as, regarding the East/West London preferences of my informants, the distinction is an ideological, even a political or age-related one, as opposed to an ethnic divide.

Although Brice lauds the quality and diversity of the fresh produce available in his local market, feeling totally “at home” in the diasporic field/habitat, at ease and satisfied

aux fleurs pas loin, des petites galeries [...]. C’est des petites poches presque de vie de village en plein centre-ville. Moi, j’aime beaucoup.”

333 This diversity is the legacy of other migrant communities on the local habitat, a phenomenon Parker (2000) examines in his study of Chineseness in a British diasporic field (the Chinese take-away restaurant), also broached by Friedmann in a hypothetical examination of Algerian Kabyles in Frankfurt, referring to the localised impact as “habitus disruption” (2005:330). Both studies are, however, rather negative in their “empirical” assessment, which seems to contradict Brice’s positive experience of his East London habitat. See Bonnerjee et al. (2012) for a more positive examination of the multiple communities inhabiting London’s East End. Perhaps London, unlike the US (from where much of the “enclave” literature emanates, see, for example, Portes and Jensen (1989)) and unlike France (where the notion of “communautarisme” is denigrated, see Huc-Hepher and Drake, 2013, and where urbanisation models have led to socio-economically / -ethnically segregated cities, as described in Chapter 3) is unusual in its generally peaceful merging, even prospering, of that which Friedmann, somewhat more sympathetically, terms “affinity environments” (2005:325).

334 Also largely attributable to domestic and/or “social” *mobility*.

335 Original: “d’avoir vu cette évolution, d’en avoir fait parti, le rend encore plus ‘la maison’.”

336 Originals: “recréé un petit foyer sur place” and “le deuxième endroit où il y a le plus de Français - mais c’est une autre population, beaucoup plus jeune, il y a beaucoup plus d’étudiants, d’artistes, etc.”

337 Original: “Les Français ‘posh’, ils sont à South Kensington, les Français ‘hip’ sont plus vers Brick Lane.”

with the local provisions, almost all the other interviewees describe purchasing supplies of French comestibles when in France in order to fill a void – culinary and perhaps emotional – on their return. This is reminiscent of that which Abdelmayek Sayad (a colleague and close friend of Bourdieu) terms a “double absence” (1999), but could equally be interpreted as a *double presence*, given the positional simultaneity of imagined experience in the homeland when consuming food from the originary habitat, despite an awareness of physical fixedness in the diasporic space (Mata Codesal, 2008). Brice is perhaps more effective at negotiating this transnational duality than the majority of my research participants, however, because unlike them, his entire tertiary education was in the UK, so his secondary habitus was partly moulded by the cultural influences of the migration context, making his habitus more adaptable to the local field. Although other participants also came to London at a young age, such as Miranda at 18, Bruno at 19 or Sadia³³⁸ at 20, not having experienced the British education system early in their adulthood meant that their primary and secondary habitus were established in France, and subsequent developments could be deemed the making of a tertiary, migratory habitus. Indeed, on the part of almost all the London French encountered during this research, the desire to bring back fractal elements of their homeland after each holiday, in keeping with the Greek (Petridou, 2001:90-1; King and Christou, 2008:15) and Italian (Sprio, 2013:109) communities studied elsewhere, could be a manner of retaining and transposing that which is arguably the most essential aspect of their primary habitus, namely food. Sarah confirms this essentialising function of food, depicting it, together with her French language, as the defining aspect of her Frenchness, “my French identity is my language, the link to food, and nothing much else.”³³⁹ Such a comment would appear to corroborate Brillat-Savarin’s dictum, “Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are” (1848), but more intriguing, however, is Sarah’s emphasis being on her *link* to food rather than the substance in isolation. This resonates with Petridou’s observation (2001:98) of Greek migrants being concerned with food as *process*, as opposed to *produce* (just as identity formation is a process (Leach, 2005:307)), and will be considered as a *habit* feature in Chapter 6.

Robert is unusual in his ability to reflect on his London home with mathematical detachment and quantify its Frenchness, estimating that there is “about 20% of French life

338 Sadia also studied for a degree in London, but as a mature student with one degree (from France) already acquired. The second undergraduate degree marked a clear divergence from her originary habitus, moving from business to languages.

339 Original: “mon identité française, c’est ma langue, c’est le lien à la nourriture, et puis pas grand-chose d’autre.”

at home, and the rest is English. But there's still that French presence."³⁴⁰ He speaks of food, wine, books, magazines, music and so forth contributing to this French habitat. On the other hand, for Brigitte, a 35-year-old molecular neuroscientist living in Bethnal Green³⁴¹ (herself a member of the East-London French community to which Brice alludes), the objects from the originary habitat that she reports regularly relocating to her personal London environment are clothes. "I'm really into clothes", she explains, and "when I go back to France, I've got my two or three little shops there, yes. That's something I'd miss if I weren't to go back to France."³⁴² She recounts visiting the store websites when in London, choosing her preferred designs on-line, in order to make swift and efficient purchases on her next visit to France. She has a self-confessed penchant for clothes, but not the act of shopping in the migration context, London's high-street fashion chains, in her opinion all selling the same identity-less apparel, and leaving her uninspired and possibly unwilling to play the commercialised fashion game that is said to dominate the diasporic field (Bellion, 2005:15; Petridou, 2001:98; Tristan, 1840[2008]:40, 113). Thus, in keeping with the Filipino migrants studied in Kelly and Lusic's paper, whose economic capital earned in Toronto had a physical impact on the environment of their originary habitat in Tagbilaran (2006:838), by refusing to purchase her clothes in the diasporic habitat/field, and instead investing her economic capital in the retail field of her originary habitat, Brigitte is making a micro-contribution to the local economy of her hometown (Brettell, 2008:123) (subsequently convertible into other forms of capital). Therefore, this superficially inconsequential aesthetic decision (Miller, 2005:3) is actually a pragmatic form of transnationalism. Prior to this material transnational enactment, bounded by the physicality of each place, however, Brigitte inhabits an intangible transnational space. From the comfort of her London chair, the sartorial elements she desires in her originary habitat are selected in a "virtual" reality, caught between her *physical* London location, her *remembered* hometown and her *imagined* inhabiting of the clothes,³⁴³ itself a form of embodiment of her primary/secondary habitus akin to that engendered through the consumption of the edible objects ritualistically (re)collected by other participants. Each in its own way is a form of physical self-appropriation of the individual's

340 Original: "à peu près 20% de vie française à la maison, et le reste, c'est anglais. Mais il y a quand même cette présence française."

341 An area visited by Flora Tristan on 31 May 1840, who described it then as an "abominable quartier" (1840[2008]:58).

342 Original: "Moi je suis très fringues [...] quand je rentre en France, oui, là, j'ai mes deux ou trois petites boutiques. Ça c'est quelque chose qui me manquerait si je rentrais pas en France."

343 This recalls the temporal three-dimensionality of the transnational space, spanning the past, present and future, evoked by Pile (2005:248) and Parker (2000:75), among others.

fractal habitus, one alimental, the other textile, both relating to taste and a revival, or reassertion, of their fundamental identity, for as Miller reminds, clothes are “the fabric of identity” (2005:10).

Another common feature of this partial rebuilding of the originary habitat in the migratory field, and therefore significant regarding migrant/community identity construction, is that often the objects the participants choose to bring “home” to London (and hence endow with additional “value” (Marcoux, 2001:84) are not *French* commodities per se, but those closely connected to, indeed emanating from, a *geographically pinpointed* primary habitat. This is not a phenomenon unique to the London French, as other scholars have demonstrated: in an auto-ethnographic parenthesis, Spanish migrant, Mata Codesal, describes how in the migratory field she learned “to value more than ever those small precious pots with [her] *grandma’s* preserves that transport [her] to the long lazy mid-summer dinners in *Castile*” (2008:5, footnote 10; my italics). Similarly, her Ecuadorian respondents mention the flavoursome characteristics of seafood in *Quito* and flour in *Guayaquil* (2008:13 and 14 respectively; my italics). Mata Codesal also underlines a comparable, yet inverted phenomenon, whereby the local Spanish population homogenise, as post-colonial habit, their South American migrant communities into a Latino whole, which denies them not only a regional identity, but a national one. Petridou, on the other hand, emphasises the highly localised *rural* and *domestic* significance of her Greek respondents’ migrant foodstuffs, mentioning strong cheese from a particular *mountain range*, olive oil from a *local farm*, and that “*home-made* dishes are also popular” (2001:91, my italics). This echoes King & Christou’s account of Greek migrants in Germany “transferring [...] what was ‘genuine’ from Greece (food, wine, oil, *products of the ‘Greek soil’*)” (2008:15; my italics, to emphasise the connection to the local *land*, regardless of the authors’ foregrounding of the national). Kneafsey & Cox make an analogous evaluation in respect of Irish immigrants in Coventry, who remark favourably upon the genuineness and freshness of *home-made* or *home-grown* ingredients (2002:11); while King et al. (2014) foreground the notion of *Heimat*, “denoted [as] the *area* or *region* in Germany where [the migrants] had grown up, a space or place that was replete with *memories*” (2014:13; my italics) and King et al. “the *provincial mentality* whereby [Italians] are strongly linked to their city, province or region” (2014:22). Returning to the migrants under scrutiny here, various participants express their localised affiliations in explicit terms: Suzanne from Dijon, brings back wine from *Bourgogne*, the grapes for which have swollen and ripened on the hilltops close to her childhood home. Bruno from Eysines on the outskirts of Bordeaux hoards wine bottled in *Eysines* and preserves hand-crafted by his *uncle* in his *mountain village* near Pau; Sarah

carries *charcuterie* from *Lyon*,³⁴⁴ while Brigitte seeks out, and dresses in, clothes sold in local shops in her hometown of *Angers*. Thus, it is clear that they, like the other migrant communities mentioned, follow similar patterns, all attaching increasing meaning and worth – even good taste – to objects from the originary habitat closest to the home unit itself. More than a form of regionalism, this attachment implicitly acknowledges that “things take on their value from their association to events that are constitutive of the person or of the family’s history. [...] ‘[L]oved’ objects do not come alive in a person [...] but it is the person who lives in them” (Marcoux, 2001:72). The more proximate, therefore, the migrants’ transported “things” are to the individuals who populated their “lifeworlds” and to shared experiences that took place in that world, the more imbued with emotive meaning they are. The selection and localisation demonstrated by the participants is consequently, as Sadia astutely assesses, more a question of transposing “*terroir* produce, grown in local soil”³⁴⁵ than national products per se. This makes the argument for the transposition of fractal habitus yet more compelling: habitus relates not to abstract external constructs such as nationhood and class, but to intimate subject-object dynamics, at the interface of the individual and his/her place in the physical environment s/he inhabits, giving material form to abstract notions through practice and physical interaction with(in) that space. It appears, therefore, that there is a dynamic relationship between localised place and identity, with “individualistic practices forming the identity of the micro-region” (Demossier, 2001:7)³⁴⁶ and vice versa. It is perhaps for this reason that the physical, consumable elements of the primary habitat, such as the culinary, sartorial, literary and filmic, are transposed from the specific hometowns, villages and houses of the respondents to their London habitats, in an attempt to recreate a sense of closeness to that intimate habitat from which they are irrevocably distanced as long as they assume a diasporic existence.

The reconfiguration of the spatial positioning of the French (and other) migrant subjects, by means of their relationship towards objects transferred from a *pinpointed* originary habitat is important, not least because it suggests the need for a simultaneous reconfiguration of the now widely accepted concept of “transnationalism”. Whilst this theoretical framework lends itself well to both the physical and cognitive inbetweenness of the migrant experience, as discussed in the Literature Review, the term is somewhat flawed, or at least retrograde, in its *national* dimensions.³⁴⁷ Bourdieu intimates this with the

344 The self-proclaimed Capital of gastronomy, particularly *saucisson*.

345 Original: “des produits du terroir”.

346 Original: “les pratiques individualistes fondent l’identité de la micro-région”.

347 Yasemin Soysal (1994) and Saskia Sassen (2002, 2006) have contributed positively to the debate on the inapplicability of *national* citizenship in an increasingly globalised and

following allusion to the migrant as “being surplus to requirement everywhere, s/he gives rise to a radical review of how to conceptualise legitimately the idea of citizenship and the relationship between the citizen and the State, the Nation and nationality” (1999:13).³⁴⁸ Favell (2008b) is yet more explicit when he raises the inapplicability of the (trans)national paradigm in his critique of migration studies as a whole (in all its multidisciplinary strands), accusing scholars of falling into the trap of that which appears to be a reproductive habitus of the said academic field, incapable of seeing the fact that “[c]onventional views of governance, sovereignty, and control entirely reproduce the taken-for-granted convention of state power” (Favell, 2008b:272), which is “so effective that scholars of migration rarely question who are migrants or not” (Favell, 2008b:273) and “no-one examines whether migration is in fact something only defined and derived from the state’s need to classify and carve up spatial mobility in a certain way, [or] that it could be defined another way” (2008b:270). Indeed, on the basis of the empirical findings above, it would be far more appropriate for transnationalism to be defined in a manner that transcends the “national” and evokes instead the localism, even the “home-ism”, so often expressed and experienced. Sprio refers repeatedly to the notion of “paesani” (2013), which recalls Sadia’s “terroir” (a deep connection with the local land or *pays*³⁴⁹), as well as the *land* foregrounded in the journal of a Greek migrant (King & Christou, 2008), who writes: “Feeling Greek is to feel emotionally and physically connected to the land. [...] I felt immediately united with the land, at one with the soil... [...] As it ran through my fingers I felt it run through my veins...” (2008:2).

migratory world, with the former arguing that “the logic of personhood supersedes the logic of national citizenship” (1994:64) and the latter proposing denationalized (bottom-up) and postnational (top-down) citizenship. At least ten years on, however, it is the *transnational* conception that prevails.

348 Original: “[d]e trop partout, il oblige à repenser de fond en comble la question des fondements légitimes de la citoyenneté et de la relation entre le citoyen et l’Etat, la Nation ou la nationalité”.

349 Parkhurst Ferguson (2004) defines *terroir* as “this fidelity to the land, this rootedness” and links it to (regional and local) authenticity (2004:23). Demossier (2011), however, casts doubt over this uniform definition, drawing attention instead to its multiple meanings according to discipline and temporal developments. It is significant that the Larousse dictionary definition of *terroir* is threefold, comprising: 1) Ensemble des *terres* exploitées par les *habitants* d’un *village* [A group of different pieces of *land* cultivated by the *inhabitants* of a *village*]; 2) Ensemble des *terres* d’une *région*, considérées du point de vue de leurs aptitudes agricoles et fournissant un ou plusieurs *produits caractéristiques*, par exemple un vin [A group of *regional land* areas, considered from the perspective of their agricultural worth and providing one or more *characteristic products*]; 3) *Province, campagne* considérées comme le *refuge d’habitudes*, de *goûts* typiquement *ruraux* ou *régionaux* [*Rural area, countryside* considered as a *refuge for habits*, of typically *rural* or *regional tastes*] (my italics, used to emphasise the multidimensionality of the term, its localism, its inherent earthiness and its similarity to the “home” features delineated by the participants).

Paesani also bridges the gap between the physical locus and the people who inhabit it, being variously defined by Sprio as “regional-based” (2013:41), as “somebody from the same town as you but [...] also [...] close family or friends” (ibid.:14, footnote 39), as “a member of the Italian community in Britain who comes from the same region in Italy” (ibid.: 113, footnote 25) or a “person from the same *paese* (town)” (ibid.:173, footnote 3). The fluidity of the term and its ability to encompass the local in both the originary and diasporic habitats; its propensity to be both town and/or region; and equally to signify the people who represent these real, conceptual and overlapping spaces and relationships, detached from the artificial, top-down notion of the nation State, renders it a compelling alternative that covers the multifaceted aspects of place-making and belonging emerging from the qualitative data. Thus, the coining of a migrant “paesism” may be more apt than transnationalism.³⁵⁰ Alternative iterations are also possible, such as *Heimat*, discussed by Moores & Metykova (2010) and King et al. (2014), who describe it as “less to do with actual visits or regular connections, and related more to feelings of nostalgia – an imaginary space of the past” (2014:13), which aligns it with the Welsh term “hiraeth”, evoking, in a single term, homesickness and a physical yearning for absent, and even mythologised, people and places (BBC Radio 4, 2016).³⁵¹ This emulates the “culturally embedded concept of *saudade* – nostalgia for the homeland [...] ‘that defines Portuguese identity in the context of multiple layers of space and (past) time’” (Brettell, 2008:117, quoting Feldman-Bianco (1992:145). However, like *paese/i*, when used in an English-language context, they are all, somewhat self-defeatingly, associated with a particular *national* language/State. The extra-national commonality of the migrant experience is emphasised by the diversity of the cultures and languages used to define it here, yet opting for a single term fixes it in one at the expense of others. The term “transregionalism” (Hoerder, 2013) bypasses the complications of transnationalism and effectively imparts the notion of localised belonging, but lacks the subjective/affective nuances of the other terms. An alternative could be to coin a word from Latin, like Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*,³⁵² or from classical Greek, such as “atopical” (stemming from the notion of the migrant as a “placeless *atopos*”,³⁵³ recalled by Bourdieu (1999:13; original italics)), or perhaps more convincingly “polytopical” in view of the multidimensionality of the sense of home experienced by migrants. For example, “trans-domism” (from Latin “*domus*” – home) or “polytopicalism” would be more congruent terms

350 It does, however, have the lexical disadvantage of resembling the word “pessimism”, however.

351 It is also evocative of “a deep sense of incompleteness” (BBC Radio 4, 2016).

352 *Habitus* is itself the Latin translation of the Ancient Greek term *hexis*.

353 Original: “*atopos, sans lieu*”.

than “transnationalism”, with the added benefit of disembedding the notion from a *national* English (or US), Portuguese, French, German or (modern) Italian context, all the while evoking the elasticity of the concept and the “inhabited” space. This elasticity, or more specifically the inbetweenness of the diasporic experience, straddling the spaces of the homeland and adopted home, as well as on-land and on-line habitats, leads to the final section of this chapter, namely habitus as it is lived through different media.

4.3 MEDIATING HOME(S): “I do everything in French; I read in French, I listen to French radio, I have everything on the Internet”

Emulating the blurry space between inner and outer experience intrinsic to “transnationalism” and habitus, some London-French migrants bridge the physical gap between the diasporic habitat and that of origin by constructing a “virtual” (Barac & McFadyen, 2007:110) French home more formally. It enables the tangible maintenance of ties with the originary habitat through intangible immersion in French media, be it radio, television or the Web. Several respondents recount regularly tapping into such media, thereby filling their physical surroundings with the sounds, images, music, language and cultural reference points of their habitat of origin. Whilst none of them refer to this phenomenon as an agentive step to create a French “oasis” within the diasporic setting, the result could be likened to one. Bruno is again not alone in his practices in this respect, since other participants attest to installing satellite dishes to let live French television broadcasting habitually enter their “London” sitting rooms.³⁵⁴ Watching French television is not only a means of reconstructing a French-language space, often a welcome release after the efforts of speaking and thinking in a foreign language all day in the local professional and social field,³⁵⁵ but of re-engaging with the *cultural* here-and-now of the homeland. It enables pre-reflexive identification with the tacit references to the rich and finely-woven tapestry that makes up one’s shared cultural heritage, and of knowing that others, being live broadcasts, in the primary/secondary habitus may be watching the same programme at the same time, sharing in the same experience and therefore phenomenologically, if not geographically,

354 The existence of several London-French companies specialising in such installations also bears witness to the demand. For example, www.french-tv.co.uk and www.prosatlondon.co.uk.

355 Illustrating this point was Brigitte’s realisation during our conversation that it was perhaps the effort of having to communicate in a foreign language on a day-to-day basis with her ex-partners that had been the underlying result of their subsequent separation.

proximate and involved in the migratory habitat. Nevertheless, as Sprio convincingly argues, the television of the originary habitat/habitus can have the opposite effect from that sought, serving instead “to alienate” (2013:167) the viewers, whose habitus has imperceptibly evolved and whose experience of the homeland is a remembered one, rather than one currently lived.

Brigitte, whose television plays only a minor role in her London habitat, owning only a small, outmoded set, stays abreast of French current affairs through quotidian reading of French news websites, as well as keeping links with her primary/secondary habitus alive and intimate by immersing her migratory habitat in the sound-waves of French radio on at least a twice-daily basis:

I listen to the radio a lot [...]; it's pathetic, I do everything in French: I read in French, I listen to French radio, I have everything on the Internet or as podcasts now, so I don't miss it at all. I listen to Europe 1, I like Europe 1 mainly because I'm used to it [...]. It's true that you wake up or go to sleep with them... and, actually, for years and years I'd always heard presenters like Laurent Ruquier in the afternoons at home, like forever, so that's why I listen to Europe 1. I think I actually listened to it less in France than I do here.³⁵⁶

Here, it is clear that listening to the familiar voices heard growing up is not an intellectual undertaking like the information-seeking exercise of consulting news websites; this is an emotional, almost instinctive act to bring Brigitte's tertiary habitat closer to that comfortable and comforting space of her childhood at particularly poignant times of day through their very vacancy and her vulnerability, that is, when going to sleep and waking up (interestingly, the same times that a Filipina mother reported telephoning her children in Madianou & Miller's study, 2011:10). These moments, bookending slumber, appear to be times at which a need for primal proximity is accentuated, which explains the increased frequency of Brigitte's radiophonic immersion in the sounds of France compared to when she lived there.

Similarly, several participants recount a desire to reignite the humour of the originary habitat; perhaps unsurprisingly, given that humour is undoubtedly the most culture-specific form of communication, relying on a profound, often unarticulated, common knowledge of

356 Original: “j’écoute beaucoup la radio [...]; c’est nulle, je fais tout en français: je lis en français, j’écoute la radio ici en français, maintenant j’ai tout sur Internet ou en podcast, donc ça me manque pas du tout. J’écoute Europe 1, j’aime beaucoup Europe 1 parce que d’abord j’y suis habituée [...]. C’est vrai qu’on se réveille ou on s’endort avec eux donc... et ça fait des années et des années en fait que, voilà, que chez moi j’ai toujours entendu Laurent Ruquier l’après-midi et tout, donc c’est plus pour ça que j’écoute Europe 1. Je dirais qu’en France avant, je l’écoutais moins que je l’écoute ici.”

the practices and codes of the society from which it emanates. Bruno's regular tuning into the comedy and popular-French-music Web radio *Rires et chansons*³⁵⁷ when relaxing in his London home or via his smartphone on his daily Mayfair commute immediately plunges him into a familiar habitat, an intangible yet all-encompassing component of the primary/secondary habitus extracted to furnish the migration context, placing him in a space that straddles the habitat of home and "host" cultures. In his own words, "I like listening to French radio in the background [...]. And then there are the childhood habits of listening to French radio."³⁵⁸ French radio here serves as a soundscape on which the lived experience of the migrant is superimposed and, echoing Brigitte's words, crucially places him in the well-acquainted, intimate territory of childhood.³⁵⁹ Robert also expresses a nostalgic pleasure gained through listening to French radio, in this instance, however, (exceptionally) it is *French Radio London*³⁶⁰ that transports him through time and space: "It's really like 'French radio for French people living abroad' [...]. Maybe it's the references to French classics that we might well listen to at home... It's nostalgia for France rather than what's going on currently."³⁶¹ Unlike Brigitte and Bruno, whose radios act in their homes at a pre-reflexive level to genuinely reconnect them with their homeland(s), Robert listens to *French Radio London* in a self-aware, entirely *reflexive* frame of mind, conscious of it being an indulgent, nostalgic substitute for "reality", an auditory kind of "comfort food" (Mata Codesal (2008:13), reminiscent of the *cassoulet* which Robert (again exceptionally) describes in such terms.

The possibilities presented by on-line mobile communication devices, in addition to the terrestrial, digital and satellite ones discussed above, not only make the distinction between physical and virtual existence hazier than ever before, but erase the boundaries

357 Website: www.rireetchansons.fr/

358 Original: "j'aime bien mettre la radio française en background. [...]. Puis on a des habitudes d'enfance d'écouter la radio française."

359 See Tacchi (1998) for a highly original study of subjects' interactions with their radios, which provides insights into this intimate, and often overlooked, space.

360 French Radio London was launched as a digital radio in late 2011 in order to target a London-French audience, but an internal survey conducted the following year suggested an equally active English Francophile audience (again, perhaps attempting to recreate the fantasy of holidays past). Robert was the only participant in this study who mentioned ever listening to the station, the others appearing to deem it too inauthentic to meet their needs. Indeed, a French radio based in London would by definition fail to act at the transnational / "transdomus" level sought by many. In 2015, in an effort to become more cost-effective, the station became an on-line broadcasting service only, which could be an indicator of its lack of success among the London-French public.

361 Original: "ça fait vraiment 'radio française pour les Français qui habitent à l'étranger' [...]. C'est peut-être des références à des classiques français qu'on va écouter chez nous... C'est la nostalgie de la France plutôt que ce qui se passe actuellement."

between the habitat of origin and that of the diaspora to an extent not previously conceivable. For, as Miller found during his research (2012:155-6), many migrants are now connecting to the former, through SNS and SMS, with increasing frequency and in increasingly incongruous physical settings (Miller & Slater, 2000:10), with one London-French migrant connecting to her family and friends via her smartphone, wherever she finds herself in the London habitat, at least ten times a day. In this ambiguous existential context, the physical act of displacement is arguably diminished (Madianou & Miller, 2011) leaving the migrants in more of a half-way habitus than ever before, physically inhabiting a foreign land yet constructing a “virtual” habitat to create a sense of home in the uprooted setting.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the physical habitat of my research participants has been mapped out, both in terms of the diasporic field, notably the locations they inhabit in London, and the personal habitats the migrants have (re)constructed within that broader space. The diversity of the French population in London has found its embodiment in the diversity of the districts they inhabit, thereby dispelling the myth that London’s French community is limited to a particular segment of socio-economically privileged residents in the affluent South Kensington area. Although only rarely identifying with the so-called French community and generally resisting the essentialist label which negates their “[i]ntra-group differentiations” (Erel, 2010:649), the participants have revealed considerable commonality through their internal habitats. Filled with fractal elements of the homeland, the interiors of the London-French homes visited or alluded to during my field research have given the originary habitat material form in the diasporic space. In a ritualistic annual pilgrimage from the homeland to the adopted home, the participants have demonstrated a shared practice of migrating physically consumable products from, or constituents of, the region or household from which they emanate and which formed their primary habitus. This not only highlights the cultural dynamics at play, with long-term London residents regularly re-inhabiting the French spaces they have purportedly left behind, and French objects and comestibles in turn being transposed to the English space, but also that the concept of home is a multidimensional complex for them, being both here and there, past and present, and more localised than the term “transnationalism” accommodates.

By deconstructing habitus into the three component parts devised for this study and focusing exclusively on the habitat element in this chapter, as materialised through the objective dispositions – exterior and interior – of London-French homes, the subjective positioning of the French in London has begun to emerge. The participants’ objectified

homes have evidenced a primal attachment to the micro and meso levels of the originary habitat (Hoerder, 2013) and a clear sense of belonging to a transregional or “transdomal” space, rather than a transnational one. The types of objects, be they jams, *madeleine* moulds, skirts or perfumes, that the participants choose to relocate to the diasporic habitat have also demonstrated a desire for reliving carnal experiences sensorially associated with a localised home in the originary field. Moreover, participants’ re-enactment of the mediated French habitat, through the familiar television, radio and broadband waves which regularly ripple through their London homes, intangibly, yet profoundly, complicates the experience of home and belonging further. On-land and on-line, here and there, material and virtual dichotomies are seen to become increasingly ambiguous, such mediated spaces giving rise to new, dynamic forms of lived experience. This is of particular significance to migrants, as their occupation of the classic geographical inbetween space has today been taken to new dimensions through the accelerated propagation of 21st-century technologies, hence casting further doubt on where, in effect, they are living. This brings us to the definition of “home” itself and the sense of habituation that inevitably arises after prolonged exposure to a borrowed culture, to be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5
RECONSTRUCTING HABITUS:
ON-LAND HABITUATION

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INTRODUCTION

Having considered the objectified habitats of my London-French participants, it is now necessary to address the habituation component of the habitus triad. It is a reorientation which gears the emphasis towards the subjective dimensions of habitus, habituation being an internalised embodiment of external influences present in the diasporic field. This chapter therefore aims to reveal how the perspectives and attitudes of my participants have evolved, imperceptibly, as a result of sustained immersion in the London environment.

Beginning with the conceptualisation of home itself, it reveals the manner in which the participants have grown more used to the London field than the originary space, and how a sensation of security in the diasporic environment has contributed to their increasing sense of belonging therein. It then considers how they rationalise their migration decision in pragmatic, capitalised terms, but how underlying habitus forces, such as exposure to different cultures during their formative years often plays a major role, planting the expatriation seed beyond their conscious decision-making, and rendering them unwittingly habituated to the idea of living abroad and open to new experiences in distant fields. The chapter ascertains precisely which aspects of the participants' embodied dispositions have evolved during their London sojourn and how they have become aware of such internalised changes only when re-confronted with the external structures of the originary habitat, where they, in an inversion of the traditional migratory model, now increasingly feel like "fish out of water" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Further, the silent habituation to, and incorporation of, fundamental values dominant in the external diasporic field are discussed in an effort to understand how they leave an indelible mark on the subjective habitus of my research participants without them being aware of the transformative process undergone. Finally, taking humour as its example, the chapter reveals that habituation can play a simultaneously divisive and cohesive role in the migratory space, excluding participants from culturally cryptic non-French Londoner interactions and uniting them through a common appreciation of shared points of reference inherited from the originary field. This in turn suggests that habituation is implicitly instrumental in the community-making process.

5.1 RE-ESTABLISHING HOME: "I wasn't at home any more in France; my home was in London"

With one or two (implicit) exceptions, all my research participants report feeling at home, or "chez eux", in London ("à la maison", to quote Brice). Indeed, when Robert is asked to

define London in a single word, his answer is “It’s my home” (“C’est chez moi”), adding that “it’s become so familial; it’s my mainstay in a way, where I’m revitalised and fulfilled.”³⁶² The French term, “chez moi” is not, however, a direct equivalent of the English word “home”. “Chez moi” and “à la maison” back-translate as “at mine” or “at my house”, both of which also exist in English and both relate to the material building, or ownership thereof, rather than the simultaneously exterior and interior entity that is “home”, just as it is this duality that constitutes Bourdieusian habitus. As discussed above, the concept of home, like *Heimat*, *hiraeth* or *paese* is very personal, pl/space-specific and conceptually elastic. It “is a word with multiple, and multi-scale, meanings” (King et al., 2014:13, citing Blunt 2005 and Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Longhurst et al., 2009:334), which denotes not only “a space of dwelling”, but “a sense of belonging” (Bonnerjee et al., 2012:22, 26). Consequently, home can be one’s main family abode, the *country* (as opposed to the nation State) where one is living, or the country from which one originates. Ultimately, home is where, or more precisely, “home is when one belongs” (Mata Codesal, 2008: 4), irrespective of one’s trajectory. Home is subject and object; that is, within the individual and outside; it is a physical space, or “residence” (Blunt, 2005:506), but also a “dwelling” (Blunt, 2005:509) composed of people, feelings and “lived experiences” (ibid.). Home is *dynamic* (Miller, 2001:6), reciprocally constructive, at once contributing to the identity of the subject, while s/he impresses aspects of self-hood onto the enclosed material environment. Perhaps the idiom, “home is where the heart is” is more accurate a definition than it may first appear, referring to a sense of love and familiarity which is felt “at home”, whether that is a country, a land, a *terroir* or a bedroom. The expressions “to feel at home” or “make yourself at home” imply a space where one feels relaxed, at ease, somewhere one belongs and can relinquish external, societal guards and slacken politeness codes. Home, like habitus, is where there is an implicit understanding and a common (family and cultural) heritage:³⁶³ shared experience leading to the transfer of tacit knowledge and effortless communication. Home can also be a place of conflict, precisely because politeness codes are weakened and members of the home community (generally close family) feel sufficiently at ease to release pressures internalised in the external field. In this light, home is incontestably the realm of the “heart”, or the affective, as opposed to the pragmatic, which can lead to clashes, but these tend not to compromise the mutual affection felt by the people who constitute the home. Home, in

362 Original: “c’est devenu tellement familial; c’est un peu mon pilier, en fait, où je me ressource, où je m’épanouis.”

363 Bonnerjee et al. (2012:26-7) broaden the idea of home as a space for common understanding and practices from the private, personal level to that of the public sphere of the community as a whole.

English, also extends to the lexical item “homesickness”; again, this does not exist in the same form in French, the more general “avoir du chagrin” and “avoir le cafard”, or the more geographically-embedded “avoir le mal du pays”³⁶⁴ being used in its stead. Homesickness is immediately evocative of the primal, bodily, subjective and emotive conceptualisation of home, in all its guises, and of being distanced from it and rendered ill in the process. None of my interviewees explicitly express being homesick (in either language), although it is pertinent that family and friends are those whom (rather than that which, as the interview question was intended) the majority of respondents specify as missing most from their habitus of origin, and, significantly, elements which cannot be fully replicated in or brought back to the migration setting, corresponding to the subjective, personified dimension of home evoked in Chapter 4. In this light, the “virtual” reconstruction of the habitat of home through intangible media can be understood fundamentally as a mechanism for overcoming an underlying sense of *homesickness*.

However, a mere 10% approximately of all those consulted during this doctoral research project (at least 50 individuals) have reported constructing such a virtual world, which would suggest that they are not experiencing homesickness, and effectively feel “at home”, in the diasporic field. Indeed, to corroborate this, the vast majority of those interviewed prefer tuning into *English* radio stations (particularly BBC Radio 4), and, unusually, very few watch or even own a television set, quite apart from owning a satellite dish. It therefore appears that, far from experiencing their migration as a negative force with the “unsettling feeling of in-betweenness, or suspended life” (Mata Codesal, 2008:15, footnote 29), or the sense of “dislocation” (Brigden, 2014), “uprootedness” (Long, 2013), “absence” (Barac & McFadyen, 2007; Sayad, 1999), or of being “dispossessed, displaced, unclassifiable” (Bourdieu, 1999:13),³⁶⁵ often referred to in the literature, they are generally well integrated in the “host” habitat, at ease in, and habituated to, its culture.

It is clear from the discourse of the interviewees and their media-consumption, with one or two exceptions (discussed in Chapter 4), that they feel completely at home in London. Most do not consult French websites with any regularity, apart from Brigitte (who, as seen above, investigates French news websites, such as www.lemonde.fr or www.liberation.fr, alongside the BBC News www.bbc.com/news), Suzanne (who consults “Le Figaro en ligne” at www.lefigaro.fr) and Bruno (who chooses to keep up-to-date with sporting news via the

364 It is significant that this French “equivalent” to homesickness places the emphasis on the “pays”, as such aligning it with the notion of “terroir” or “paese”, discussed above, and distinguishing it from the more *domestic* level of attachment evoked by the English term (a coinage such as “country-sickness” would seem very alien to an English ear).

365 Original: “sans lieu, déplacé, inclassable”.

website www.lequipe.fr, without the bias he feels pervades English sports reporting, or at least with a bias to which he can more readily relate),³⁶⁶ and most do not buy cultural information publications, that is, French newspapers and magazines to fill their London habitats, again with one or two exceptions, such as Laura who is a *Philosophie Magazine* subscriber. On the contrary, it appears from my conversations and observations that the participants generally engage with the media of the “host” habitat, *The Economist* and *The Guardian* were singled out more than once, and that they have grown habituated to the reporting styles and themes of the adopted home. Indeed, several interviewees criticised French televised news, claiming it to be inward-looking and parochial, at the expense of more important world news, including 53-year-old returnee, Catherine, who described it as containing “peu d’informations” (little news / information), whereas BBC news was found to be “plus objectif” (more objective) and Chantal, who provides a caustic comparison of French and UK reporting practices:

journalists don’t do their job properly, they just tell us what they’ve been told to say; it’s not always that interesting either. Journalism is a lot more interesting here, it doesn’t even compare. Even on TV the news is a lot more interesting here. At home [in France], they spend about 25 minutes of the news on a local farmer who hasn’t managed to sell all his cherries and has asked for a subsidy from the government. And then at the end, we’re allowed a bit of international news. [...] It’s crazy, they never speak about other countries. [...] They couldn’t care less, it’s their problem not ours.³⁶⁷

One of the most enlightening testimonies in respect of growing unwittingly habituated to the migration habitat and habits, that is of feeling implicitly at home there, is provided by Catherine, now an EFL teacher in Bordeaux, who lived in London for five years in the 1980s (South Woodford and Acton). She demonstrates the internalised embeddedness of her external home in London in reverse, likening the sense of loss on her return to France to the experiences of those unexpectedly thrust into a situation of joblessness:

It’s a bit like what happens to people who suddenly become unemployed [...] having

366 Underlining this point, as Bruno explains, is his practice of watching football matches on English television with the sound muted and a French radio commentary of the same match in the background.

367 Original: “Les journalistes ne font pas leur travail. Ils nous répètent ce qu’on leur dit de répéter; ce n’est pas toujours très intéressant non plus. Ici le journalisme est beaucoup plus intéressant, ce n’est rien à voir. Même à la télé au niveau du journal télévisé c’est beaucoup plus intéressant ici. Chez nous on passe déjà 25 minutes du journal sur le petit producteur local qui n’a pas réussi à vendre ses cerises et qui a demandé une subvention du gouvernement, et puis à la fin, on a le droit à l’international. [...] C’est dingue, ils ne parlent jamais des autres pays. [...] Ils s’en fichent, c’est leur problème.”

to reintegrate into everyday life, in another country [France], having to find your bearings again and your old habits in another setting isn't easy [...]. I wasn't at home in France any more; my home was in London. I think that's it: I hadn't realised that I wasn't at home in France any more.³⁶⁸

This lack of belonging in the originary habitat and unfamiliarity with former habits, together with the subsequent feeling of disorientation, or “discomfort” often occurs when migrants “return to the homeland [and] realise they are not the person they were; but it is perhaps *not so obvious* that they have become a particular kind of difference” (Noble, 2013:350; my italics to emphasise the imperceptible nature of habituation). Indeed, it is a manifestation of the hysteresis effect (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]) which can leave migrants with a cleft habitus, or “painfully fragmented self” (Friedman, 2016:110), referring “specifically to the mechanisms and mindsets of individuals who have experienced a considerable disjuncture between their present circumstances and the world in which these individuals were originally raised and socialised” (Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016:89). Regarding return migrants, however, it is precisely the originary, formative space which now feels foreign and disconcerting, the forces of the migratory field having silently moulded them into different individuals. It is a theme revisited in Chapter 8, but remains relevant to this chapter inasmuch as Catherine describes the uprooting from her *diasporic home* in terms that map directly onto the three-fold conceptualisation of habitus devised for this study. That is, she refers to the difficulty in finding her place within the “setting”, or *habitat*, of the now alien French context; she alludes to the challenge of re-adapting to day-to-day life in “another country” and re-adopting her former “*habits*”; and finally she recounts not having *realised* that she was no longer at home in France, having effectively become “a particular kind of difference” (Noble, 2013:350), thus demonstrating a form of unconscious *habituation* to her positioning within the migration context and consequent, imperceptible, dislocation *from her original “home”*. It is only with the benefit of hindsight, therefore, through the present sharing of her past experiences, buried deep in the rarely visited territory of her “Other” migrant memory, that her shifting habitus and genuine sense of home emerges.

368 Original: “c’est un peu ce qui arrive aux personnes qui se retrouvent au chômage du jour au lendemain [...] la réintégration dans la vie de tous les jours, dans un autre pays [la France], de retrouver ses marques, retrouver ses habitudes dans un autre encadrement n’est pas facile. [...] Je n’étais plus chez moi en France; chez moi, c’était à Londres. Je crois que c’est ça: je n’avais pas réalisé que je n’étais plus chez moi en France.”

5.2 SECURING HOME: “Never have I, for a single moment, felt unsafe”

Having established that my research participants overwhelmingly define themselves as feeling entirely at home in London, (despite the tacit fractal evidence to the contrary explored in the previous chapter),³⁶⁹ with the vast majority also bearing witness to feeling welcome, it is now necessary to ascertain whether they feel safe in the migratory field, since a sense of security is arguably contingent on a perceived sensation of comfortableness in one’s external surroundings, in other words, of being “at home”. In none of the conversations held within the framework of this research is London depicted as a place of hostility or latent danger; even those interviewees whose primary/secondary habitus was formed in rural or provincial France do not feel threatened by the megacity or its diverse and numerous inhabitants, as potentially vulnerable, slight, octogenarian, Suzanne, demonstrates, “I feel totally safe in London, totally free.”³⁷⁰ It is telling that her perception of security is intertwined with one of liberation, which may have its roots in her wartime past, when freedom and safety were simultaneously denied her. Perhaps more meaningful, however, is that those familiar with Paris report feeling far safer in London than in the French capital, in spite of crime rates being statistically higher in London (Eurostat, 2015a, 2015b).³⁷¹ Charles, the 34-year-old foreign correspondent with an abode in Crystal Palace explains that “Never, not even in Brixton or Tooting, never have I, for a single moment, felt unsafe [...]. I’d say I feel safer in London than Paris, I mean, in Greater London than in Greater Paris.”³⁷² The distinction he makes between Paris and Greater Paris is relevant, as London is perceived to be a city which can be explored fully, from its inner-city depths to its peri-urban breadths, without fear of misguidedly wandering into a “no-go” area once its outskirts are reached. Contrastingly, Paris is considered pleasant and safe at its heart, but most participants would not comfortably

369 This resonates with Oliver & O’Reilly’s discussion of the disconnect between the rhetoric and the practices of English migrants in Spain (2010:11), and those of the German migrants in London described by King et al. (2014:15).

370 Original: “Je me sens totalement en sécurité à Londres, totalement libre”.

371 According to annual EU data (Eurostat, 2015a), Paris recorded 41 homicides in 2015, against 107 in London. The metadata does not reveal the specificities of the definition of “Paris”, however, which may skew the results in the same way that the distinction between intramuros and extramuros city populations skewed the demographic data. It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that the *national* crime rate figures (in terms of all crimes recorded by the police) are also higher in England and Wales than France, with 4,338,295 and 3,521,256 respectively in 2009 – the last year that results for France are available (Eurostat, 2015b).

372 Original: “jamais, même à Brixton ou à Tooting, jamais je me suis senti à un seul moment en insécurité [...]. Je me sentirais plus en sécurité à Londres qu’à Paris, enfin, en région londonienne qu’en région parisienne.”

venture into its conceptually and physically marginalised *banlieues* (Bourdieu et al., 1993), for fear of attack or abuse. Indeed, Séverine, a 50-year-old lawyer who has lived in London for the last 26 years – and not in the purportedly safest areas, currently residing in Nunhead, which shares a post-code with Peckham³⁷³ – tells of never once having entered a Parisian *banlieue*, despite having lived in Paris all her pre-London life. Moses, of Senegalese heritage, is one exception, however, as he currently resides in such a *banlieue*. He confirms that Paris and its suburbs are two entirely distinct spaces: “there’s a huge difference between Paris and the suburbs. I actually live in the suburbs and I know the suburbs aren’t Paris, there’s no comparison”,³⁷⁴ unlike London and its suburbs, of which he has in-depth knowledge, having lived in areas as disparate as Dartford, Leyton, Abbey Wood, Arsenal and others. Furthermore, although Moses himself feels completely safe in all areas of Paris, as was the case in London, he recognises that an equivalent degree of security is not experienced among *women* in the French capital: “Here in Paris, I myself don’t feel threatened at all. [...] Maybe women feel differently about it. I do get the impression that, for a woman, London would feel a bit safer than Paris.”³⁷⁵

Miranda and Brigitte support Moses’s suspicion, since although they live in London’s once notorious East End, the area which, in their opinion, unduly has “a very bad reputation”³⁷⁶ (Brice), they feel, according to Miranda, “strangely [...] safe here”,³⁷⁷ thanks to the constant presence of other people in the surrounding streets. Again, Miranda makes a comparison with France, this time with the rural village of her primary habitus, where at night she feels afraid to walk home alone: “there’s absolutely nobody on the streets, and I’m scared to go home”.³⁷⁸ Similarly, Brigitte contrasts Bethnal Green with affluent West London, sensing no danger in the former either, “I feel a lot safer here [...] than, for example, when I go out in West London. Notting Hill’s very pretty, but it’s very residential, and when you go home, nothing’s open.”³⁷⁹ 35-year-old Paulette confirms Brigitte’s misgivings about

373 Notorious through its media portrayal, the crime rate figures for London neighbourhoods in May 2015, rank Peckham 14th from last, with 108 crimes recorded and a rate of 6.95; whereas the Oxford Street, Regent Street and Bond Street area came first, with 379 crimes and a rate of 295.17 (UK Crime Stats, 2015).

374 Original: “il y a une grosse différence entre Paris et la banlieue. Moi qui habite dans la banlieue, je sais que la banlieue ce n’est pas Paris, ce n’est rien à voir.”

375 Original: “Moi, ici à Paris, je ne me sens pas du tout en insécurité. [...] Peut être que les femmes le ressentent différemment. J’ai quand même l’impression que, en tant que femme, on se sentira un peu plus sécurisée à Londres qu’à Paris.”

376 Original: “une très mauvaise réputation”.

377 Original: “bizarrement [...] en sécurité ici”.

378 Original: “il n’y a absolument personne dans la rue, j’ai peur de rentrer chez moi”.

379 Original: “je me sens beaucoup plus en sécurité ici [...] que, par exemple, quand je sort à l’ouest. C’est très joli à Notting Hill, mais c’est très résidentiel, et quand on rentre, il n’y a

West London, having had first-hand experience of hostility in the area where she resides, but nonetheless perceives London as an unthreatening space: “I feel safe in London, even though I was assaulted here once, which is something that’s never happened to me in France.”³⁸⁰ In spite of her negative experience, Paulette continues to see her adopted home in an illogically favourable light, which could be explained by the oblivion recounted by Antoine: “I feel safe in London. In Paris I wouldn’t go in some places at certain times. In a way, in London you are more oblivious to it than in Paris.” This raises the question of whether the London-French are in fact seeing and experiencing the capital through an unrealistically idealised prism, not having been subjected to the habituated transmission of parental fears, taken for granted in the primary habitus, in the diasporic habitat, and therefore blind to its vices. Such experiential idealisation could be an unintentional mechanism deployed by the migrants to convince themselves (and relatives or friends left behind) that the aspirations they had hoped to achieve through mobility have been realised, in other words, that “the good life” (Oliver & O’Reilly, 2010:5) has been achieved.³⁸¹ Alternatively, it is possible that a propensity for optimism, even utopianism, is a disposition typical of those who have voluntarily opted to migrate. Chiswick (2008) explains that “economic migrants tend to be favourably *self-selected* [...], tending, on average, to be more able, ambitious, aggressive, entrepreneurial, healthier, or otherwise have more favourable traits than similar individuals who choose to remain in their place of origin” (2008:64). Despite London French migrants not necessarily lending themselves fully to the definition of “economic migrants”, straddling both the economic and “ideological” profiles advanced by Chiswick (*ibid.*), it is entirely plausible that optimism should fall into the category of “other favourable traits” and thus constitute a disposition justifying the participants’ ostensibly unwarranted sense of security in the migratory field.

5.3 RATIONALISING HOME: “It’s good to have London on your CV”

Although the evidence presented here demonstrates that my research participants feel safe and at home in London, the superficial reasons they give for choosing to make London home have not yet been fully explored. Notwithstanding the underlying currents pushing them away from the originary field (examined in Chapter 3), in search of an unfamiliar space with

rien d’ouvert.”

380 Original: “Je me sens en sécurité à Londres, et pourtant je me suis fait agresser ici une fois, chose qui m’est pas arrivée en France.”

381 This on-land optimism is also found in the on-line representations of the London-French migrant experience. For example, the blogs contained in the LFSC, analysed in Chapter 10, are without exception positive depictions of London life.

reduced levels of symbolic violence – or at least one which is perceived to be so – my interviewees supplied several purportedly pragmatic pull factors dictating their choice. Yet the very notion of push-pull factors or drivers, dominating Migration Studies discourses, is challenged by both Murphy-Lejeune (2002) and Carlson (2011), which in turn complements the notion of *self-selection* proffered by Chiswick, and undermines the supposed pragmatism of the initial migration decision. The authors argue convincingly in favour of Bourdieusian reproductiveness and inevitability, which Murphy-Lejeune conceptualises as inherited “mobility capital” (2002:51) and Carlson as a habitus (2011:8), that is, a taken-for-granted eventuality following exposure to foreign climes when young, or in habitual familial narratives (*ibid.*). Thus, rather than being a detached, Cartesian “decision-making calculus” (King et al., 2014:10), the purportedly agentive migratory act may in many cases be a foregone conclusion, the result of one’s personal trajectory through childhood and a habituated openness to other cultures inherited in the originary habitus. This irrefutably concords with the pre-mobility experiences of several of Block’s research participants (2006) and my own, notably, Séverine (who attended a German school in Paris), Bruno (who went on a journey across the USA with his parents as a young child), Brigitte (who grew up in Africa), Chantal (who spent time abroad in her childhood), Suzanne (who encountered the English *résistants* in the war and subsequently attended an English school on a month-long language exchange), Antoine (whose biological parents were themselves Greek and Italian migrants, and who, applying for their son to be formally adopted, caused him to migrate to another family), and Sadia (whose father was from Algeria and consequently mythologised his originary habitat in the family habitus, adding it to the trove of formative “family legends” (Carlson, 2011:6)). All this exposure to Other peoples and spaces, if only in the imaginations of the prospective migrants, doubtless acted as a subliminal migration trigger, or rather, a habituated desire to experience Otherness for themselves.

Irrespective of the *tacit* factors encouraging my participants to migrate, the pragmatic reasons they readily propose share much in common and confirm the findings of other studies. Ryan & Mulholland (2013, 2014a) contend that many highly-skilled French movers are attracted by London’s generous salaries, meritocratic upward mobility, investment opportunities and free-market ideals. Supporting this assertion, two of my participants describe opting for London, as opposed to France or the US, precisely for the medical research funding on offer, therewith contributing to France’s brain-drain (Bellion, 2005; Cordier, 2005; Roudaut, 2009; Tzeng, 2012) or “brain exchange” (King et al., 2014:17) phenomenon.³⁸² For most, however, rather than constituting a mobility pull, the increased

382 According to Bellion (2005:12), “a growing number of top scientists are setting up in

opportunities to climb the hierarchical echelons of the workplace are discovered *after* having experienced it for themselves, as Moses’s account of witnessing “people move up the ranks or get promotions,”³⁸³ discussed in Chapter 3, demonstrates. At the outset, however, London’s principal lure (superficially at least) is the linguistic possibilities it presents and the subsequent *cultural capital* possessing fluent English is considered to represent in the eyes of French employers in the ordinary field (Bellion, 2005; Ledain, 2010; Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013; King et al., 2014), itself convertible into economic capital. Arthur, a thirty-four-year-old Food and Beverage Manager, qualified in electronics, but employed in a Docklands’ Hotel (thus exemplifying the “deskilling” referred to by King et al., 2008), sums this up succinctly with, “it’s good to have London on your CV; that was my plan.”³⁸⁴ Mirroring the narratives of the young Germans studied by King et al., where the “economic rationale for migration is largely missing [and] improving their English” (2014:10) takes precedence as a migration pull, the English language is considered an invaluable asset among French movers when setting out on their quest for employment. A sojourn in London, popularly termed “mes années Londres” (my London years) in the London-French press, is thought to be the ideal mechanism, through its proximity (King et al., 2014) and flexible labour market (Ryan & Mulholland, 2011), to acquire both the linguistic and experiential capital required for a *distinctive* advantage in the employment game on return in France. With an unemployment rate of 5.5% in the UK in December 2014, compared to almost double that figure in France, at 10.3% (Statistiques Mondiales, 2015), perceiving London as a city of professional opportunity, where young people can obtain the experience necessary to embark on their career paths proper back in France,³⁸⁵ distinguishing them from the non-moving competition through their English language skills, is validated. The prevalence

the UK [and] more and more French researchers are moving to the UK. It was estimated in 2003 that there were between 2000 and 3000 of them in the country, and we know that those figures are growing because of the increasing number of researchers asking for passports”. However, King et al. consider it to be an exchange in the case of France: “Italy was found to be unique in the EU in suffering from a ‘brain drain’ as opposed to all other large EU economies which experienced ‘brain exchange’ (France, Germany, the UK and even Spain at this time)” (2014:17).

383 Original: “J’ai expérimenté en Angleterre [...] c’est plutôt les compétences, les qualités, les valeurs de la personne. En fonction de ce genre de choses, on voit les personnes qui montent en grade ou qui obtiennent des promotions, et je sais que ce n’est pas exactement comme ça en France.”

384 Original: “c’est bien d’avoir Londres sur le CV, c’était ça mon idée.”

385 In their study of “Turks” in London, King et al. (2008) confirm the commonplace “deskilling” (2008:17) of migrants. King et al. (2014) also maintain that a proportion of European migrants “are constrained to take low-status jobs, notably in the hospitality and catering industry, which they either get stuck in, or use as a step towards something more stable, satisfying and remunerative” (2014:6).

among young migrants (for example, the British in Paris (Scott, 2004:397-398), or Germans (King et al., 2014:9-16) and New Zealanders in London (Conradson & Latham, 2007:235) to willingly accept their “career progression [taking] a back seat [within] the broader objective of gaining life experience at a particular life-stage” (King et al., 2014:10) is also testimony to its success, or at least popularity, as a strategy.

Robert demonstrates the paradox at the core of the French labour market, which renders London’s workplace an attractive alternative, in the following terms: “the big problem in France is getting your first job. The French have a system which makes the first job absolutely critical for the future, but also extremely difficult to get.”³⁸⁶ Although many of the young French in London will be considerably over-qualified for the positions they hold, working, for example, as unskilled labourers in the catering and hospitality industry despite holding HE degrees in unrelated fields, owing to the discrepancy between the perceived worth of their “cultural capital in *institutionalised form*”³⁸⁷ (Bourdieu, 1979a:1) in France and the UK (a common phenomenon in “the immigration process [when] educational qualifications [...] are almost universally devalued” (Kelly & Lusia, 2005:843); Erel, 2010; Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016), the mere fact of possessing a job, with the additional advantage of acquiring a valuable language, is considered to be more appealing than vainly seeking a position more commensurate with one’s skills and qualifications in France, but in effect rarely available. Moses is a case in point, having experienced difficulties in acquiring a position in France, in spite of his Masters in International Business, he initially came to England with a clear objective to “improve his English” [Original: “développer cette langue”] to enable him to secure a foothold in his chosen career on his return to France. He describes, in our telephone interview, how surprised he was to have been able to find work on his first day in the Capital, and how, in his own enthused words, he had “opened a bank account, found work and found a flat in under a week – it’s quite amazing really”.³⁸⁸ It is precisely this propensity for spontaneity, flexibility, dynamism, lack of administrative hurdles and ultimately opportunities that pulls the French, standing in diametric opposition to the bureaucracy and staidness of France,³⁸⁹ where, as Marie, explains, “it’s not easy to

386 Original: “le gros problème en France, c’est le premier emploi. Les Français ont un système qui rend le premier emploi absolument critique pour l’avenir, mais aussi extrêmement difficile”.

387 Original: “capital culturel à l’état institutionnalisé”.

388 Original: “ouvert un compte bancaire, trouvé un travail, trouvé un appartement en moins d’une semaine – c’est vraiment impressionnant”.

389 Comparable to that of Italy, identified in King et al.’s study: “London, and the UK in general, is seen as a more ‘open’, meritocratic society where young Italians’ ambitions, stifled at home by conservative values and entrenched structures, can be realised” (2014:20).

change job”.³⁹⁰ Adhering to his plan, Moses returned to France once he had acquired the linguistic capital sought, and has since been rewarded with employment: “I know what I did was worthwhile, and I can see the difference between the people who’ve been abroad and the ones who’ve stayed in France. I’m really pleased I did it.”³⁹¹ His temporal investment in a relatively short sojourn in London, occupying that hybrid space identified as the “grey zone” (Schubert-McArthur, 2009, cited by King et al., 2014:12) between tourism and migration,³⁹² whereby a “break” was taken from his “regular life” (King et al., 2014:10) in order to gain the “experience and adventure” desired (King et al., 2014:12), paid lucrative dividends on the job market in France, allowing him to position himself in a more tactically advantageous position than the non-movers competing for the same posts. However, as most participants in this study demonstrate, the intention of leaving France for one or two “années Londres”, having gained the all-important cultural and linguistic capital, has a tendency to extend to an indefinite timespan once habituation has set in.

According to the paper survey conducted for this study, the average time respondents anticipated staying in London was 1½ years, while the average length they have in effect stayed hitherto is 12 years, with future intentions ranging from five years to “all my life” [Original: “toute ma vie”]. This ambivalence regarding the retrospective and prospective intended migration periods is another common feature between the participants in this study and the German, Italian and Latvian London migrants studied by King et al. (2014). Indeed, they remark a “narrative silence” (2014:34) in this respect, also noted among my participants, who revealed themselves to be rather unwilling to commit to any long-term aspirations of either stability or mobility. Charles typifies most people’s initial experience with his account: “I didn’t have any precise plans about the date of my return, but I didn’t expect to stay long. I vaguely imagined, very vaguely, that after two or three years, my English would be perfect and I’d have gained a new experience, and then I’d go back to the homeland.”³⁹³ Having grown accustomed to the habits of the local diasporic field, however, an equally “vague” notion of prospective movement or settlement is also representative of the interviewees today, undecided whether their futures lie in London, as is the case for

390 Original: “on ne change pas de boulot facilement”.

391 Original: “Je sais ce que j’ai fait, ça a servi, et je vois la différence entre ceux qui sont partis à l’étranger et ceux qui sont restés en France. Je suis bien content de l’avoir fait.”

392 In something of an inversion of the “roots tourist” notion referred to by King & Christou (2008:10), with Moses’s London experience now seen through the mythologising lens of memory, rather than the originary “home”.

393 Original: “Moi j’avais pas d’idées précises sur la date de mon retour, mais je ne pensais pas rester longtemps. J’imaginai vaguement, très vaguement, qu’au bout de deux, trois ans, j’aurais parfait mon anglais, j’aurais acquis une nouvelle expérience, et puis je rentrerais dans la terre patrie.”

octogenarian Suzanne; France, as is “vaguely” [Original: “vaguement”] the intention of Sadia” and Bruno (for retirement); or an alternative (Anglophone) migratory destination, for which Paulette, Moses and Brigitte expressed a latent desire, perhaps indicating a sense of habituation to local attitudes, for, as seen in Chapter 3, French-born Paulette is adamant that she will never return to France.

5.4 THE TRANSFORMATIVE CREEP OF HABITUATION: “You could end up becoming a Londoner without realising”

Habituation manifests itself in myriad material ways, for instance in the subtle changes to my participants’ habitats and habits resulting from their long-term settlement in London, as evidenced in Chapter 4, where Robert alluded to the 80:20 ratio of Englishness to Frenchness in his home. Sarah reflects on a similar phenomenon taking place in her London habitat in less mathematical, more material terms: “To begin with I brought back quite a lot of personal objects [from France], and then over the course of time they’ve gradually broken and been replaced; now I don’t have many things that are truly French at home. It’s the passage of time that brings about integration.”³⁹⁴ Her touching journey of dislocation, relocation and ultimate detachment from the habitus of origin is materialised through the displacement and gradual disintegration of the objects themselves, resulting in a passively contented sentiment of integration in the adopted London home, achieved not through design but through a natural, unforeseen, and therefore perhaps more potent, process of regeneration over time: from disintegration to integration. However, perhaps the most compelling forms of habituation that emerge from the migrant narratives are those which relate to the aspects of London culture they have embodied unwittingly, that is, the transfer of “tacit knowledge” (Polanyi, 1975) and assimilation of local mentalities and dispositions.

As they discuss their migrant trajectories with me, many interviewees embark on a journey of self-discovery, being placed in the rare situation of having to objectify their subjective experience through the very act of articulating memories, feelings and intimate thoughts. By transposing them into the material form of spoken language, they are, in some cases for the first time, detaching themselves from their day-to-day existence and taking time to consider their positioning within the diasporic context, both from the inside out and outside in, which again mirrors the subject-object dynamics of habitus. Birch & Miller

394 Original: “au départ j’avais amené pas mal d’objets personnels [de France], et puis au fil du temps ils se sont cassés et ils ont été remplacés; maintenant, je n’ai plus tellement de choses vraiment françaises chez moi. C’est le passage du temps qui fait l’intégration.”

(2000) confirm this self-revelatory phenomenon, stating that “the interviewee may experience the action of disclosure as a revelation, prompting a new understanding of past events, [with] reflection and re-narrating personal experiences, arriving at different meanings” (2000:190). Atkinson, on the other hand, places the meaning-making potential of the interview process more on the “personally sacred” (2012:123) bond forged between the researcher and the interviewee, which “creates a clear and strong sense of coming to know something new and valuable through the relationship created by the interview itself” (ibid.). This sense of discovering novelty in their own life trajectories is illustrated by several participants in their description of how settling in London has, without them realising quite how or when, transformed their dispositions, for instance, increasing their resilience and confidence levels. In Séverine’s case, she believes London has not only remodelled her into a more liberal and insouciant individual, but has equipped her with the personal traits needed to progress in a competitive field: “I’ve become less anxious, more tolerant [...], maybe be more resourceful. I’ve developed a more entrepreneurial temperament.”^{395 396} Forty-two-year-old Laura from Clapham, describes a new-found self-confidence made manifest through sartorial transformation, alluded to in Chapter 3 and shared by many of my London-French students, who begin their undergraduate degrees embodying the archetypal image of bourgeois France – long, flowing, natural hair, discreet attire, no obvious jewellery – and end their studies with shaven heads or blue hair, piercings in a variety of body parts and clothes that would be perceived as entirely “on the side of the Other”³⁹⁷ (Bourdieu, 1999:13) in “conservative” (King et al., 2014:20) France.³⁹⁸ In Laura’s account of her sartorial transformation, accompanied by an arguably more significant change in career path, going from the Paris Stock Exchange to singer-songwriter in London, she contrasts the attire she adopts to appeal to an English audience with that she chooses for a French public:

395 Note that entrepreneurialism is a disposition associated with economic migrants in the literature (Chiswick, 2008: 64).

396 Original: “je suis devenue moins anxieuse, plus tolérante [...], peut-être plus débrouillarde. J’ai développé un tempérament plus entrepreneur”.

397 Original: “du côté de l’Autre”.

398 Waterson writes that “habitus is depicted as always tending to reproduce itself; while the *possibility* of innovation, or of disruption in times of crisis, is acknowledged, the image of society actually produced in Bourdieu’s writings is an overwhelmingly conservative one” (2005:338). It could be argued, however, that it is precisely because Bourdieu was forming his theories from within a *French* habitus and field(s), that the conservative and reproductive were foregrounded, for despite France’s multiple uprisings, it maintains a traditional and unprogressive collective mentality in the minds of the French participants, much like the Italian model described by King et al. which produces “a society incapable of change and inimical to progressive life-courses for young people, who feel they have no control over their destiny” (2014:22).

when I'm here, I deliberately wear outfits I know will look a bit "français" [...]. I've got a dress which I think looks quite French. I wear it here, but I wouldn't wear it in France. It's black with small white polka-dots, and at the bottom there are little frills. And in France, I'm more likely to wear jeans and a T-shirt, more everyday; a bit more dressed-up in England than in France, [...] more rock 'n' roll. If I'd never come to England, I think I'd be more uptight about loads of stuff, I'd never have dressed like that.³⁹⁹

Thus, whilst Laura expresses a rare awareness of the subtle codes that differentiate her audiences and their attitudes to her, recalling Valentine's (2001:29) reference to the binary relationship between appearance and "social norms and expectations", and whilst the perceived freedom to dress as she pleases in London has given her the confidence to wear that which she describes as frilly, polka-dot dresses and 1970s' velvet suits purchased from "shabby-chic" Clapham vintage/charity shops,⁴⁰⁰ she would not have conceived of wearing prior to migrating, her transformation to the "host" mindset is not *complete* (which substantiates Bourdieu's (2005:46) notion that "[d]ispositions are long-lasting: they tend to perpetuate, to reproduce themselves, but they are not eternal"). That is, she would still not consider wearing the same overtly feminised attire in France, for her habitus is "being re-structured, transformed in its makeup by the pressure of objective structure" (ibid.), whether that be in the originary or diasporic field. It would seem that Laura's growing expressive – garment and performance – confidence, which she ascribes to living in London, is nevertheless *in the process* of forming an integral, and transformed, trait of her character, instilling a habituated, pre-reflexive outlook on the world, and one she is now tentatively carrying back across the Channel:⁴⁰¹ "As a result of living in England [...], there are things I wouldn't have done before, but now I say to myself that's how we live in London, why change when I go back [to France]. For instance, I wear blue nail varnish on stage!"⁴⁰² It

399 Original: "Quand je suis ici, je fais exprès de mettre des trucs que je sais vont faire un peu "French" [...]. J'ai une robe que je trouve fait assez française. Je la mets ici, mais je ne la mettrais pas en France. Elle est noire avec des petits points blancs, et en bas il y a des petits froufrous. Et en France, je m'habille plus facilement en jean avec un tee-shirt, plus routine; un peu plus habillée en Angleterre qu'en France, [...] plus "rock 'n' roll". Je pense que si je n'étais jamais venue en Angleterre, j'aurais été plus coincée par pleins de trucs, je ne me serais jamais habillée comme ça."

400 An appreciation for vintage/second-hand clothing is a common disposition observed among female London-French residents. Indeed, the existence of a blog titled "Britishette – Second hand is a lifestyle" and dedicated exclusively to the topic bears witness to the phenomenon (see the London French Special Collection in the UK Web Archive).

401 This migration of her evolving dispositions – objectified and embodied – to the social field of Paris may in turn result in a "transnational" impact on the outlook/habitus of her audience there, having an equivalent, yet more subtle, effect to the transfer of economic or cultural capital examined by Kelly & Lusia (2005), among others.

402 Original: "Du fait de vivre en Angleterre [...], il y a des choses que je n'aurais pas faites

would appear, therefore, that Laura has now discovered the confidence required to assert herself, to set about embracing her new, non-conservative, transnational, or London-French, “look”, increasingly indifferent to the judgemental gaze of her Parisian audience, and apparently taking pleasure in adopting her reborn persona, perceiving it to be a liberating experience that simultaneously allows her to embody the so-called British “imperfection and eccentricity” which Agnès Poirier deems to epitomise London (and doubtless its residents’ dress), unlike Paris, “the epitome of perfection and elegance,” (Deen & Katz, 2008). In this sense, when performing in France, through her rejection of the understated sartorial (stereo)type taken for granted in her habitus/field of origin, and somewhat subversive celebration of the whimsical tastes of her diasporic habitus/field (such as the blue nail polish), the gradual transformation of Laura’s attire constitutes “not an expression of other people’s ‘gaze’, but rather an interiorized and more controlled replacement of those absent others” (Miller, 2001:7), in this case her (physically absent, yet remembered and embodied) *London* audience and habitus.

“The decision over what to wear incorporates the normative expectations of what is acceptable to wear” (Woodward, 2005:25) and, as such, distancing oneself from the norms expected in the habitus/field requires a certain degree of self-confidence. This (re)gained confidence is not only a trait shared by many of those participating in this study, but others relating their personal narratives in blogs and alternative studies also report a sense of burgeoning self-esteem concurrent with their growing London self-identity, as Roudaut pens regarding a young migrant from France’s overseas department of Guadeloupe, who “found abroad that which France made him lose: his self-confidence” (2009:65).⁴⁰³ Likewise, Laura’s immersion in the London social field has had a tacit transformative effect on her embodied habitus and the dispositions which form it, equipping her with the self-worth needed to realise her singer-songwriting aspirations, rather than content herself with managing the performers she had formerly yearned to become.⁴⁰⁴ Similarly, Miranda, officially a doctoral linguistics student, and Brice a financial and IT contractor, have developed the confidence to perform in ways they would not have considered prior to migration, in the purportedly more conservative originary field, namely pole-dancing and amateur dramatics (respectively), becoming habituated to such pastimes through immersion

avant, mais maintenant je me dis c’est comme ça qu’on vit à Londres, je ne vois pas pourquoi je changerais quand je reviens [en France]. Par exemple, je mets du vernis bleu en concert!”

403 Original: “a retrouvé à l’étranger ce que la France lui avait fait perdre: sa confiance en lui”.

404 Another example, perhaps, of the entrepreneurial trait associated with migrants (Chiswick, 2008).

in the attitudes and practices of the migration setting.

An attitudinal transformation which Arthur discovers along the journey of our conversation (Atkinson, 2012:123-5) is the softening of the harsher Reunionese edges of his personality and the adoption of local politeness codes, “you always learn to say ‘please, thank you, could you’, here”⁴⁰⁵ to such an extent that both his personality and outlook have metamorphosed: “I’m not the same person anymore; there are things, if I go back to Reunion, that I won’t like: the way people speak, the way they react. For instance, my family say ‘you’ve really changed; you’re calmer; you think more’ – and that’s the more positive side of having lived here. I think I’m a little bit English now.”⁴⁰⁶ As a consequence of being submerged in the “gentlemanly civility” perceived to be typical of the migratory social field, Arthur has unwittingly adopted these dispositions, becoming habituated to the “good manners” and expecting the same of those around him, which effectively now distinguishes him from those of his primary/secondary habitus and substantiates the tertiary habitus hypothesis posited in the last chapter. Just as Bourdieu contended, therefore, the confrontation between Arthur’s subjective dispositions and the differing objective structures of the diasporic field has resulted in a restructuring of his originary habitus (2005). Though not exceptional in the context of migration, it is the *tacit* power of the diasporic field, its ability to radically transform character, beyond the apparent agency and awareness of the individual that renders such transmutations significant. Noble (2013) gives prominence to this surreptitious phenomenon in his ethnographic study of a Lebanese-Australian academic who awakens uncomfortably to his evolved habitus during a short visit to the “homeland”, where he discovers that he now, unwittingly and uncontrollably, embodies Australianness. He demonstrates the pervasiveness of the diasporic field, affecting not only objectified dispositions, such as attire (shorts), comparable to Laura’s and others’ experience, and habits tacitly acquired (using a seatbelt, eating a *sandwich* while walking in the public domain), but subjective characteristics (in keeping with Arthur), such as attitudes towards driving practices. More disconcertingly for the participant, he becomes aware of his own embodied ethnicity, which, only in relation to the people and structures of his originary field – for reality is relational (Bourdieu, 1994:17) – emerges as a form of “whiteness”.⁴⁰⁷ Noble’s

405 Original: “ici on apprend toujours à dire ‘please, thank you, could you...’”.

406 Original: “Je ne suis plus la même personne; il y a des choses, si je rentre à la Réunion, qui ne vont pas me plaire: la façon dont les gens vont parler, la façon dont ils vont réagir. Par exemple, ma famille dit ‘tu as vachement changé; tu es plus calme; tu penses plus’ – et ça c’est le côté positif d’avoir vécu ici. Je pense que je suis un petit peu anglais maintenant.”

407 Analogous phenomena to this embodied Australianness are explored by Mandel (1989; 1990) in respect of Turkish-German return migrants, referred to as “*Alamanyani*, the ‘Germanlike’”, and Portuguese migrants, known as ‘*franceses*’ (Brettell, 2008:117, citing

evidence also serves to illustrate that the habitus transformations experienced by my French participants in the London field, however habituated and imperceptible, are not unique to this set of migrants.

Although Arthur's growing awareness of his dispositional alterations are less disorientating than those of Noble's informant, the habituation to "host" practices and attitudes is no less potent. Like Arthur, habituation to, and a subsequent expectation of, articulated or embodied manifestations of courtesy are referred to repeatedly by my research participants, ranging from the mythologised queuing at bus-stops and locally adopted practice of freeing up a lane on TfL escalators,⁴⁰⁸ to the courteousness of drivers systematically giving way to pedestrians at zebra crossings – "using zebra crossings is also a pleasant experience in the United Kingdom. People respect the Highway Code and stop well before you've placed a foot on the crossing"⁴⁰⁹ (Cordier, 2005:132) – or to oncoming vehicles, and, as Laura insightfully points out, appearing to enjoy doing so:

And as for driving [...] the real joy is that people let each other pass: it's a pleasure to stop before the other car to let it pass. In France, both cars will stop nose-to-nose for sure, and the one who manages to get through will say "got you!" That's what it's like in France, people wouldn't dream of letting someone else go first. The French have lost the enjoyment in being of service, because they think they'll be seen as idiots if they do.⁴¹⁰

This contrasts with the unruliness noted in the Lebanese field (Noble, 2013) and is indicative of perceived cultural difference in politeness codes in the originary and diasporic fields. In Paris, habituated to the "discourteous" practices said to prevail in the external environment of the city transport networks, Laura (and Cordier) are oblivious to them. It is only upon immersion in a set of structures in the diasporic field, that is, those defined by the highway

Mandel 1989 and Brettell, 1986).

408 This (ill-adopted) practice is (re)presented in the filmic parody, *Shit French People in London Say* (Meard Street Productions, 2012), which serves to underscore its pertinence. Engel also refers to the phenomenon, describing London in the following terms: "London, if not exactly welcoming, ignored you [migrants] benignly, was full of one's own fellow countrymen, had a language that was far more accessible and pliable than any other, and made few demands – certainly no expectation of adaptation to the new surroundings – as long as you remembered to stand on the right of the escalators" (2014:504).

409 Original: "traverser un passage piéton est aussi une expérience agréable au Royaume Uni. Les gens respectent le code de la route, et s'arrêtent bien avant que vous n'y mettiez un pied."

410 Original: "Et pour les voitures [...] le vrai bonheur c'est que les gens se laissent passer: on a le plaisir de s'arrêter avant l'autre pour le laisser passer. En France, on peut être sûr que tout le monde va être en face l'un de l'autre, et que celui qui va arriver à passer va dire 'je t'ai eu'. C'est ça, en France, les gens ne vont jamais se laisser passer. Le Français a perdu le plaisir de rendre service parce qu'il a l'impression d'être le couillon s'il rend service."

code (stopping at zebra crossings), and habitus, namely the tacitly learnt codes of practice regarding physical displacement around the city (giving right of way on the road/escalators) that the migrants become aware of the mores of their originary society and begin to grow habituated to those of the diasporic field. These imperceptible “values internalised and embodied by individual actors, in processes of socialisation into a culture” (Waterson, 2005:336) also carry wider implications relative to the collective local (even *national*) mentality (or at least how it is perceived by my London-French participants), suggesting that (in accordance with the stereotype held in France) the English are a *distinctly* (i.e. in comparison to the historically revolutionary French) law-abiding and superficially⁴¹¹ courteous nation.⁴¹²

A less positive form of habituation to the host mindsets and assimilation⁴¹³ thereof is

411 Superficially, as it is arguably a matter of surface-level dispositions perceived in external interactions, and because the courteousness observed may mask an underlying indifference or, worse, the type of good manners Fox (2014) refers to as part of “a predominantly ‘negative-politeness’ culture – concerned mainly with the avoidance of imposition and intrusion – [and having] very little to do with friendliness or good nature” (2014:271). This concept supports the observation made by Suzanne, who, when passing a bus queue in 1960s’ London was taken aback by the reserved, or “negatively-polite”, obliviousness of the local inhabitants to those around them: “I’ll always remember: I was going up [...] Park Lane on foot, and when I went past a bus-stop I saw an Indian chief with feathers all around his head, that went right down to his feet. It was very, very remarkable, and I looked at all the people who were queuing up (because we always used to queue up waiting for the bus, people would be one behind the other), and I looked at all those people, and not one of them, not a single person looked round to see the Indian chief walk past; that’s just to show you how you had to behave, it was every man for himself. That’s why I was told it would take me two years to get used to it.” [Original: “je me souviendrai toujours: je montais [...] Park Lane, à pied, et en passant près d’un arrêt de bus j’ai vu, en attendant le bus, un chef indien avec des plumes tout autour de la tête et qui lui descendaient jusqu’aux pieds. C’était très, très impressionnant, et je regardais tous les gens qui faisaient la queue (parce qu’on faisait toujours la queue quand on attendait le bus, on était les uns derrière les autres), et j’ai regardé tous ces gens, et il n’y en a pas un, pas une personne qui s’est retournée pour regarder passer le chef indien; c’est pour vous montrer comment il fallait être, c’était chacun pour soi. C’est pour ça qu’on m’avait dit qu’il me faudrait deux ans pour m’habituer”]. Rather than interpreting this disregard as a form of politeness – as intended in the “host” habitus, where individual privacy is prized (2014:37, 265) (and which in turn leads to the laissez-faire attitudes admired by the informants of Ryan & Mulholland 2014; King et al., 2014 and several of my own participants, who mentioned, in favourable terms, being able to walk the streets in their pyjamas without anyone seeming to notice) – Suzanne perceived it negatively, “every man for himself”, as an example of the Londoners’ social hostility.

412 This is a viewpoint held by other nationalities also, as Fox (2014) confirms, “many of the foreign visitors I interviewed [...] were] impressed by our courtesy. [...] It was] also among the most common responses in SIRC’s international discussion groups and surveys” (2014:232-3).

413 Here, “assimilation” is used not in the traditional migration studies sense (see, for instance, Schmitter Heisler, 2008:90-91) to denote integration into the receiving *society*, rather it signifies the incorporation, or self-appropriation, of certain dispositions on the part

provided by François, a 52-year-old surgeon from Eastern France. He asserts that exposure to London's fast-paced, stressful lifestyle is having a deeply transformative, if difficult to discern, effect on his personality, and one that he attempts to resist:

London's changed me. [...] It's warfare here [at the wheel] I'm really aggressive; five centimetres away from the bumper in front of me, and if there isn't someone from outside to give you feedback about your behaviour, you don't actually see it. You have to be very careful here, [...] because otherwise, you could end up becoming a Londoner without realising. I don't see any nastiness in Londoners, but I don't see any generosity either. And I'm sure it's not because they're like that; London changes you.⁴¹⁴

In this account, the dynamics (Bourdieu, 2005:47; 1994:17; 1980a:88) between the internalised habitus and the external habitat and habits are patent, and “from this two-way process a fusing between self and other is achieved”, conceptualised by Leach as an “order of mirrorings [...] between the self and the environment” (2005:307). In this case, it is one which takes the individual by surprise, as if passing before a mirror he had not realised was there, François is suddenly confronted with his own reflection, which resembles a Londoner (resonating with Noble's “whiteness”) more than he would like. François, a charmingly courteous and wholeheartedly “generous” individual, who has dedicated his professional life to helping others in his capacity as a consultant in an inner-city NHS hospital, and who is *generous* enough to grant me over two hours of his limited time (despite several urgent interruptions for advice on the best therapeutic care for a patient) fears that *habituation* to London practices and dispositions risks robbing him of the altruistic attributes he developed in the primary/secondary habitus (which starkly contrasts Laura's experience). Far from being “aggressive”, he appears calm, longanimous and able to slow down to enjoy London's hidden “islands of well-being in an ocean of urban civilisation”,⁴¹⁵ such as the tranquillity of the natural environment that surrounds his houseboat in Richmond. For him, therefore, it is perhaps quotidian exposure to the harsh, brutalistic field of an inner-city London hospital, one to which most inhabitants are generally unhabituated, that has negatively influenced his

of the individual. Naturally, as Bourdieu noted in his habitus/field dualism, both are interrelated.

414 Original: “Londres m'a changé. [...] [Au volant] ici, c'est la guerre [...] je suis vraiment agressif; à cinq centimètres du pare-chocs devant moi, et s'il n'y a pas quelqu'un de l'extérieur qui vous donne le feedback de votre propre comportement, en fait, on voit pas. Il faut faire très attention ici, [...] parce qu'autrement, on pourrait devenir Londonien, sans s'en rendre compte. Je ne peux voir de méchanceté dans les Londoniens, mais je ne peux pas voir de la générosité non plus. Et je suis sûr que c'est pas parce qu'ils sont comme ça. Londres nous change.”

415 Original: “îlots de bien-être dans un océan de civilisation urbaine”.

outlook:

In the morning when the young ones in my team do the ward rounds, it's not to find out *if* there have been any stabbings, but to find out how many. And each week, we don't wonder *if* there's been gunfire or a shooting, it happens every week. If you go for a walk through the hospital corridors, in practically each wing there'll be two armed police keeping watch... The media focus on teenagers, so if you're under 15, you show up in the media, and if you were carrying a gun and you shoot another 14-year-old – that, that will end up in the papers, but there are adults too, and it's every day, every day, every day, every day... I'm in the heart of it here; it's not the most violent area, but in terms of drugs, it's one of the most affected.⁴¹⁶

As this description reveals, the challenging, and particularly violent, professional field in which François operates – which is not representative of the broader diasporic social field – has caused apprehension over the development of a habitus which comprises dispositions characteristic of the “host” society. Again, that which is significant in François's case is the *habituatio*, having noticed the latent spread of “local” attitudes (aggression) and behaviour (driving close to the car in front) within him, he is actively (if somewhat ineffectively, as his impulsive use of English verbs, “focus” and “shoot” within his French-language account, attest) *resisting* such an embodiment of the local habitus in an agentive attempt to overcome the culturally/habitually-generated transformation occurring. This therefore corresponds, in reverse, to Bourdieu's assertion that “[a]ny dimension of habitus is very difficult to change but it may be changed through [a] process of awareness and pedagogic effort” (2005:45), both of which François is undertaking in order to *preserve* his subtly changing habitus.

Charles identifies a transformation, too, one with which he is entirely comfortable, but which has been met with abuse around Franco-French dinner tables: a changing ideological perspective. This shift has arisen either from habituation to the omnipresent political discourses permeating television screens, newspaper front pages and middle-class dinner tables in the migration context, or, as he attests, from the ideological liberation that he perceives to accompany the act of migration:

I feel like my perspective on certain things has really changed since I've been here;

416 Original: “Le matin quand les jeunes dans mon équipe font le tour, c'est pas pour savoir s'il y a eu des agressions à l'arme blanche, c'est de savoir combien. Et chaque semaine, on se demande pas s'il y a eu un coup de feu ou une agression au pistolet, c'est toutes les semaines. Si on va se promener dans les couloirs, il y a, pratiquement dans chaque aile, deux policiers en armes qui surveillent... Les médias se ‘focussent’ sur les adolescents, donc on apparaît dans les médias si on a moins de 15 ans, et si on portait un pistolet, et si on ‘shoot’ celui qui a 14 ans – ça, ça va aller dans les journaux, mais il y a des adultes, et c'est tous les jours, tous les jours, tous les jours, tous les jours... Ici, moi je suis au cœur; c'est pas l'endroit le plus violent, mais en termes de drogues, c'est un des plus sensibles.”

I don't see things in the same way any more. I've really radically changed on a number of points. [...] I decided to stop [...] following a sort of ideological catechism, and so now I prefer to be more pragmatic and judge things based on evidence rather than on what it's right or wrong to think. And I think that's something I've learnt here in Britain. I think by expatriating, you liberate yourself from some ideological shackles.⁴¹⁷

Through living in London, he has become habituated to the concrete realism that is thought to dominate attitudes in the “host” culture, and as such has distanced himself from the abstract, highly principled (leftist) views he had formerly felt compelled to incorporate in France. Here, the act of migration is emancipatory, freeing Charles from the “ideological catechism” of the originary social field and the habitus of the French intelligentsia set within it. He cannot, however, be deemed an ideological migrant (Chiswick, 2008), since his ideological shift is the habituated *product* of the migratory field, rather than a mobility incentive. Unlike François, Charles experiences his politico-phrenic transformation positively, finding it a liberating force. It comes, however, at the cost of de-habituating from the mindsets of his habitus of origin, hence from those who continue to hold such a *Weltanschauung*.⁴¹⁸

Additional tacit forms of habituation and an unconscious adoption of “host” dispositions, ultimately leading to the development of a tertiary migratory habitus, are a general open-mindedness and (stereo)typically English sense of humour.⁴¹⁹ Robert's immersion in and habituation to the flux of cultures that converge in London have opened his mind to alternative ways of living in and understanding the world in all its globalised prolificacy and complexity, “this British, even cosmopolitan, culture [...] has opened my

417 Original: “J'ai l'impression que mon regard a vraiment changé sur certaines choses depuis que je suis ici; je ne vois plus les choses de la même façon. J'ai vraiment radicalement changé sur beaucoup de points. [...] [J]'ai décidé d'arrêter [...] de suivre une sorte de catéchisme idéologique, et voilà, moi, je préfère être plus pragmatique et juger les choses sur pièces plutôt que sur ce qui est bon de penser et ce qui est mal de penser. Et je pense que ça, je l'ai appris ici en Grande-Bretagne. Je pense qu'en s'expatriant, on se libère d'un carcan idéologique.”

418 The effects of this de-coupling from the originary habitus will be discussed in Chapter 7.

419 Clearly, humour and wit are not cultural dispositions unique to English society, as the recent (2014) addition of *Askiya*, the art of wit in Uzbekistan, to UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity demonstrates (Source: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00971> accessed 30/07/2015). However, as Fox observes, “humour governs” the English social field, with many English people seeming “to believe that we have some sort of global monopoly, if not on humour itself, then at least on certain ‘brands’ of humour” (2014:78), and as such, a certain kind of English humour is the defining feature of the English stereotype held in France.

mind, not only to British culture, but to other cultures actually: Latin culture, Asian culture, which I never had any exposure to in Lille.”⁴²⁰ He acknowledges this transformation of his outlook positively, in keeping with Charles, deeming London’s multicultural social field to be an enriching framework in which to live and evolve. Hamid Senni, once a second-generation Moroccan migrant in France and today a first-generation French migrant in London, on the other hand, awakens to a comparable alteration in his gaze and mentality vis-à-vis the Other with an element of perturbation, an underlying trace of shame. He recounts having made a disturbing pre-reflexive judgement during an encounter with a Sikh at his City office: “I also remember this IBM expert with his turban on his head... At first I mistook him for a cleaner: a completely French reflex which automatically places people from abroad at the bottom of the social ladder” (2007:168).⁴²¹ The wording used to relate the experience is telling: “reflex” and “automatically” illustrate the habituated, culturally inculcated, implicit workings of the French field having moulded Senni’s profound habitus, and leaving him, irrespective of his family’s ethnicity and the discrimination to which he himself was subject as a result (explored in Chapter 3), with a prejudiced view of society he struggles to jettison. This is not entirely unexpected given that habitus is “a product of history, that is of social experience and education” (Bourdieu, 2005:45), rather than upbringing alone, and because the dispositions and “habitus of a determinate person [...] have something in common, a kind of affinity of *style* [...] a practical systematicity” (Bourdieu, 2005:44), it means they “cannot be corrected completely, despite all one’s efforts” (Bourdieu, 2005:45). It is this realisation that he does not have complete agency over his outlook, that it is as difficult to reinvent as one’s handwriting or accent (*ibid.*), which Senni struggles to negotiate, uncomfortable in the knowledge that his mind’s eye is *instinctively* set in its French, primary/secondary habitus, despite the symbolic violence he suffered in France, despite his possession of an *intellectual* desire for racial equality, and despite him having believed that he had grown habituated to the multicultural indifference, or “benign ignorance” to recall Engel’s words (2014:504), of the London population. In Senni’s case, therefore, habituation appears to be partial, with the individual migrant’s socially-conditioned, primary viewpoint/habitus proving more difficult to transform or reinvent than previously assumed

420 Original: “cette culture britannique, et même cosmopolite [...] m’a ouvert l’esprit, non seulement sur la culture de la Grande Bretagne, mais sur d’autres cultures en fait: la culture latine, la culture asiatique auxquelles je n’avais jamais été exposé à Lille”.

421 Original: “Je me souviens aussi de cet expert d’IBM avec son turban sur la tête... Je l’avais d’abord pris pour un homme de ménage. Un réflexe complètement français qui place automatiquement les gens venus d’ailleurs en bas de l’échelle” (This demonstrates the social embeddedness of discrimination in France, permeating the very language itself, unbeknown, it seems, to the author).

and betraying his noetic adoption of the prevailing local mentality.

The final form of habituation to British and London culture is an appreciation for, if not a full understanding of, the endemic sense of humour which “permeates every aspect of English life” (Fox, 2014:78). For some, such as Séverine, the culturally-transposable humour of globally-renowned English comedians, such as Benny Hill and Monty Python, which regularly occupied the sitting rooms of hundreds. of thousands of French households during the 1970s and 80s, with “Charlot”⁴²² preceding it generations before, and Mr Bean succeeding it in more recent years, served as a distinct migratory pull-factor. “I’ve always been fascinated by England”, she explains, “beginning when I was a teenager through some “cheap comedy” programmes; I soon became interested in English humour which I found endearing, so [...] I was drawn to English very early on.”^{423 424} The highly visual, therefore transportable, and carefully-crafted absurdity of these British comedy shows was both intriguing and appealing for Séverine, as experienced in her secondary habitus. Constituting a refreshing alternative to the predominant television culture of the French habitat at the time, which favoured the polar extremes of serious (political, current affairs or literary) discourse and cheap variety programming, leaving little airtime for anything other than sensational and purportedly insular news broadcasting, these eccentric, self-mocking figures, were at once strangely foreign and strangely familiar. They contrasted starkly with the “fantasy world” (Sprio, 2013:168) of television in France and Italy (for both are strikingly alike) and offered an escape from the “constant game shows disguised as family entertainment, that last on average three hours at a time, [...] pitched against the gritty reality that is the Italian [and French] news programme” (ibid.). Whilst for Sprio’s Italian migrants this audiovisual diet acted (albeit ineffectively) as a transnational anchor, for Séverine, it caused her to value the cultural capital of the idealised “Other”. That is, the risible authenticity and substance of the British comedians were seen to outstrip the superficial style of the French thinkers and performers in terms of attractiveness, and sparked cultural curiosity in the mind of Séverine, keen to understand more profoundly the society of which these eccentric characters were a product. Antoine, having lived in London for 22 years, has

422 The fact that Charlie Chaplin has a diminutive (Charlot) in French exemplifies the extent to which he has penetrated the collective imagination and memory of the population.

423 Original: “J’ai toujours eu une fascination pour l’Angleterre, à commencer pendant mon adolescence à travers un certain nombre de programmes “cheap comedy”; je me suis très vite intéressée à l’humour anglais que j’ai trouvé attractif, et donc [...] je me suis très vite dirigée vers l’anglais.”

424 Séverine’s identification of a link between an initial encounter with English culture mediated through televised comedy acting as a pull factor for her subsequent migration serves to substantiate the “mobility capital” theory proposed by Murphy-Lejeune (2002) and Carlson (2011).

now achieved such an understanding, appreciating the irony and Britishness of the sense of humour: “Humour is different in both countries; self-deprecation is very, very English and it’s very funny. It’s a funny take, kind of like a double-take, being able to make fun of oneself”. This is a disposition explored at length by Fox (2014) who dedicates an entire subsection to *The Self-deprecation Rule*, and observes that “the humour of English self-deprecation, like that of the English understatement, is understated, often to the point of being almost imperceptible – and bordering on incomprehensible to those unfamiliar with English modesty rules” (2014:94-5). Indeed, North American ethnographer, Katherine Smith, was faced with one such hurdle when conducting fieldwork in Greater Manchester, where she, being unfamiliar with the rules of the game in the local field, was unable to distinguish between irony and earnestness (in spite of having successfully adopted the vernacular): the “comment seemed to me to be an attempt to have a barter, but I was not sure” (2012:39). This renders Antoine’s appraisal of the sense of humour found in the diasporic field yet more perceptive, demonstrating a tacit form of cultural habituation to its subtleties others have not yet acquired, and in so doing a degree of incorporation (objective and subjective) tantamount perhaps to the length of his settlement in London (22 years).

In contrast to Antoine’s integration, Sadia measures her lack of a genuine affinity with non-French London friends in terms of their slightly “Other” senses of humour: “I haven’t really made that many friends where we really click, like, really 100%, the same sense of humour”.⁴²⁵ She perceives her awareness of their distinctive approaches to, and interpretations of, the comical as an invisible, yet wholly tangible, barrier to sincere, spontaneous and deeply implicit friendship (akin to the “invisible cultural normalcy” tacitly imposed by those whose humour belongs to a shared dominant group (Tyler, 2003:401)). Smith also underscores the validity of Sadia’s sentiments in her assertion that an inability to engage in a common sense of humour “leaves individuals in a specific position that may remain liminal, if not ‘outside’ of most group relationships” (2012:153). As a result, Sadia is actively seeking French friends with whom she can share a habituated, pre-reflexive humour, understood through the affinity of their shared cultural (French) habitus, even going so far as to place a classified advertisement to that effect in a London-French newspaper. This is not only indicative of her desire for French companionship, and hence an opportunity to intercommunicate the experiences and points of reference of the primary/secondary habitus among like-minded individuals, but equally of her *not* having grown habituated to the English sense of humour and its cultural intricacies, in spite of having lived in the country

425 Original: “Je n’ai pas rencontré énormément d’amies avec qui ça le fait vraiment, quoi, vraiment à 100 %, le même humour”.

for 12 years, being married to an Englishman and the mother of three, officially English, and undeniably Anglophone, children. This is arguably also the case among Block's French interviewees, the most Anglophile of whom, and ostensibly "integrated", "professed to having few if any English friends" (2006:132).

A similar phenomenon is identifiable in Brigitte's and Laura's cases. In both accounts, their reflections on the light-hearted trigger profound statements relating to their positioning within the migratory field, their sentiment of not entirely belonging, of not possessing the cultural wherewithal (dispositions), to do so, and their desire to maintain secure links with people connected to their original habitat as a consequence. This sensation of exclusion following an incapacity to be included in the jape, would appear to be a common trait among migrants from a variety of cultural backgrounds, as Noble's *Lebanese* informant exemplifies: "What used to make me feel out of place is when jokes are said and I wasn't able to catch the humour" (2013:349). In order to overcome this exclusion, Brigitte, a neuroscientist in a leading London university, explains how her jovial email exchanges with a London-French colleague release the pressures of both her professional activities and her uncomfortable place in the humour-filled social structures of the migration field, a function borne out by Smith (2012:147). In Brigitte's words:

I like English humour, when I get it – because it took me a while. Now and then I realise I still haven't quite got it yet. [...] Sometimes I just need to have a laugh during the day; that's when I'm so happy I've got my friend up on the eighth floor. We send each other silly messages, we have the same points of reference [...]. It like relaxes me. But sometimes there'll be a thing, a joke, that comes to you, and you'll try to explain it, and it will fall completely flat, and then you feel very, very alone in the world. I must say I miss that, being with people who have same reference points.⁴²⁶

While she appreciates English humour, she, like Sadia, is not habituated to it. On the contrary, she is painfully aware of the intercultural shortcomings present in her amicable relationships with non-French friends. Her failed attempts at sharing a joke, due to the habitus discrepancy between the parties (Draitser, 1998:9), leave her feeling intensely isolated. Counterbalancing the sociocultural exclusion experienced, however, is the

426 Original: "J'aime bien l'humour anglais, quand je le saisis, parce qu'il m'a fallu quand même un temps; et d'ailleurs, parfois je me rends compte que je ne le saisis pas tout à fait encore. [...] Des fois, rire, j'en ai besoin, dans la journée, et là, qu'est-ce que je suis contente d'avoir mon amie qui est au huitième là-haut, et on s'envoie des conneries, on a les mêmes références [...]. Ça me détend, quoi. Mais parfois on a un truc qui nous vient à l'esprit et on essaie de l'exprimer, et c'est une blague, et ça tombe complètement à l'eau, et on se sent très, très seule au monde. Ça, c'est vrai que ça me manque [...] d'avoir les gens qui ont les mêmes références."

reassuring complicity of her light-hearted, habituated exchanges with individuals whose habitus has been formed by similar (French) influences and, crucially, a common “mother” tongue. Cardena & Littlewood (2006:285) emphasise the role humour plays in the formation of a social identity, but Cohen (2000:163) goes further, foregrounding the importance of the national dimension, proposing “that perhaps the sense of a shared humour, or of common ability to appreciate the language and the imagery, is precisely what the sense of nationhood is about” (both cited in Smith, 2012:138). In Laura’s account below, the relevance of *language* is also underlined, being considered vital to accessing humour, and, by extension, genuine friendships in the diasporic field. Unlike Brigitte, but in keeping with Sadia, she appears not to have found a London-French counterpart to relieve the strain of relocation and the ensuing sensation of dislocation from her pre-established network of friends:

Actually, the big problem when trying to make English friends is that I’m not bilingual. As soon as you try to make a joke, as soon as you enter into the realm of affinity, of nuance and so on, not mastering the language is difficult, so I seem to end up having conversations based on everyday matters, which is very boring. You can’t get into the banter, or make a little aside or an innuendo... After a while, that’s what I missed, it’s also why it would be nice to go home.⁴²⁷

The linguistic and cultural limitations of being a migrant in a foreign context are a major social handicap of which Laura is acutely and regretfully aware. Since “jokes themselves are not necessarily external to the individual but part of the positioning and identifications of the individual in social contexts” (Smith, 2012:158), in other words, an objectified expression of subjective habitus within the social field, the immutability of Laura’s originary comedic dispositions places her irrevocably in the position of outsider within the migratory field. The linguistic limitations set by the primary/secondary habitus are also paramount in her “disconnected” positioning: incapable of matching her wit with the adequate English words to express it, Laura has no true English friends and is compelled to interact with members of the “host” community in an eternally mundane and thus deeply frustrating manner. Rather than humour filling the social spheres of the migration setting with a positive force, it appears instead to be creating a void. Brigitte’s and Laura’s reflections on the role of humour in their migrant trajectories have given rise to painful and

427 Original: “En fait, le gros problème pour se faire des amis anglais, c’est que je ne suis pas bilingue. Dès qu’on fait de l’humour, dès que l’on rentre dans la connivence, dans la nuance etc., ne pas maîtriser la langue, c’est difficile, donc après, j’ai l’impression d’avoir une conversation très basée sur le quotidien, ce qui est très chiant. On ne peut pas être dans le Tac-O-Tac, dans la petite blague, dans l’allusion... Au bout d’un moment, c’est ça qui me manquait, c’est pour ça aussi que ça serait agréable de rentrer.”

shared realisations of loss, or “hiraeth”, triggered by the probing of the researcher (Birch & Miller, 2000:189). Testifying to the commonness of the humour “non-habituation” phenomenon, their accounts are uncannily close lexically. They both employ the verb “manquer”, meaning to miss, and therefore *to be missing*, and they both become aware that they miss the cultural belonging that the habituated humour of the originary habitus brings,⁴²⁸ perceiving the shared points of reference to be lacking in, missing from, their adopted “home”. In turn, they gain a rare sense of their “fish-out-of water” state (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), to such an extent that Laura defines her lack of comedic finesse as the reason why she would like to “go home”. Could humour, therefore, somewhat paradoxically, be the ultimate trigger for homesickness, a dormant homesickness of which the individuals have hitherto been unaware?

Countering the incompleteness and dislocation evoked by Laura and Brigitte, however, Charles conceptualises humour as a dispositional aspect of the “host” culture to be re-appropriated in France:

I think in France [we could learn] the sense of humour, the British sense of self-deprecation. I find that humour is always nasty in France, aggressive at the expense of other people. I think the English have a sense of self-deprecation that the French don't have at all. Generally speaking, the French like to mock other people, but not themselves.⁴²⁹

Like Antoine, Charles notes the prevalence of self-ridicule as an accepted form of humour in the migration context, but takes the observation one stage further, placing it in diametric opposition to habitual articulations of humour in the originary field. According to Charles, it is more characteristic of Franco-French culture to ridicule others than oneself, which resonates with Laura's explanation for impoliteness on French roads, resulting from drivers' inevitable feeling of foolishness upon the slightest demonstration of magnanimity. Indeed, Charles perceives the English sense of humour, and most notably its propensity for self-mockery, as the single most important lesson the French can learn from their cross-Channel counterparts, which is related to the final element of the habitus triad, that of habits and their cultural dynamics. Thus, in the following chapter, it is the extent to which my research

428 Although neither proffered this as an answer to my earlier question specifically related to the aspects of France / home they missed most.

429 Original: “Je pense que [l'on pourrait apprendre] le sens de l'humour, le sens de l'auto-dérision britannique, en France. En France, je trouve qu'on a un humour qui est toujours méchant, qui est agressif aux dépens de l'autre. Je pense que les Anglais ont un sens de l'auto-dérision qui n'est pas du tout quelque chose qu'ont les Français. De manière générale, les Français aiment bien se moquer des autres, mais pas d'eux-mêmes.”

participants have transposed their originary habits to their new habitat or, conversely, adopted new, local habits, which will serve as the principal focus.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the notion of habituation – fundamental to Bourdieu’s concept of habitus and distinguishing the construct from merely habits or habitat – has been assessed in three distinctive frameworks. The first of these is the manner in which habituation materialises as a form of accustomisation to the diasporic space, making it a place where participants feel increasingly “at home”, at the expense of belonging to the originary habitat. Secondly, habituation has taken on significance as a form of embodiment, with my informants bearing witness to their evolving outlooks, attitudes and expectations, having incorporated certain values and characteristics of the “host” culture. Finally, habituation has, for some, emerged as a forceful reminder of the immutability of the originary habitus, particularly with respect to humour, whereby pre-reflexive, shared comedic codes have strengthened ties between members of London’s French community, all the while inhibiting full integration into, and of, the “host” culture. This perhaps is the sentiment Sayad was attempting to capture through his reference to a “double absence” (1999) amongst migrants: not a geographical absence from both “home” and “host” spaces, but an experiential absence, habituated rhetorical devices and references points missing from interactions with non-French Londoners, leaving the participants as absent parties in humoristic exchanges, and simultaneously being an inherited form of habituation missed profoundly vis-à-vis the originary habitat, hence triggering an unanticipated sense of longing. It is this unforeseen, undetectable nature of habituation that both defines it and constitutes its potency.

Going largely unnoticed in the dynamic relationship between habits and habitat, that which all three of these habituation processes have in common, therefore, is their indiscernible creep. Having gradually taken hold of my participants over the course of their prolonged immersion in the London habitat, it was only upon objective reflection during our conversations that these deeply subjective changes to habits inherited in the originary habitat, and constituting defining components of their heritage, became apparent. The imperceptibility of alterations to engrained practices and perspectives has thus been the focus of this chapter, whereas the emphasis of the next shall be on the participants’ externalised habits themselves.

CHAPTER 6
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INTRODUCTION

The last two chapters examined the objective habitat dimension of habitus and the subjective habituation element thereof. This chapter bridges the gap between these two ostensibly dichotomous articulations, by concentrating on the habits of my London-French participants. Their habits can be conceptualised as occupying the dynamic space between the objective and subjective migratory experience of home, since they are performed at the intersection of pre-reflexive thought and externalised practices. Indeed, dictionary definitions of the term emphasise this dynamic function: habit is described as “something that you do often, and regularly, sometimes without knowing that you are doing it” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2017) and as “an automatic reaction to a specific situation” (English Oxford Dictionaries, 2017). By observing habitus through the prism of habits, it is possible to gain a more nuanced understanding of home as played out through the participants’ actions within, and reactions to, the diasporic field. Drawing a physical connection to the objectivised habitats observed in Chapter 4, it is habits fundamental to the daily lives and corporeal experiences of my research participants, related to eating, drinking and health, which shall therefore be scrutinised. This will enable the ascertainment of whether their habits have been transformed by prolonged immersion in the migratory field, or whether the engrained habits of the primary habitus prevail and remain “automatic” despite the external influences.

6.1 THE EATING PRACTICES AND RITUALS OF THE LONDON FRENCH: “We always eat at the dining table, never in front of the TV”

Although it is conceded that habits cannot serve as a substitute for habitus owing to the latter’s dynamic, self-generative dimensions (Bourdieu, 2005:46)⁴³⁰ and its positioning at the interface of inner and outer, or subjective and objective, existence,⁴³¹ because “[h]abitus is constituted in practice” (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005:22), habits necessarily provide a window onto those taken-for-granted mores and dispositions representative of a community. As these habits evolve, so they mirror the evolving, reinvented – “within limits” (Bourdieu, 2005:46) – habitus of my participants. “Whereas the field can be described as the objectified state of

430 The very fact, however, that Bourdieu feels the need to justify the difference between habit and habitus (Bourdieu, 1980a:88, 2005:46; Grenfell, 2012:55; Jourdain & Naulin, 2011:38) serves to substantiate the conceptual ambiguity between the two.

431 The decision to place the “habituation” chapter of this thesis prior to the “habits” chapter was a reasoned one, the rationale being to foreground the subject-object existential duality of the habitus concept before considering the “performances that coalesce” (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005:406) to constitute it.

process, habitus is the embodied state, existing across time as sets of dispositions that generate performances that coalesce into *regular* but *evolving* social *practices*” (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005:406; my italics) and “[a]s contexts and cultures change, so do habituses” (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005:401). Thus, upon sustained exposure to the new field of the migration context, the London French may begin to adopt the socio-cultural practices widely present in the field, enacted subjectively as habits.

Food, as discussed in Chapter 4, is a physical element of the originary French habitat that many choose, or feel a desire, even a compulsion, to transfer from their native land and reposition in the diasporic habitat. Specific brands and goods, such as *Ricoré*, *Poulain* chocolate, *Teisseire menthe* and *grenadine*, home-made preserves and so forth, have been cited as examples. However, this desire to own and (subjectively) incorporate components of the habitat of origin in the diasporic context does not, by the same token, equate to a refusal on the part of the migrants to espouse the eating habits of London. On the contrary, François and Sarah alone report maintaining a typically French diet. The former, quantifies his cooking habits in the following manner: “80% French, 10% Italian cuisine, because it’s quick to make, and a good little 10% of Indian cuisine; I learnt that here;”⁴³² while the latter, who cooks only French food, but whose Chilean husband adds his cultural background to the culinary habits of the household, is emphatic in her denigration of English eating practices, bemoaning the fact that English Londoners do not invite friends to dinner because: “One: it’s not in their culture, they’re not in the habit of doing so; two: in my opinion they don’t know how to cook as well as us; and three: it’s of less interest to them, food is less important for them.”⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ It is pertinent here that Sarah (unwittingly) conceptualises her personal views/experience in Bourdieusian habitus terms, distinguishing her own eating practices *in relation to* the perceived “habits” and “culture” of London society (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005),⁴³⁵ only through comparisons within the diasporic field do her own habitus practices emerge as superior, and hence voluntarily immutable. She goes on to say that “in

432 Original: “80% français, 10% cuisine italienne, parce que c’est rapide à faire, et un bon petit 10% de cuisine indienne; j’ai appris ça ici.”

433 Sarah’s persistent use of the lexical items “they” and “them” to refer to English members of the “host” society is telling, serving to differentiate herself and her habitus from that of the Other. It is also important to reiterate here the benefit of having conducted the interviews (bar one) in French, as this arguably allowed for more candid responses in respect to feelings towards the English.

434 Original: “Un: ils n’ont pas la *culture*, ils n’ont pas *l’habitude*; deux: ils savent moins cuisiner, à mon avis; et trois: ça les intéresse moins, la nourriture est moins importante pour eux.”

435 To exemplify the proximity, compare Sarah’s account with the words of Hillier & Rooksby: “Habitus [...] offers an insightful way of understanding social interactions. Actors’ behaviours will be related to their position *in the field*” (2005:23).

general [the English] don't know how to cook; that's not an impression, it's a fact. I haven't seen any progress as far as cuisine is concerned in the last 10 years here."⁴³⁶ Her somewhat damning assertions are, nevertheless, not voiced by the remaining participants, who describe how their culinary practices and tastes have evolved subsequent to their exposure to the multitude of ingredients, flavours and cultural traditions encountered in the London habitat, which they see as having evolved considerably since the turn of this century. Just as the English have fondly adopted Indian curry as a "national" dish, so London's French residents have grown accustomed to incorporating Britain's colonial history from the contents of their plates. Séverine explains how "every country in the world is represented culinarily in London. There are Ethiopian restaurants... Living in London is a real culinary adventure; it's not homogenous."⁴³⁷ She attributes the diversity and innovation found in the London restaurant scene both to the multiculturalism of the Capital and to English chefs' good fortune in being able to work from a clean slate, free from the burden of France's gastronomic heritage: "the English will play around flavours and colours, and will have less respect for traditional recipes. They allow themselves to venture into new, more original combinations".⁴³⁸ She, therefore, perceives French gastronomic tradition⁴³⁹ as a hindrance to creativity and change, just as Charles sees the French imperviousness to self-deprecation as a hurdle on the route to creativity in the arts, notably advertising, and others, such as Brigitte, Suzanne, Antoine (with the exception of the suburbs) and Séverine,⁴⁴⁰ interpret Paris's historic architectural assets as obstacles to innovation in the urban landscape, which

436 Original: "en général [les Anglais] ne savent pas cuisiner; ce n'est pas un sentiment, c'est une réalité. Je n'ai pas vu d'évolution au niveau de la cuisine ici dans les dernières 10 ans."

437 Original: "tous les pays du monde sont représentés culinairement à Londres. Il y a des restaurants éthiopiens... C'est une vraie aventure culinaire de vivre à Londres; ce n'est pas homogène."

438 Original: "les Anglais joueront avec les goûts, les couleurs, et auront moins de respect pour les recettes traditionnelles. Ils se permettent de s'aventurer vers des combinaisons nouvelles, plus originales."

439 Such a tradition was made official in November 2010, when the "Gastronomic Meal of the French" was formally inscribed on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

440 In her words, "London's in perpetual transformation. So, you never get bored because there are urban planning policies which are very aggressive, which would be impossible in Paris and which mean that people demolish and rebuild. Paris is a frozen city. [...] I find Paris very beautiful, I love the Sixteenth Arrondissement [...] but Paris hasn't changed, Paris hasn't renewed itself." [Original: "Londres est en perpétuelle transformation. Donc on ne s'y ennuie jamais parce qu'il y a quand même des politiques d'urbanisme qui sont très agressives, qui seraient impossible à Paris, qui font qu'on démolit, et on reconstruit. Paris est une ville figée. [...] Je trouve Paris très beau, j'aime beaucoup le sixième, [...] mais Paris n'a pas changé, Paris ne s'est pas renouvelé."

arguably has the effect of rendering its inhabitants less open to change and difference than their London counterparts.⁴⁴¹ The consequence of looking nostalgically backwards at a glorious past is a France that is struggling to look forward and embrace the future. It is perhaps this comparative dynamism that constitutes London's greatest appeal among the young French (and Italian) migrants whose lives lie ahead of them.

When asked which London restaurants they prefer, answers such as "A Greek restaurant called Gini, where I ate an onion soup made by a Swedish woman that was the best I'd ever eaten, even in France" (Suzanne);⁴⁴² or "a Lebanese restaurant" ("un restaurant libanais", Suzanne); "Sketch, in Conduit Street" (François); "not necessarily French, we like Japanese food, we go to the Spanish restaurant nearby, it varies" (Chantal);⁴⁴³ "on Friday I ate Vietnamese, on Saturday, it was a gastro-pub, but it seemed more French to me, and yesterday, Lebanese. [...] I like everything, I like to keep it varied. Italian – I go all the time" (Brigitte);⁴⁴⁴ "pub lunches, fish and chips [...], Indian, Asian, Lebanese restaurants [...] it's not particularly French" (Robert); "Tokyo Diner restaurant in Soho" (Miranda); "the local Indian" (Bruno);⁴⁴⁵ "St John's, it's very English. It's a French joke that there's no good food in London, so I take [French visitors] there and they find there's something different" (Antoine); "my favourite restaurant in London is an English restaurant [...] St John's" (Brice).⁴⁴⁶ It is clear from the variety of restaurants and national cuisines cited by the different participants, that the eating habits and tastes of many French Londoners have evolved since moving to the capital. Online evidence also suggests such culinary transformation, with many London-French blogs dedicating considerable proportions of their "diasberspace" to reinvented cooking habits (as discussed further in Chapter 10). The names of the blogs alone are telling in this respect, for instance, Food for Thoughts; Teatime in Wonderland; Travels Around My Kitchen; or Pauline à la Crème anglaise⁴⁴⁷ (all of which

441 This is also noted by the Italian migrants examined in King et al.'s study: "Italy is an old society folded in on itself" (2014:20), which echoes Suzanne's words exactly: "France, Paris, seems folded in on itself" [Original: "la France, Paris, paraît replié sur lui-même"].

442 Original: "un restaurant grec qui s'appelle Gini, où j'ai mangé une soupe à l'oignon faite par une Suédoise qui était la meilleure que je n'ai jamais mangée de ma vie, même en France."

443 Original: "Sketch, à Conduit Street" and "pas forcément français, on aime bien la nourriture japonaise, on va au restaurant espagnol à côté, on change."

444 Original: "vendredi j'ai fait vietnamien, samedi, c'était un gastro-pub, mais je trouvais que c'était plutôt français, et hier libanais. [...] J'aime tout, j'aime bien varier. Italien, j'y vais tout le temps."

445 Originals: "les 'pub lunches', 'fish and chips' [...], des restaurants indiens, asiatiques, libanais [...] ce n'est pas particulièrement français" (Robert); "le restaurant Tokyo Diner à Soho" (Miranda); "l'indien du coin" (Bruno).

446 Original: "mon restaurant préféré à Londres c'est un restaurant anglais [...] St John's."

447 "Pauline with custard".

are archived in the London French Special Collection). Most surprising, perhaps, is that the blogs tend not to be intent on introducing French recipes to a potentially English audience, nor are they predominantly in keeping with the Asian and Lebanese tastes favoured above, rather they celebrate traditional *English* dishes, in particular, desserts. As Pauline (*à la Crème anglaise*) writes in her Welcome section, the “blog is about my love affair with British food, and my adventures as a French expat tackling traditional British baking” (Pauline, no date), which places the emphasis on the *process*, that is, the practice of baking British food and the adoption of the habit, rather than on cakes as products. This recalls the value placed on the *process* of food preparation highlighted by Miller (2001) and Petridou (2001), and is central to the inclusion of the French gastronomic meal on the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage list, where “enjoying the *process* of choosing recipes, shopping for the best products [and] cooking together” (UNESCO, 2010) are cited as integral elements of the meal. Jacqueline, a 42-year-old Franco-Canadian who has lived in London for 19 years also bears witness to this fascination for the preparation of English sweets during our interview, singling out making “sticky-toffee pudding” as a preferred adopted habit, which complements the Victoria Sponge, flapjacks, shortbread and scones evidenced in the blogs. Furthermore, the relatively recent cross-Channel migration of English (and American) sweet classics to French dining tables in France, notably “le crumble”, “le cheesecake”, “les muffins” and “les brownies”, suggests that the tide is turning as regards France’s influence as the culinary super-power of the world and that in our globalised, networked age, the French population is beginning to open up to external cultures, tastes and eating habits.

Indeed, conducting a short experiment using Google’s <.fr> domain search engine and pre-emptive technology,⁴⁴⁸ which allows the big data to speak for itself (as advocated by Kitchin, 2014:131, and Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier, 2013:55), and thus triangulates the “thick” (Geertz, 1973:7) empirical data under analysis, the influence of English/North American desserts on the culinary and broader social fields of France is illustrated. Taking the examples provided above (and ensuring that the preferred language is set as French and each cake is preceded by the French definite article, in order to minimize the risk of English Web resources skewing the results), “le cheesecake” generated approximately 46,800,000 results, with the auto-proposed “comment faire le cheesecake” appearing as one of the first pre-emptive options, which, as has been discussed above, places the emphasis on the process as opposed to the product. “Le muffin” came second in quantitative terms, generating approximately 15,100,000 hits; “le brownie” third, with roughly 11,900,000, while “le

448 In the spirit of the three-stage field analytic model prescribed by Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Grenfell, 2012; Jenkins, 2002).

crumble” generated 3,110,000, with “fait il grossir” (“is it fattening”) being one of the initial proposed searches, perhaps indicating anxiety on the part of French home-bakers preparing English desserts that they risk embodying⁴⁴⁹ the UK and US obesity typology (both nations being global forerunners in this respect).⁴⁵⁰ The sheer quantitative scale of this “raw” data and the focus of many results on baking *methods* provide an objective affirmation of the growing adoption of “Anglo-Saxon” eating habits in the Francophone world. By way of comparison, a search, according to the same criteria, for “le spotted dick”, observed to be less well-known in France, delivered only 166,000 results, the majority of which were definitions and explanations, rather than *practical* instructions, which confirms the relatively widespread behavioural and cultural impact of the other desserts. The fact that “le cheesecake” produced 15 times more results than “le crumble”, for example, could be attributable to its dual UK-US nationality, thereby doubling its potential popularity, appealing to both Anglo- and “Americano”-philes, not to mention French Canadians. It is also possible, however, that the inclusion of cheesecake and crumble on an increasing number of restaurant (and “English/Irish” pub⁴⁵¹) menus in France, and as desserts in the 2015 grand final of the popular television series, *Qui Sera le Prochain grand pâtissier?*,⁴⁵² has caused the traditional “Anglo-Saxon” cheesecake and English crumble to enter the collective imagination of the nation, hence subliminally altering eating habits.

Likewise the success of English celebrity chefs, such as Jamie Oliver and Gordon Ramsay, both regular features on French television (with their respective *Naked Chef* and *Kitchen Nightmare* series, among others), as well as in the physical habitat, Ramsay⁴⁵³ having opened restaurants in Paris and Bordeaux, and Oliver having published no less than 23 recipe books with French publisher Hachette, some of which have a distinctly “Anglo-

449 Interview data confirms the concern that the adoption of “Anglo-Saxon” eating habits will result in undesired bodily transformation, hence a transformation of self-image, and arguably of identity, of embodied Englishness, with Paulette noting that she gained 10 kilos when a student in the UK, as discussed in Chapter 3, and François remarking that “when you see the *corps de ballet* at the Royal Opera House, oh my god, [...] there’s one whose weight is almost – not obese – but I haven’t seen that anywhere else in the world” [Original: “quand on voit le corps de ballet du Royal Opéra, oh mon dieu, [...] il y en a une qui a presque un poids qui est – pas obèse – mais j’ai vu ça nulle part dans le monde”].

450 In 2013, the US was ranked 20th worldwide, with 66% of the population being registered obese or overweight; in the UK the respective figures were 31st and 62%; with France, by comparison, ranking 105th with 49% (IHME, 2014).

451 See Kelly (2016).

452 France’s dessert-based equivalent to Britain’s *Professional Masterchef*, or *Bake Off: Crème de la Crème*, reaching 2.3 million homes when first aired on leading State television channel, France 2, on 28 July 2015 (Boucher, 2015).

453 Adopted by the French nation to such an extent that he was described in *Slate* as “practically French” [Original: “Gordon Ramsay est quasiment français”] (Michel, 2014).

Saxon” theme: *l’Amérique de Jamie* (2010); *So British* (2012); *Burgers, Barbecues et Salades* (2012); *Desserts* (2012); *Curry* (2013); and most recently, *Comfort Food* (2015), is another indication of the increasing impact of English eating habits in the French social field. An additional prominent UK figure in the French mediated culinary field is Trish Deseine, a Northern Irish migrant in Paris since the 1980s (and the South of France since 2014), who, like Ramsay and Oliver, has promoted “authentic” British recipes across the Channel in regular (sweet) features in *French Elle* magazine, as well as in twelve best-selling and award-winning French-language cookery books, most notably *Je veux du chocolat* (2002, which has sold over 400,000 copies).⁴⁵⁴ In contrast to her aforementioned male counterparts, however, Deseine’s French cookery books and articles were conceived for a *French* audience (rather than originally targeting a UK audience and subsequently being *translated* into French); it is possible, therefore, that she offers her French readership a less “authentic” version of the dishes she champions than Oliver and Ramsay, but she could be more successful at connecting with her readers culturally, and refashioning the dishes according to *their* expectations and desires, thus making her cultural transposition of English eating habits a more compelling one for the French audience. Epitomising cultural dynamics in action and the theory of transnationalism “as a system of networks, institutions, and relationships that connects people in host and receiving countries, including those who are not migrants” (Schmitter Heisler, 2008:96, citing Portes et al., 1999; and Levitt, 2001), mediated on this occasion through televised broadcasting, Deseine has also broadcast several series for *Irish* television, *Trish’s Paris Kitchen*, *Trish’s Country Kitchen* and *Trish’s Mediterranean Kitchen*, which transpose visual depictions of fractal elements and practices from her adopted *migratory* Paris and Languedoc-Roussillon field/habitus to her *originary* “home” audience, in an inversion of the aforesaid model. These international exchanges therefore constitute something of a circular relationship, rather than a bipartite one. Irrespective of the transnational directionality, all three chefs, through the very publication of recipes, themselves an immaterial reconstitution of practices – in paper or televised form – transform field habits from one cultural setting into those to be emulated by others from diverse and distinctive habituses, for, in the words of Parkhurst Ferguson, “Cooking turns the raw into the cooked, and writing transforms the cooked into the cultural. By enunciating cultural practices, values, norms, culinary texts instill [sic] the consciousness that turns cuisine into a full-fledged cultural product” (2004:22). All three cooks⁴⁵⁵ also represent a

454 Source: <http://www.trishdeseine.com/> [Accessed 30 July 2015].

455 Whether Maïté should be defined as a cook or a chef is a matter for debate, as the superficially trivial lexical distinction between chef and cook carries deeper implications. Bourdieu tackled the gendered subtext in *La Domination masculine* (1998), exploring the

significant departure from their French regionally-embedded predecessors, such as “Maïté”⁴⁵⁶ (Marie-Thérèse Ordonez) from the Landes in South West France, whose regional identity was embodied through her pronounced accent, stereotypical media pseudonym and the local dishes she popularised on French national television throughout the 1980s and 90s. Perhaps crystallising her decline in popularity in the French social field and a reorientation of the public imagination *away* from the regional, *towards* the “Anglo-Saxon”, which in turn bears witness to the new valuation and directionality of the flows of culinary cultural capital, her Dax restaurant, Chez Maïté, was declared bankrupt in 2015 (Bosio, 2015).

Although the London French interviewed for this study generally report having different tastes today than upon their arrival in London, representing, therefore, that which could be termed “gustative acculturation”, the *habits* that surround the ritual of eating appear to be more enduring. Brice, for example, explains how he appreciates taking time over his lunch and leaving his work premises in order to savour it – a habit typical in France, where it is commonplace to have a two-hour lunch break, even at school, with children habitually being served four courses – but in practice having a sandwich in haste is a more regular occurrence for him. There seems, in this case, to be a tension between his desires, embedded in his past, and his everyday experience, embedded in his present, hence susceptible to the impact of the norms and tacit expectations that surround him in the diasporic setting. The discrepancy between Brice’s discourse and practices again recalls the disparity between the classlessness rhetoric of the British community in Spain and the practical reality of the social field, where distinctions were unequivocally present and observed (Oliver & O’Reilly, 2010:11). Chantal, a stay-at-home mother, originally from Paris, nonetheless describes her family’s eating habits with candid accuracy. Among all my participants, Chantal, living in a large Georgian terraced house in affluent Kensington, and financially comfortable enough to need not make use of her extensive institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1979a:1) (i.e. prestigious qualifications), conforms most closely to the French-community stereotype. Her habitat and habits are decidedly of the “French snail” (Roudaut, 2009) typology, that is,

alchemistic status mobility that takes place when the terms are interchanged. Parkhurst Ferguson takes the analysis further, differentiating between cooking as “material culinary production” (2004: 21), associated with domesticity (hence femininity), and cuisine as “an intellectualized, aestheticized culinary product” (ibid.), associated with the professional kitchen (hence masculinity) and all the intertextual discourse that surrounds it. In other words, “Cooking gives us food for thought; cuisine offers thoughts for food” (ibid.).

456 Maïté was ranked among the twelve most popular television personalities of the 1990s (Iriarte, 2015), in contrast to Trish Deseine, who appeared in French Vogue’s 40 most popular women of the decade in 2012 (Vogue Paris, 2012). This is another indication of the shift away from the domestic and regional, to a more open embracing of inter/transnational figures, foods and practices.

a transposition of the objectified dispositions and practices of her French habitat, as such, she recounts living almost entirely according to the French model, eating later than the British norm, unlike “[French] children in English boarding schools [who] find they eat too early.”⁴⁵⁷

Laura is also of the “French snail” ilk in that she is part of the French community in Clapham that has developed around the Wix primary school (a branch of the Lycée Français) and plays out the eating rituals⁴⁵⁸ of her habitus of origin with instinctive fidelity. As we speak in an airy South Clapham café on a warm, late-spring afternoon, we are interrupted more than once by other French Londoners exchanging polite conversation with her (in French), as they enter to purchase French comestibles of their own. Like Chantal, perhaps they too emulate Laura’s eating habits, whereby “we live in a completely French way: we eat mainly organic, we eat fruit and vegetables, we don’t eat ready-meals, there are no sweets in the house, we drink water from a jug at the table. That’s the kind of thing, stuff French people do. We always eat at the dining table, never in front of the TV.”⁴⁵⁹ Her words recall those of return migrant, Marie, who lived in Wandsworth some forty years ago and whose then husband appreciated the sociality of eating together as a family *à la française*, at the dining table, as opposed to transfixed before a television screen: “Back then they [the English] tended to eat on the sofa in front of the telly, and I’d always eat at the dining table because I’m a proper Frenchwoman. And my husband used to like it because it is sociable after all.”⁴⁶⁰ It is important to note that being “outsiders”, or leading an “existence [which] is an inside outness” (Noble, 2013:349), being accepted members of the social field, yet possessing a habitus not entirely congruous with it, the French participants who have

457 Original: “les enfants [français] dans les ‘boarding schools’ anglaises [qui] trouvent qu’on mange trop tôt le soir.”

458 Indeed, it is this notion of the *ritual* which is foregrounded by the UNESCO recording of the Gastronomic Meal of the French as part of humanity’s intangible heritage. Rather than it being per se “about eating, it is a highly ritualised affair [...] a social custom that ritualises the pleasure of being together” and is acted out in homes across France according to strict “ceremonial” codes of practice (Source: <https://youtu.be/6nKBBb72J4k>, accessed 31/07/2015). However, it is such a quotidian and taken-for-granted occurrence in the French social field and habitus (and one which eclipses class divisions), that the “gastronomic” label is somewhat ill-conceived and unrepresentative of local terminology which places the “gastronomic” in a distinct social space divorced from the domestic sphere.

459 Original: “on vit complètement à la française: on mange plutôt ‘organique’, on mange des légumes et des fruits, on n’achète pas de plats préparés, il n’y a pas de bonbons à la maison, on boit de l’eau cantonnée à table. Voilà, des trucs de Français. On mange toujours à table, jamais devant la télé.”

460 Original: “À l’époque on [les Anglais] mangeait plutôt sur le canapé devant la télé, et moi j’ai toujours mangé à table parce que je suis une bonne Française. Et mon mari aimait bien parce que c’est convivial quand même.”

mentioned English eating habits in these terms (Marie was not alone in her assertion) fail to appreciate the class distinctions present in the English social field.⁴⁶¹ To quote Bourdieu, habitus “forms specific preferences for a more or less adequate use of habitat” (Friedmann, 2005:331, endnote 8, quoting Bourdieu, 1991), which, if “adequate” is understood to mean “tasteful”, suggests specific practices, dispositions and tastes relative to distinct groups, or a “unity of behaviour” (Bourdieu, 2005:44) between individuals within their habitat. Set in a position of “inside outness”, the view of the “host” society held by some of the participants in this study is a homogenising⁴⁶² one, which reduces subtle structures and practices related to specific social groupings into a uniform (stereo)typical model, since the *culturally* distinct habitus of the French prevents them from detecting the inconspicuous distinctions of practice⁴⁶³ present in the London field/habitus(es). For instance, eating at “five o’clock [...] off a tray in front of the telly” (Sadia)⁴⁶⁴ is arguably not a national habit, but a working class one, with the eating habits of “higher” echelons of the “host” society emulating those typical of France more generally. As Kron noted over a century ago, in London “simple or poor families cannot afford a stylish (late) dinner of half-a-dozen courses. They have to content themselves with a plain (early) dinner of one or two courses” (Kron, 1907). Thus, habits such as eating at the table, not watching television simultaneously, eating mid- to late-evening, perhaps having a starter or a salad course, drinking wine chosen to complement the food, and the food itself playing the role of discussion point, etc. (many of which are stipulated features of UNESCO’s Gastronomic Meal of France; UNESCO, 2010) are more related to class than culture in the English social field, unlike in France, where a predominantly agricultural heritage has permeated the habituses of the masses,⁴⁶⁵ resulting in quality local produce and an enjoyment in the ritual of eating constituting an everyday practice. Furthermore, judging by the lack of “genuine” friendships between the London French and “native” Londoners that emerged in the interviews, paper survey and caricatural

461 It should be noted that Bourdieu rejected the structuralist, top-down notion – or rather the terminology – of “class”, preferring instead to evaluate the social phenomenon precisely through the prism of distinctive practices and tastes, in order to reflect the (ontological) fact that individuals do not live in distinct (conceptual) classes, rather they embody and objectify their sociocultural differences through behaviour.

462 This upends the usual homogenising process observed on the part of host societies in relation to migrant communities (e.g. Sprio, 2013:20, footnote 65; Schmitter Heisler, 2008:90-1; King et al., 2014:10; Mata Codesal, 2008:9).

463 Explored at length with respect to French society in Bourdieu’s *La Distinction* (1979b).

464 Original: “cinq heures [...] devant la télé sur un plateau”.

465 The share of agriculture in the GDP of France and the UK is representative of this difference, with agriculture in France in 1970 equating to 7.5% of GDP, compared to only 2.9% in the UK; and in 2014, although in significant decline, France’s still more than doubled the UK’s, with 2.6%, and 1.7% respectively (*Les Echos*, 2015).

film, *Shit French People in London Say*,⁴⁶⁶ and also noted in the study of German, Italian and Latvian graduates in London (King et al., 2014), it is entirely plausible that the French (who are not in an intimate relationship with an English (wo)man) have “very little contact with English people” (King et al., 2014:15) and therefore very little experience of the practices prevalent in London households. This leaves them socioculturally ill-equipped to pass judgements regarding domesticised “host” habits and consequently more likely to make stereotypical assertions. Similarly, it is sometimes difficult, owing to linguistic habitus and insufficient linguistic capital in the diasporic field, for my research participants to draw regional or socioeconomic conclusions from subtle inflections in the accents of “native” speakers of English, which can – unbeknown to them – result in them adopting an idiolect in English representative of a socio-economic class at odds with their primary habitus.

It is not, however, solely the content of the meals, their timing, and the spaces and furniture within the home that distinguish French eating habits from the perceived London norm. Their ritualistic formality extends further into materialised habits; for example, Bruno will drink wine only from a wineglass. For him, drinking wine from a tumbler removes a significant aspect of the ceremonial pleasure from the experience. In this sense, the object transcends its superficial functionality and incorporates an affective symbolism reminiscent of that referred to by Leach (2005) as “the process of identification which involves a twofold mechanism of grafting symbolic meaning onto an object and then reading oneself into that object, and seeing one’s *values* reflected in it” (2005:305). The vessel used is thus intrinsically connected to the subject’s experience of the act of ingesting the liquid and the value he places on that process, itself imbibed with cultural meaning as an element of the individual’s fractal (and ritualistic) habitus of origin within the broader collective field, as discussed in Chapter 4. In other words, an insistence on a wine glass is not a question of outward appearances or impressing one’s guests (Miller, 2001), as an English reader might suspect. Rather, for Bruno and other members of the community encountered, it is a matter of savouring the wine’s flavours, of doing the substance justice – another component of the “gastronomic meal of France” – and perhaps more compellingly, it is the effect of years of practice inherited from his father and generations before him, that is, the makings of culture and a shared sense of belonging.

466 In which the following exchange takes place: “You got any English friends?” “...No” [Original: “T’en as, toi, des amis anglais?” “...Non”] (Meard Street Productions, 2012).

6.2 DEEP-SEATED DRINKING DISPOSITIONS: “London’s a giant booze-up”

This leads to another recurrent theme in which customs in London are seen to be at variance with the autochthonous habits of my research participants, namely, drinking habits. The contrast between English and French drinking habits, expressed in material form by the wine-glass example above, acts as a leitmotif in the interviews. Although several interviewees refer to London’s pub culture in fond terms, for instance, Brigitte who exclaims “I love pubs, and what’s more I’d miss them a lot if I went back to France,”⁴⁶⁷ and the London practice of post-work drinks, “going for a drink *straight after* work is a very London thing to do,”⁴⁶⁸ as Sarah explains, many are critical of alcohol’s role as “an end in itself” (Antoine) and of the quantities consumed. This is by no means a recent or isolated objection; there are many historical and contemporary references to the unruly behaviour of the English caused by excessive alcohol consumption from both cultural “insiders” and “outsiders” (examples include The Pardoner’s Tale from Chaucer’s 14th-century *Canterbury Tales*; Shakespeare’s Sir Toby Belch in *Twelfth Night* or Porter in *Macbeth*; together with Fielding (1749[1985]); Fiévée (1802), cited by Carpenter, 2013; Tristan, (1840[2008]); Block (2006); Favell (2008a); Fox (2014); etc.). One especially relevant comment made by a German interviewee in King et al.’s 2014 study of graduate migrants in London unites both the argument (made above) for a certain ignorance on the part of many migrants regarding genuine host habits and confirms the popular belief that the English drink too much, and indeed purely as “an end in itself”: “I don’t know at all what English people do all day long, what they do in the evenings... apart from going to the pub and getting drunk” (King et al., 2014:15). This critique is a close reiteration of one made by Tristan some 175 years earlier, where the typical London man is described as being in haste to “finish with his chores of the day, not to go home, where he would have nothing to say to his wife or children, but in order to go to his club, where [...] he would get drunk” (1840[2008]:28).⁴⁶⁹ It also echoes the comments made by another German over a century earlier in a cultural textbook, *The Little Londoner: A concise account of the life and ways of the English, with special reference to London* (1901), for German secondary students of English (emulating *Le Petit Parisien*), in which London pubs are described as overflowing with inebriates and the city as the most noticeably drunken

467 Original: “j’adore le pub, et d’ailleurs ça me manquerait beaucoup si je retournais en France.”

468 Original: “aller boire un coup *directement* après le travail, c’est très londonien.”

469 Original: “en finir avec sa tâche du jour, non pour se rendre dans son intérieur, où il n’aurait rien à dire à sa femme ou à ses enfants, mais afin d’aller à son club, où [...] il s’enivrera.”

metropolis in Europe (Kron, 1901). Eighteenth-century images by Hogarth also add “insider” historical credibility to the current stereotype, as aptly-titled *Beer Street* (on the left) and *Gin Lane* (on the right) 1751 (Fig. 5) are explicit in their depiction of the negative effects of alcohol “as an end in itself” in the English social field, “not an accidental by-product of the evening’s entertainment, [but] the primary objective” (Fox, 2014:382). They are particularly interesting in their juxtaposition of the relative sociability of the practice of drinking *beer* at the “*pub*” (echoing Brigitte’s account, and demonstrated visually through the facial expressions of the revellers, their jovial disposition, relatively healthy, well-heeled appearance and lack of need for a pawn-broker, the pawn shop depicted in the image as bankrupt), with the contrasting socially and physically detrimental effects of *spirit* abuse, particularly among *women* (demonstrated through the skeletal, ulcerated bodies of the gin drinkers, their debauched behaviour, ragged attire and patronage of the pawn-broker as a mark of their related socio-economic destitution).⁴⁷⁰ *Gin Lane* illustrates visually that which was known as London’s “gin epidemic” from 1720-1751 (Abel, 2001:401), attributed in part to mass rural-metropolis migration and subsequent urban squalor; it also corresponds to Flora Tristan’s written description of the working classes of early Victorian London, who “frequently go from insufficient nourishment to the excesses of drink; all these poor souls are scrawny, ricket-ridden and sickly, too; they have thin, sagging bodies, weak limbs, a pale complexion and dead eyes; one would think they all had consumption” (1840[2008]:58-9).⁴⁷¹ Alcohol here, as in Hogarth’s etching, is depicted as a disease, both a physical and a societal one; furthermore, it is one which spans the entire social field, irrespective of class distinctions⁴⁷² (with Tristan referring to both gentlemen (1840[2008]:28) and factory workers (1840[2008]:58)) and, more significantly perhaps, an “epidemic” transcending *gender* distinctions, as she alludes to alcohol (ab)use in the following terms: “Many women have recourse to the same methods. That which matters above all else is to forget *that one exists*” (1840[2008]:29; original emphasis).⁴⁷³ Rather than being an accompaniment to a

470 The negligence of the mother in *Gin Lane*, allowing her child to drop to the ground from a height, is testimony to the popular name for gin that persists to this day: “Mother’s Ruin”.

471 Original: “passent fréquemment d’une nourriture insuffisante aux excès de la boisson; aussi tous ces malheureux sont étiolés, rachitiques, souffreteux; ils ont le corps maigre, affaîssé, les membres faibles, le teint pâle, les yeux morts; on les croirait tous affectés de la poitrine”.

472 A point noted in respect of Georgian London too, where “drunkenness was ‘business as usual’” (Abel, 2001:405) across society, and in the eyes of “the middle and upper classes – the only ones to record their perspective – their own drunkenness was simply amusing” (Abel, 2001:402), contrasting the “epidemic” among the working class.

473 Original: “Beaucoup de femmes ont recours au même moyen. Ce qui importe avant tout, c’est d’oublier *qu’on existe*”.

meal, alcohol is unequivocally “an end in itself” in all these accounts, used as a form of escape from the harsh experience of life in the Capital city, and one resorted to by both sexes.

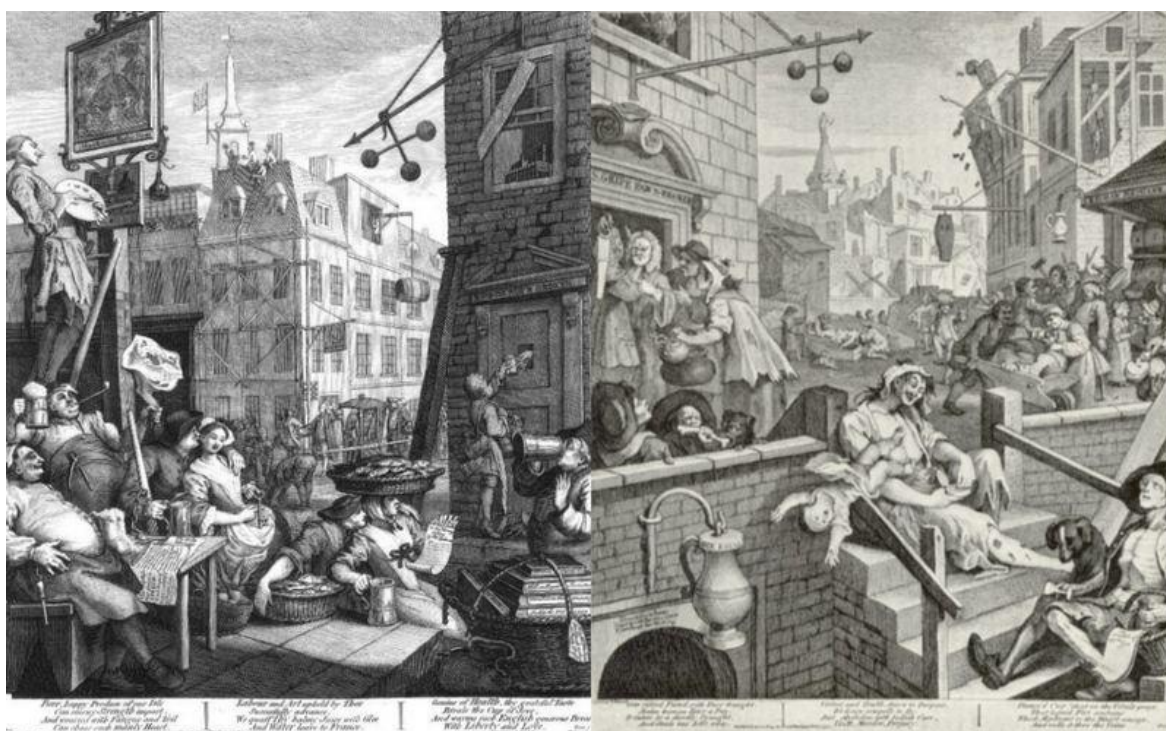


Fig. 5. *Beer Street* (left) and *Gin Lane* (right) (Hogarth, 1751)

Some 250 years after Hogarth and Fielding’s concerns, and 175 years after Tristan’s, returnee, Moses, remembers being shocked by the same pervasive phenomenon: “It’s all a bit too geared towards pure alcoholism, like to get really drunk [...]. It’s a bit of a competition to see who can get the drunkest. It’s completely excessive. I often saw girls of 10 or 11 drinking beer, and that shocked me quite a lot.”⁴⁷⁴ Moses is not only perturbed by the magnitudes of alcohol consumed and the age of some of those observed partaking in the practice of excessive drinking, but also, significantly, by the *gender* of those involved. Laura makes a more explicit gender distinction in this respect: “English women drink a lot more than French women; they’re capable of drinking until they’re really drunk [...]. It’s ugly”.⁴⁷⁵ The disparagement of women descending into the vulgar drunken behaviour more often associated with men in the habitat of origin is culturally meaningful as it indicates an acceptance, even a presumption, of the underlying sexual inequality that has emerged from

474 Original: “C’est un peu trop axé sur l’alcoolisme pur, pour être vraiment saoul quoi [...]. C’est un peu un concours pour celui qui va être le plus saoul. C’est hors de mesure totale quoi. Je voyais souvent des filles de 10 ou 11 ans qui buvaient de la bière, et ça, ça m’avait choqué pas mal”.

475 Original: “Les femmes anglaises vont beaucoup plus boire que les femmes françaises; elles sont capables de boire jusqu’au point d’être vraiment saoules [...]. C’est moche.”

the interviews and Focus Groups and appears – as discussed in Chapter 3 – to be more prevalent in France and among the French community than in the London social space (Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013). Both Moses and Laura are critical of alcohol intake in the diasporic field in quantifiable terms, but find it *particularly* offensive when embodied by females.⁴⁷⁶ They are hence insinuating that a distinction should be made between the behavioural codes according to which men and women act in society and are subsequently judged by society. Further, the reference Laura makes to intoxicated women being “ugly” is of considerable import, as the choice of word extends the reproach to the realm of the aesthetic. In some senses, this is akin to that which Bourdieu termed “aesthetic racism” (2005:44; 1979b), and implies that the standards of beauty which French society *expects* women to uphold, as taken-for-granted *modus operandi*, differ from those of their male counterparts (Bourdieu, 1998), and arguably from those found in the migration setting. Such attitudes and normalised practices in the originary field/habitus might explain why double the number of female French residents are registered with the French Consulate than men (Bellion, 2005:8).⁴⁷⁷

Gendered discourse aside, François, the surgeon in an inner-London hospital, injects an additional layer of validity to Moses’s, Laura’s – and many others’ – impressions of the normalised alcohol abuse they perceive to constitute an intrinsic element (*habit*) of the London social field, by substantiating them with *scientific* evidence:

In France, statistics show that cirrhosis is decreasing in every region, at varying rates, but everywhere. This is the only country in Europe where it’s increasing. And [this hospital] is the biggest liver transplant centre in Europe. That’s why. This nonsense drinking culture is all very well, but [...] it’s one pint, then two, then three, and it’s half a litre each time, so that makes three litres of beer, and afterwards you have to go to bed. I mean London’s a giant booze-up.⁴⁷⁸

476 This attitude is again replicated in the parodic film *Shit French People in London Say*, with one female character (drinking a *whiskey*-based Bailey’s in a London pub) exclaiming, “English women are such boozers!” [Original: “Qu’est-ce qu’elles picolent les Anglaises”] (Meard Street Productions, 2012) and her London-French friend agreeing, before they both take a sip of their respective alcoholic beverages. Again, the socioculturally pertinent dimension of this caricatural condemnation is its *gendered* orientation, being directly critical of “les Anglaises”, English *women*, rather than the English in general.

477 According to the French Consulate in London, in 1992, 20,002 women were registered as residents, against 9,956 men; in 2002, women accounted for 37,475 entries and men 22,610; while in 2003, women outnumbered men by 39, 826 to 24, 216 (Bellion, 2005:8).

478 Original: “En France, les statistiques montrent que la cirrhose diminue dans toutes les régions, plus ou moins vite, mais partout. Ici, c’est le seul pays d’Europe où ça augmente. Et [cet hôpital], c’est le plus gros centre de transplantation de foie d’Europe. Ceci explique cela. Donc c’est sympa la culture de l’apéro solide, mais [...] c’est une pinte, deux pintes, trois pintes, et c’est un demi litre à chaque fois, donc ça fait trois litres de bières, donc après, il faut aller se coucher. Enfin, Londres est un apéro géant.”

Despite recognising François's assertion that London is the symbol of disproportionate drinking habits,⁴⁷⁹ Brigitte, appears somewhat fractured as to the drinking habits of the migration habitat, simultaneously enjoying the conviviality of the pub scene and its function as a mechanism for cementing amicable ties amongst otherwise distant colleagues,⁴⁸⁰ while being wary of the trap into which she sees herself falling by adopting such local habits. She describes going to the pub on average three times per week because she values its "fairly laid-back side", but has noticed "drinking a lot more here than in France. [...] You go to the pub here, and then it's one round, two rounds, three rounds [...]. We all feel we drink a lot more here than in France. [...] So, I'm being careful now, I drink coke or orange juice. It's just that I don't want to slip into a systematic pattern."⁴⁸¹ Brigitte's allusion to purchasing "rounds" here is important, as this practice is not commonplace all over Europe; while in France the habit does exist, as the equivalent word "tournée" illustrates, it is not a given, and in other parts of Europe, Sweden serving as an example, the custom is for each individual in a group to purchase their own drink. An alternative practice exists in France, which consists of a group of friends combining their funds in order to purchase an entire bottle, of whisky for example, which they then mix with other soft drinks from collective jugs on the shared table. This is evidently equally as convivial as the English round-buying model, but perhaps advantageous in that individuals can measure and pace their drinking from the collective vessels (with the option of not alcoholising the mixer remaining open), whereas in London, should one individual purchase a "round" for six or more friends/acquaintances, this tends to result in six or more (alcoholic) drinks being consumed by each member of the party for fear of being deemed egotistical or exploitative if failing to play one's part in the drinking ritual. Fox attributes this ritual to the "principle of gift-giving" (2014:375), or a gestural way of declaring one's friendship, that is, the "Englishman's substitute for the expression of emotion" (2014:372), as such, failing to return

479 An image which bears a remarkable resemblance to the iconography of the Apéro-blog London Web resource featured in Chapter 10.

480 As mentioned previously, it is significant that most participants in the study report having very few, if any, English friends in London (see Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013). Adopting the socialising drinking habits of the diasporic field therefore plays an important role in terms of social capital. Indeed, her lack of English friendships is a fact that Laura ascribes to the English education system, whereby children can progress through all of secondary school in the same class, hence with the same group of friends. Once such bonds have been sealed, it is extremely difficult to break into the close(d) circles.

481 Original: "le côté assez décontracté du pub [...] qu'on boit beaucoup plus ici qu'en France. [...] Ici on va au pub, et aller, c'est une tournée, deux tournées, trois tournées [...]. On a tous l'impression de boire beaucoup plus ici qu'en France. [...] Moi, du coup, je fais attention, je bois que du coca ou du jus d'orange. C'est juste que j'ai pas envie de tomber dans ce schéma systématique."

such a compliment would be considered impolite in the extreme. Consuming substantial quantities of alcohol has therefore evolved, over centuries, into that which is now a matter of *courtesy* in the migration habitat, causing offence if the politeness codes of post-workplace socialising and drinking by the “round” are flouted.

Favell refers to these work-related drinking customs as the “liquid lunch” (2008a:170) (recalling Fox’s round-buying “liquid handshake”, 2014:372), and also remarks a reluctance on the part of European highly-skilled migrants to adopt such normalised and “intense” (ibid.) habits. Although, for some, London’s permanently, and arguably excessively, festive practices are an attraction, such as Arthur, for whom “it was positive”, he nevertheless acknowledges that “for other people it can be negative; some fall into drugs, alcohol, etc.”⁴⁸² Indeed, Sadia’s husband, whom she depicts as being “haunted” by drugs, is a case in point; as a result of their long-term struggle with drug and alcohol misuse, they have both felt compelled to relinquish alcohol consumption definitively.⁴⁸³ This has compromised Sadia’s relationship towards, and happiness within, the diasporic field, as in her opinion, “everything that’s fun to do in London is linked to that, to alcohol and drugs.”⁴⁸⁴ The drinking habits that prevail in London are therefore two-fold. They appeal to the younger French, in keeping with the Italian and German graduates participating in King et al.’s study,⁴⁸⁵ who seek “adventure” and “the ‘affective possibilities’ of London as an exciting setting for the migrants’ journey of self-discovery and maturation” (2014:12, 10), acting as a migration pull factor for those accustomed to the rigidity and gender inequality of the socialising practices of the originary field. At the same time, they are found to be disagreeable to other longer-term or more mature French residents, now fatigued by the continual excesses, together with the risks they pose to their long-term well-being, and sufficiently secure in their affective diasporic networks to withstand the social exclusion that accompanies non-participation in local drinking rituals and thus “spoiling the party” (Favell, 2008a:171).

It might seem that hitherto food (as part of the habitat), and the consumption thereof (as a fundamental habit), has unjustly dominated this chapter. However, this can be explained

⁴⁸² Original “c’était positif ; pour d’autres personnes, ça peut être négatif; il y en a qui tombent dans la drogue, l’alcool, etc.”

⁴⁸³ Again, the researcher’s role as a catalyst for the recounting of deeply personal and socially compromising life (hi)stories, which were not elicited, is made manifest here, effectively serving as a “therapeutic encounter”, as posited by Birch & Miller (2000:191).

⁴⁸⁴ Original: “tout ce qui est ‘fun’ à faire à Londres, c’est lié à ça, à l’alcool, aux drogues.”

⁴⁸⁵ In terms of the national migrant typologies proposed by King et al. (2014), it seems that the French profile, perhaps unsurprisingly given their national politico-geographical positioning, constitutes a combination of both German and Italian characteristics, attitudes and motivations.

by food, without any design on my part, becoming central to my conversations with and observations of the participants. This is not an unusual phenomenon in empirical research, to which Mata Codesal testifies, stating that in “a report about migrants’ integration in the Northern Spanish province of Cantabria, an astonishingly high number of migrants refer to food, even though they have not been asked about it” (2008:5). Similarly, Johnson & Rowlands assert that “as an interview progresses, it often takes unexpected turns or digressions that follow the informant’s interests or knowledge” (2012:107). The significant weight given to eating and drinking habits has therefore to a certain degree been determined by the *participants* themselves, as equal partners in the research enterprise. It has also been emphasised because, as an ethnographic undertaking, this study is in search of meanings pertaining to individual and community cultural identification and dynamics (Brettell, 2008:114), or habitus and subjective migrant positioning within the broader diasporic field, through the study of everyday habits and customs, as such, “[f]ood sharing practices, cooking and eating, [...] imbued with powerful meanings that are most of the time taken for granted” (Mata Codesal, 2008:3) have naturally been foregrounded. “Individually and collectively, though in a very complicated way, we are indeed what we eat” (Parkhurst Ferguson, 2004:15); in order to discover who my London-French research participants *are*, therefore, it has been necessary to discover *what* (as well as how and when) they eat. The emphasis is also explicable in terms of my own belonging within a London-French family, as well as the French national preoccupation with food (brought to bear by the UNESCO qualification). Just as cuisine and eating rituals have surreptitiously entered into this ethnography, so conversations with my French friends and family inevitably turn towards the culinary, irrespective of the point of departure. It is therefore quite natural, and in keeping with the habitus of the London-French diaspora under scrutiny, that food and drink, as cultural objects and practices, should play a key role in the study. At this point, however, I shall dwell briefly on a final ritualistic habit to which the participants have repeatedly drawn attention: visiting the doctor and the medicalised self.

6.3 THE (DE)MEDICALISED SELF: “In France, we use too much medication, we’re too worried about our health”

This is an area in which the habits of most participants are considered to have undergone a process of “acculturation” upon sustained exposure to the prevailing practices and attitudes of the migratory field, which contrast those of origin. Somewhat surprisingly, given the negative anecdotes that dominate the local media in the diasporic field, resulting in a

habituated resignation to the narrative as fact, most French Londoners to whom I have spoken report *positive* experiences of the UK National Health Service (NHS), even those who have been afflicted with serious ailments, such as stroke or cardiac arrest, or been hospitalised for the life-changing event of childbirth. There are one or two exceptions to this rule, notably Charles, who, dubious of the NHS from the outset, owing to the preconceived ideas that prevail in France regarding the “tiers monde”⁴⁸⁶ standards of healthcare in the UK, but with no direct experience of the system,⁴⁸⁷ returns to France for medical and dental treatment, and Miranda, who, having had a negative experience in the NHS, has turned to private surgical treatment in London. Séverine is the remaining participant who is *semi-critical* of the NHS,⁴⁸⁸ denouncing GP appointment waiting times and the anonymity of the doctor-patient relationship, but counterbalancing her criticisms with the pleasure she has in the knowledge that systematically visiting her local surgery and ritualistically taking medication, including antibiotics, are no longer the habituated norm for her, as was the case in France and remains so for her sisters who reside there:

Of course, I have a GP in London but you're a bit of an anonymous number. If something happens to me in England, I won't go and see a doctor straight away, I'll ask friends, I'll use Chinese medicine, I do Internet research by myself [...]. Maybe I have more confidence in that respect [...]. When I look at my sisters who haven't left France, I know that when they're ill with the flu, its antibiotics straight away. I've changed in that way, when I first came to live in London I decided to abandon that culture, and I was healthier for it, taking less medication, not taking antibiotics, seeing fewer doctors and adopting a more preventive attitude.⁴⁸⁹

486 “Third World”: a rather outmoded term, but one which is still frequently heard in the French originary (and diasporic) habitat, as typified in the self-deprecating (perhaps a sign of the film-makers' own culturally transformed dispositions?) film *Shit French People in London say* (Meard Street Productions, 2012).

487 A commonality among those London-French migrants who are critical of the system.

488 François, the NHS surgeon, has been excluded from this valuation, as his “insider” experiences of the system are too long, complex and, most importantly, entangled in the struggles and conflicting forces present in the State healthcare field, to permit inclusion here. As a provider of the care, rather than a recipient of the service, his is a partial, implicated perspective. That said, it is worth noting that he expressed preferring to seek hypothetical treatment overseas than being treated in the UK.

489 Original: “À Londres, j'ai bien sûr un GP, mais on est un peu un numéro. S'il m'arrive quelque chose en Angleterre, je ne vais pas voir un médecin tout de suite, je vais demander à des amis, je vais utiliser la médecine chinoise, je fais des recherches sur Internet par moi-même [...]. J'ai peut-être plus confiance à ce niveau-là [...]. Je vois mes sœurs qui n'ont pas quitté la France, je sais que quand elles sont malades d'une grippe, tout de suite: antibiotiques. Une chose sur laquelle j'ai changé, quand j'ai commencé à vivre à Londres, j'ai décidé d'abandonner cette culture, et j'ai eu une meilleure santé, en ayant moins de médicaments, en me soignant pas avec des antibiotiques, en voyant moins de médecins, en adoptant une attitude plus préventive.”

Manifestly, being somewhat dissatisfied with the practice of visiting her doctor in London, where the process is thought to be reminiscent of a factory in which the patient is “a number”, has had the paradoxical effect of altering Séverine’s habits for the better, resulting in that which she deems to be improved health, greater ownership of, and confidence in, the self-management of her well-being, and a more measured use of prescribed medicines. She refers to the widespread and normalised practice of visiting one’s doctor and taking unnecessary, ineffective treatments as a “culture” in the French social field and individual habituses, which is suggestive of its endemic nature, that she has chosen to renounce, preferring to adapt to the therapeutic norms of the “host” culture. Marie reiterates the sentiment that attitudes and habits pertaining to health are healthier in the diasporic field. She perceives the institutional acknowledgement of alternative medicines⁴⁹⁰ and reluctance to prescribe formal medication in the UK as more progressive than the, arguably, medico-technically more advanced habits present in the French healthcare field, which patients have come to expect, as she explains:

You’re a lot more advanced in England than in France when it comes to alternative medicine, oh, yes, yes. I mean alternative medicine’s really integrated in England, even in hospitals. Whereas here it’s still seen as a bit wacky. I saw for myself, there are sophrology departments, hypnosis departments, departments for all those sorts of things, but I mean incorporated in the hospital. In France, we use too much medication, we’re too worried about our health.⁴⁹¹

Like food, personal health appears to be a national preoccupation in France, one that can only be relieved by (self-)medication. Should a patient leave a doctor’s surgery without a prescription for at least three types of medication, s/he may well feel short-changed, as if, having contributed generously to the semi-private health insurance system, and making an additional a monetary payment for each visit (seeking, often partial, reimbursement at a later date), medication is *deserved* in return for their financial outlay. In London, however, one

490 The Royal London Hospital for Integrated Medicine (formerly the Royal London Homeopathic Hospital), which self-proclaimedly “offers an innovative, *patient-centred* service integrating the best of conventional and complementary treatments” (UCLH, no date; my italics) serves as a concrete example of the immaterial healthcare habits referenced by the interviewees and the institutionalisation of such habituses within the structures of the social field. As Friedmann points out, *habitus shapes the habitat* (2005:331, citing Bourdieu, 1991).

491 Original: “En Angleterre, on est beaucoup plus en avance qu’en France sur les médecines douces, ah oui, oui. Mais c’est vraiment incorporé, même à l’hôpital, c’est les médecines douces en Angleterre, alors qu’ici c’est encore des trucs un peu farfelus. J’ai vu, il y a des services de sophrologie, des services d’hypnose, les services de trucs comme ça, mais intégré dans l’hôpital. En France on est trop médicament, trop soucieux de sa santé”.

participant believes that the NHS, free at the point of delivery as a matter of principle, is akin to a religion in the collective imagination of the “host” social field, a point confirmed by its incongruous prominence in the opening ceremony of the London 2012 Olympic Games, as well as in media and political discourses (O’Grady, 2011). It is held in sacred esteem irrespective of political persuasion, and is perhaps comparable, therefore, to the reverence that surrounds the State education system in France, similarly free-at-the-point-of-delivery and similarly prized as a national treasure. The parallel positioning of education and health in France and the UK respectively is confirmed by the factory metaphor applied to Britain’s *health* system by Séverine, but to France’s *education* system by one of the participants in Focus Group 2. It seems that the ideology behind each of these nationally-cherished public services takes precedence over the practical failings present in both (as “insider”, François reveals on occasion),⁴⁹² with the worthy principles effectively blinding (a term Robert uses below) people to their operational shortcomings.

That said, an appreciation for the NHS evolves slowly in the diasporic context, doubtless at the rate at which the participants gradually become habituated to the customs of the local population and begin to assume local mentalities (Bourdieu, 2005:46). In keeping with Séverine, Marie’s daughter’s perceptions of the NHS have developed according to her experiences and changes to healthcare habits. Having undergone a negative experience in a NHS hospital at the birth of her first child and at the hands of a purportedly incompetent midwife, she has now grown to appreciate the de-medicalised approach to childbirth encouraged in London, and the fairly routine habit of giving birth at home (a practice which is generally ridiculed in France, where it crystallises the myth of the NHS as an archaic, crumbling health system):⁴⁹³

My daughter had her first child at hospital and it went very, very badly; she had a Japanese midwife who could hardly speak a word of English, and who was useless [...]. She didn’t like giving birth in hospital at all. So she had the second one at home. In France, people find that completely preposterous [she laughs]. [It was] great, and she was delighted; it went really well. In France, medicine is technical and people are afraid for their health.⁴⁹⁴

492 It ought to be mentioned that François is also praiseworthy of the NHS in some respects, particularly regarding the generous funding invested in his operating theatre, now fitted with all the latest equipment he requested.

493 Marie illustrates this when referring to the reaction of those in the originary habitat upon learning of her daughter’s home-birth: “In France, people find the idea of that [home-birth] crazy” [Original: “En France, ça, les gens trouvent que c’est hallucinant”]. Moreover, in another auto-ethnographic turn, having given birth at home myself in London and been met with repeated comments of disbelief and incomprehension in the French social space, I can also vouch for the perceived backwardness of the practice.

494 Original: “Ma fille a eu son premier enfant à l’hôpital et ça s’est très, très mal passé;

While the French system is perceived to be technically superior and medically more advanced, its (over-)medicalisation appears to have expunged the humanity from the care; it is the comfortable, familiar and familial surroundings and “non-medical” approach that Marie’s daughter appreciated in her home-birth, the midwives, dedicating their attentions to her alone, adding value to the experience and fittingly re-humanising it. Reiterating this sentiment, Chantal reports preferring the birthing experience of her first child, born in London, to that of her second, born in Paris where the family had been “expatriated” and an over-medicalisation was again found to prevail. In her own words, “I didn’t like the French system at all, actually. There were so many precautions there, it was as if I was ill, that something serious was necessarily going to happen.”⁴⁹⁵ She contrasts this pessimistic outlook and perceived resultant overcautious medicalisation,⁴⁹⁶ which deprived a fundamentally organic, primal process of its inherent naturalness and humanity, with the positive, and thereby comforting, attitudes experienced in the diasporic field. A reconnection with humanity in the *healthcare* of the migratory field is also a point alluded to by Robert, who, when our conversation turns to health, astonishes me with his harsh criticism of his experiences in France, throwing into relief yet further his appreciation of *care* in the diasporic field. To retain the religious analogy, it is almost as if he has been “converted”:

I have blind faith in the NHS. When I was in France, I had a very, very serious illness; I was treated quite properly, but the medical care there’s pretty shameful, and actually after that operation, I had to be monitored for five years, but I didn’t go... In France, I was considered to be a patient before being considered a human being. Whereas when I arrived in England, it was different. They spoke to me like a human first, explaining things to me, being very kind, very attentive and very caring, and I’ve never had any trouble getting an appointment. I’ve always had an extremely positive experience here, whereas in France that was not always the case. So, maybe I’m an exception, but I like the NHS and I feel relatively well looked-after; I certainly wouldn’t want to go to France for an operation or for after-care. [...] The approach is definitely different, and I felt a lot more comfortable here than in France, and

elle a eu une sage-femme qui était japonaise et qui parlait à peine l’anglais, et qui était nulle [...]. Donc, elle a pas du tout aimé son accouchement à l’hôpital. Alors le deuxième, elle l’a eu à la maison. En France, ça, les gens trouvent que c’est hallucinant [rires]. [C’était] formidable, et elle était enchantée; ça s’est super bien passé. En France, c’est une médecine technique, et les gens ont peur pour leur santé.”

495 Original: “je n’ai pas du tout aimé le système français, en fait. Là-bas il y avait tellement de précautions, c’était comme si c’était une maladie, qu’il allait forcément se passer quelque chose de grave.”

496 It could be argued, however, that this medicalisation is another expression of the symbolic and practical emphasis placed on the value of *preparation* by Petridou in the culinary and educational fields (2001:98), and indeed UNESCO’s Gastronomic Meal of France, without which the process and consequent product are deemed negligent and inadequate.

anyway, if I was to fall ill in France, I'd have time to come back to England for healthcare.⁴⁹⁷

Robert's account is peppered with compassionate and religious terminology: *very kind, attentive, caring, well looked-after, comfortable, blind faith* in the English system and *shameful care* in France, which substantiates to a certain extent his *conversion to local beliefs*. It is noteworthy that he unintentionally inverts my initial question on whether, hypothetically, he would be tempted to *return to France* for medical treatment if ever he fell ill. On the contrary, he declares at the end of his diatribe, with an air of relief that the UK would be sufficiently close for him to “return”⁴⁹⁸ for treatment should the need arise. Additionally, he particularly appreciates being addressed on equal terms in London, rather than being spoken down to from the heights at which doctors are purportedly placed in the ordinary field, and, more importantly, place themselves. This is arguably the result of their institutionalised symbolic capital awarding them a distinctively elevated status in French society, a status which (like the male “chef-cuisiniers” referred to by Bourdieu in *La Domination masculine*, 1998, and the overly hierarchical society depicted by the Italian migrants in King et al.'s study, 2014) appear to be reproduced by society from generation to generation, irrespective of the general levelling of the symbolic playing field in recent years.

Such a phenomenon is also noted by Bruno, who relates an unpleasant encounter with a French ENT specialist in a private clinic in his hometown. The latter, when reporting back on post-tonsillectomy analysis results attempted to make light of the situation by informing Bruno he had throat cancer, before exclaiming, several long seconds later, that it

497 Original: “J’ai une foi aveugle dans la NHS. Quand j’étais en France, j’ai eu une très, très grave maladie, et je me suis fait soigner très correctement, mais il y a un soin médical qui était assez honteux, et en fait à la suite de cette opération, j’ai dû me faire pister pendant cinq ans, mais j’étais pas allé... J’étais considéré comme un patient, avant d’être considéré comme un être humain en France. Alors qu’en arrivant en Angleterre, c’était différent. Ils me parlaient d’abord comme un humain, en m’expliquant des choses, en étant très gentil, très à l’écoute, très aux petits soins, et j’ai jamais eu de problème pour obtenir des rendez-vous. J’ai toujours eu une expérience extrêmement positive ici, alors qu’en France ce n’était pas toujours le cas. Alors, peut-être que c’est une exception, peut-être que je suis une exception, mais la NHS me plait et je me sens relativement bien entouré, et je n’aurais aucune envie de me faire opérer ou de me faire suivre en France. [...] Il y a une approche qui est quand même différente, et moi je me sentais beaucoup plus à l’aise ici qu’en France, et de toute façon, si je tombais malade en France, j’ai le temps de rentrer en Angleterre pour me faire soigner.”

498 His wording “rentrer” resonates with that employed by Chantal, in reverse. He speaks of London being a place to which he can “come back” or “come home”, whilst Chantal refers to going to France as an “expatriation”, which she could not avoid. Both allusions implicitly confirm that London is indeed, or has become, “home”, insinuating, by extension, that France is now a foreign land (a subject to be examined in further detail in the following chapter).

was nothing more than a jape. Bruno failed to appreciate the humour, however. For, as Smith contends, humour “trades less on ambiguity than on attempts to essentialize human beings depending upon an easily accessed and potentially mutually understood metaphor or metonymic category” (2012:158). In this light, the doctor’s reliance on humour could be interpreted as an implicit, and “mutually understood”, mechanism for reaffirming the hierarchical profession-related social categories that prevail in the French social field.⁴⁹⁹ In addition, the anecdote serves to support Charles’s assertion that French humour tends to be at the expense of others rather than oneself.

It would appear, therefore, that while funds and time could be better spent in London hospitals,⁵⁰⁰ bedside manners, on the other hand, could be improved in France. Even if English “politenesses are so deeply ingrained as to be almost involuntary, and thus fairly meaningless” (Fox, 2014:556), this “negative politeness” (ibid.) serves the desired effect on the French people receiving it. Once again, each nation can learn from the habits and practices of the other, thus cultural dynamics which are mutually-beneficial ought to be encouraged, if they do not emerge organically, as in the case of Marie. Since leaving London, she has clung onto the habits that evolved during her time there, as a way of keeping that past alive. Aptly enough, she illustrates the point most compellingly with an *eating* habit: “I’ve got a little [English] side; the things I like, well, I’ve adopted them. I mean I like my cup of tea, I like not necessarily having a big meal like the French; I can easily eat a little snack, and that’s quite enough for me. [...] A little sandwich isn’t bad, and I make it in the English way, with a sandwich loaf, and I cut off all the crusts [she laughs].”⁵⁰¹ Once again, the conversation turns to the culinary.

CONCLUSION

Over the course of this chapter, it has emerged that the habits and rituals instilled in the

499 It could be argued that this is the consequence of the post-revolution *meritocracy* advocated by Napoleon, which today has left France with a social paradigm in which professional status (as an expression of institutionalised symbolic capital) mirrors the birth-right status that arguably remains a force in the English social field.

500 A point made emphatically by François, frustrated by the endless committees and mid-morning starts in his hospital, where he has since established a regime requiring his surgical team to be ready to operate 1.5 hours earlier than their former habits dictated, and thereby freeing time/space for a supplementary patient every morning.

501 Original: “J’ai un petit côté [anglais]; des choses qui me plaisent, je les ai adoptées. C’est-à-dire, j’aime bien ma tasse de thé, j’aime bien pas forcément faire des gros repas comme les Français; je peux facilement manger un petit snack, et puis ça me suffit. [...] Un petit sandwich, c’est pas mauvais, et puis je le fais à l’anglaise, avec du pain de mie, et j’enlève la croûte autour [rires].”

primary/secondary habitus interconnect my French research participants within the diasporic field in subtle yet powerful ways, without a consciousness on their part of their commonality in the collective migrant imagination. This, therefore, allows my participants to perceive themselves as agentive individuals, in possession of singular trajectories and practices within the diasporic field, rather than as a community *per se*, and as such gives the impression of defying the notion of a London-French habitus. However, shared rituals, such as eating certain foods, in certain ways, at certain times, in *combination* with the habituated adoption of local values and habits in the diasporic field, like the faith expressed in the national health system or the adoption of local pub-drinking and cake-baking practices, effectively result not only in a transformed individual habitus, but a “common-unity” of practice, in other words, a London-French habitus, or a French community in London.

Whilst the idea of community belonging has not been explored in this chapter, on a micro, individual level, the evidence of habitus transformation as a consequence of Franco-London mobility and exposure to a new habitat, habits and habituated attitudes serves to confirm the premise that the French migrants in London have evolved a particular form of “Londonishness”. It is “particular” in its sustainment of material and internalised elements of the primary/secondary French/regional habitus, especially in relation to the primal, sensory dimensions of taste and physical well-being. In this light, therefore, it is not so much a question of a tertiary migratory habitus or a “third timespace” (Sprio, 2013:61, citing Lavie and Swedenburg, 1996), succeeding the primary/secondary habitus *chronologically*, but rather an emergent hybrid habitus: a cultural complex evolving over the times and spaces of life, taking on new hues as it does so, but, as Bourdieu (1980a) and Oliver & O’Reilly (2010) claim, retaining the engrained originating palette.

Constructed around the third “habit prong” of the theoretical habitus triad designed for this study, the chapter has shown that habits are subject to change, but that the originary gaze can be stubbornly persistent. Whilst enjoying the social drinking habits of the diasporic field, my participants remained detached, making a conscious decision to reject the excessive and/or female drinking habits thought to dominate the migratory space negatively. Similarly, eating habits from the homeland considered morally superior to the assumed informal and unhealthy eating habits of the adopted home were consistently maintained. Yet, habits were seen to be transformed in relation to healthcare and restaurant dining, where habituation to local attitudes and tastes resulted in an embodiment thereof. This proves the inherent dynamics of the habitus triad: the foodstuffs of the original habitats have been translated into the eating and drinking habits of my participants in the same way that the multicultural restaurants prevalent in the external habitat of their London homes have influenced gustative

dispositions; likewise, it is their habituation to local therapeutic practices that have changed their medical habits – purportedly for the better. Indeed, it seems the majority of habits the participants have adopted have been positive additions to their inherited dispositions, demonstrating a certain degree of agency over their cultural transformations and increasingly rich identities.

Furthermore, globalisation has seen the emergence of a more culturally dynamic relationship between the originary and diasporic spaces than ever before, with French migrant populations sending back cultural remittances in the form of recipes from the diasporic habitat by means of physical, mediated and virtual transfer. The extent to which migrant/London-French on-line expressions might have influenced this will be assessed more fully in Chapter 10. However, this phenomenon of cultural exchange leads appositely onto the next chapter, the focus of which is on on-land cultural capital and the distinction of Frenchness.

CHAPTER 7
CULTURAL CAPITAL: THE DISTINCTION OF FRENCHNESS IN THE
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INTRODUCTION

In the same way that the habitat of French migrants has been fashioned by the cultural dynamics of their transnational positioning, so the French community in London has, over time, contributed much to the physical and symbolic habitat of the Capital. Theirs is a contribution generally welcomed by the “host” population, perhaps because of their majority “whiteness”, as Thatcher & Halvorsrud note in the case of Polish and South African migrants in the UK (2016:88), and/or their sociocultural distinction, arguably setting them apart from other minority migrant communities. The purpose of this chapter is to steer the emphasis towards this positive cultural and symbolic contribution, focusing in particular on various forms of cultural capital. It implies a reinterpretation of Bourdieu’s original notion of cultural capital, understood to represent “high culture” (Burke, 2016:14; Poirier, 2006:38) inherited in the habitus of those individuals habitually exposed to both objectified Culture (books, classical music, artworks, “refined” clothes, etc.) and symbolic Culture (critical thinking, sophisticated syntax and lexis, a non-regional accent, etc.) (Bourdieu, 1982[2001]:104). Instead, the concept here also encompasses “low culture” (Burke, 2016:14) or “non-dominant” culture (Wallace, 2016:40), which Block (2006:22) describes as “that complex whole [...] acquired by man as a member of [a particular] society”, and the product of innate Frenchness or evolving London dispositions, the specific values of which vary from (UK) culture to (French) culture (Kelly & Lusic, 2006:835-6).

The cultural capital of the London French, as perceived by my research participants, whether at an individual or community level, will be examined first. Subsequently, their thoughts on French contributions to the diasporic space will be set against a historic and linguistic backdrop, thus clarifying the present distinction of Frenchness within the London field. In section 7.2, attention will be placed on language as a form of cultural capital, and as a disposition revealing of habitus transformation and cultural belonging (or otherwise). While departing from the construct developed by Bourdieu, where embodied linguistic dispositions are seen as markers of *socio-economic* difference (Bourdieu, 1982[2001]:83; original italics), linguistic capital will nonetheless be awarded singular attention in its capacity to act as a significant semiotic marker of *cultural* distinction in the migratory and originary fields alike.

7.1 TRACING SYMBOLIC CULTURAL CAPITAL IN THE DIASPORIC SPACE: “We’re a little piece of France”

Drawing on primary empirical data and secondary field data, this section gives contemporary accounts meaningful historic grounding, in keeping with Bourdieu’s habitus-capital-field model (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:26; Burke, 2016:8; Grenfell, 2012:222). The London-French contribution will be assessed in terms of its concrete and symbolic articulations, both of which influence the comparative invisibility of the community among the wider population. Positive objectified manifestations of Frenchness abound in the London field, and as such the Otherness of the physical French presence is hidden through its very ubiquity, granting it a distinct position. Similarly, as the majority of French migrants in London make a positive contribution to the social space through their professional activity (Bellion, 2005; Tzeng, 2012)⁵⁰² or, as Sarah phrases it, “when you’ve got money, you’re accepted well everywhere”,⁵⁰³ and since in practice they rarely conform to the rebellious or unashamedly arrogant image of their clichéd portrayal in the diasporic space (Kelly, 2013:312), being reluctant to assert their own identities overtly in the migratory field or demand that they be recognised, they go unnoticed as a minority group (Kelly, 2013:314, 436). Block’s research on French female teachers in London revealed this symbolic paradox, as they “did not feel that they had to fly the French flag while living in London, preferring to be seen as free agents. Nevertheless, [they] continually evoked [...] a strong sense of Frenchness” (Block, 2006:133). An explicit appraisal of the simultaneously conspicuous and inconspicuous French community presence and distinctly reproductive/regenerative legacy is therefore provided below.

With recurrent humility, in response to my question on their contribution(s) to the London space, the majority of interviewees struggle to identify anything at all. François, however, mentions on a micro, personal level, the state-of-the-art equipment with which he has equipped his London operating theatre and, on a macro, community level, “luxury and cuisine”, the visibility of which is integral to the urban landscape “if you’re walking through Mayfair”.⁵⁰⁴ Sarah and Chantal echo François’s professional framing of the(ir) French contribution, or symbolic capital investment: Sarah describes hers as the “direct, structured,

502 The French Foreign Office states the following occupations as being most successful among French migrants in the UK (in order of original enumeration): hospitality, teaching, scientific research, commerce/business, IT and finance (France Diplomatie, 2013).

503 Original: “quand on a des sous, on est bien accepté partout”.

504 Original: “le luxe et la cuisine [...] si on se promène à Mayfair”.

organised”⁵⁰⁵ approach she brings to the workplace, while Chantal believes the French to be “more Cartesian” in their thinking and having “an insane work ethic, which the English don’t have to the same extent.”⁵⁰⁶ Paulette and Robert believe that their Frenchness alone, their “difference, just the fact that we’re different”,⁵⁰⁷ in the former’s words mentioned in Chapter 3, is a positive symbolic contribution to the London social field. “We’re a little piece of France”, explains Robert, providing Londoners with an objectified and truer representation of Frenchness than that typically dominating the collective imagination: his presence has led to “a kind of discovery of French products” and his non-conformity to the French stereotype helps to “improve the image of France and the French in general [...], maybe we give a more real image of France.”⁵⁰⁸ More predictably, Jacqueline defines French symbolic capital in dominant/high Cultural terms, but perceptively notes its comparative inconspicuousness: “I’d say the French community’s contribution to London is more discreet than others, it’s more cultural. Yes, there are French restaurants, [...] theatre, exhibitions, concerts, cinema... available here, but it’s relatively low-key. The reach of each activity is quite limited, the impact is smaller than other communities.”⁵⁰⁹ Other minority groups are considered to carry more symbolic weight, according to Jacqueline, who singles out the Chinese community, depicted as “a lot smaller but [...] a lot more visible. Everyone knows when the Chinese New Year is.”⁵¹⁰ Thus, while the French cultural contribution is deemed significant, it is a subtle influence, acknowledged almost exclusively by those who choose to see it, and not receiving the same public, objectified symbolic validation as other minorities.⁵¹¹ Indeed, the few attempts the “French”⁵¹² community have made to assert their presence in the London

505 Original: “direct, structurée, organisée”.

506 Originals: “plus cartésiens” ... “une capacité de travail hallucinante, qui n’est pas la même capacité de travail que les Anglais”.

507 Original: “la différence, juste le fait d’être différent”.

508 Original: “On est un petit morceau de la France [...] une certaine découverte des produits français [...] améliorer l’image de la France et des Français en générale [...], on donne peut être une image plus réelle de la France.”

509 Original: “la contribution de la communauté française à Londres, c’est plus discret que d’autres, je dirais, c’est plus culturel. Oui, il y a des restaurants français, [...] du théâtre, des expositions, des concerts, le cinéma... qui sont disponibles ici, mais c’est relativement peu bruyant. Le rayonnement de chaque activité est assez limité, l’impact est plus petit que d’autres communautés.”

510 Original: “bien plus petite mais [...] bien plus visible. Tout le monde sait quand est la nouvelle année chinoise.”

511 Through, for example, the banners lining major London streets during Chinese New Year celebrations or the flamboyant Caribbean processions of the annual Notting Hill Carnival.

512 The inverted commas serve to suggest that neither of the cited examples are community proper events, the former being organised by a British francophile and the latter by the institution that represents the South Kensington elite, rather the grassroots community.

field publicly have generated an insipid response among community members, the wider population and local media, going predominantly unseen in the collective consciousness and therefore compounding the community's invisibility.⁵¹³

Charles, typifying the pragmatism to which Chantal refers, unites all three forms of capital noted above, first highlighting his own professional legacy; second, the “dominant” (Wallace, 2016:40) or “high” (Burke, 2016:14) cultural impact on the intellectual space occupied by middle-class British francophiles; and, third, the social benefits of the “non-dominant” (Wallace, 2016:40) or “low” (Burke, 2016:14) cultural contribution of the French to the diversity of London's demographic landscape:

I think the contemporary French population has left its mark on the city. French culture's quite popular *with a particular type of public, slightly high-end British people*, because there's a kind of snobbery about liking French culture, isn't there, French cinema, French literature. I think Londoners are quite pleased to have this little France in their city, and it makes up part of a whole: London's an extremely cosmopolitan city, and it wouldn't be completely cosmopolitan without the French community.⁵¹⁴

Therefore, irrespective of the ontological inconspicuousness of the French presence in London, itself paradoxical given the ubiquitousness of objectified manifestations of French culture (Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013:395-6), the French contribution is highly visible as a symbolic force in certain – socially stratified – habituses and fields. Serving as a sign of intellectual and aesthetic sophistication among the London middle classes, the type of Frenchness that wields symbolic power in the diasporic space is the very mythologised, distinctive Frenchness that represents the South Kensington elite and with which the majority of my respondents fail to identify. It is the artificial and socially significant construct of “high” culture that has successfully permeated defined echelons of the migratory field, not the “non-dominant” community culture, which is indeed largely invisible. This socially nuanced contribution, however, is not a phenomenon solely attributable to the contemporary “presence” in London. Rather, it is an engrained influence, the naturalness of which lies precisely in its historic grounding: the epitome of Bourdieu's “history made

513 Notably, the Bastille Day celebrations on London's South Bank and Fête de la Musique event in Trafalgar Square, despite their symbolically prodigious venues.

514 Original: “Je pense que la population française contemporaine a laissé une marque sur la ville, oui. La culture française est quand même assez prisée *par un certain public, par les Britanniques un peu haut-de-gamme*, parce qu'il y a quand même un certain snobisme à aimer la culture française, le cinéma français, la littérature française. Je pense que les Londoniens sont assez contents d'avoir cette petite France en leur sein, et puis ça fait parti d'un tout: Londres est une ville extrêmement cosmopolite, et elle ne serait pas tout à fait cosmopolite si il n'y avait pas la communauté française” (my emphasis).

nature” (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]:263).⁵¹⁵ For, despite most of my research participants understating the contributions of the French to the British Capital, whether in the field of gastronomy, fashion, education,⁵¹⁶ energy,⁵¹⁷ infrastructure,⁵¹⁸ defence,⁵¹⁹ commerce,⁵²⁰ finance,⁵²¹ or design (Bellion, 2005:14), the symbolic and economic impact is, and has long been, considerable.

Historically, symbolic French “craft capital” was greatly valued in the London field, leaving in its wake an indelible mark on the city, both in the material environment and in its embodied continuity into the present. Many examples of French craft capital first came to

515 Original: “histoire faite nature”.

516 With over 32 French and French/English bilingual full- and part-time schools in the capital (Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013:395) and a long line of French teachers.

517 Most prominently, EDF Energy, a UK-based subsidiary of the French-State-owned parent company, Electricité de France, run by Jean-Bernard Lévy CEO, on a payroll of £2.1 million in 2014, inclusive of “expatriate related benefits” worth £500,000. The company had an annual income of £537 million in 2014, with over 15,000 employees on the payroll and plans to open four nuclear units in the south of England: Hinkley Point in Somerset and Sizewell in Suffolk (EDF Energy Holdings Ltd, 2014).

518 For example, the engineering feats of London’s Huguenot descendants: Labelye’s Westminster Bridge, and Valoué’s “pile driver that enabled the construction of its supporting piers” (Randall, 2013:36), the Brunels’ Rotherhithe Tunnel, “the first to be built under a river” (ibid.), and Bazalgette’s “extensive improvements to London’s sewers” (ibid.). Or in 21st-century London, Antoine Frérot’s five-year plan for his company, Veolia, to invest £1 billion in innovative waste, water and sustainable energy infrastructure in the UK (Veolia, 2016a). Significantly, the omnipresent Veolia brand hides the company’s French State origins, since it was founded in 1853, by imperial decree under Napoleon III, as the *Compagnie Générale des Eaux*, a national equivalent to Thames Water (Veolia, 2016b).

519 An early example of French infiltration into British military ranks comes in the form of the Marquis of Ruvigny, a former courtier of Louis XIV, whom, with his sons, entered the English army (Janvrin and Rawlinson, 2013:70) in 1690 as a major-general. More recent symbolic military mergers include the 2009 “British-French security treaties” (Kelly, 2013:446), setting out bilateral agreements on the security forces of both nations’ training, logistics, interoperability, deployability, military satellite communications, aircraft use, submarine systems, etc. (ibid.).

520 With “more than 3,000 French businesses employing nearly 400,000 people in the UK”, according to the French Consulate (Gordon, 2016) and the *Think London* report (2005).

521 France held the third highest number of overseas-owned financial services entities headquartered in London, after the US and Switzerland, was ranked second in the number of overseas acquirers after the US, and outstripped the US in terms of overseas investment growth from 2013 to 2015 (IMAS, 2016). It is symbolically meaningful that today’s French investment in the City builds on a financial edifice founded by its little-known French forefathers; that is, the first Governor of the Bank of England was the Huguenot, Sir John Houblon, who headed it from 1694 to 1697 (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:69), while the Bosanquet and Minet families ran several insurance firms throughout the 18th and 19th centuries (ibid.), themselves exploiting a business concept (insurance), whose foundations lie in the probability theory of fellow Huguenot, Abraham de Moivre (1667–1754) (Randall, 2013:35), despite London, and by extension the “British”, being known as the pioneers of the insurance model.

prominence with the Huguenot migrants of the 17th century (Randall, 2013). For instance, such “*National treasures*” of the established Church and Crown as London’s St Paul’s Cathedral (1675-1711) and Hampton Court Palace (1515-1530) bear the physical mark of French Huguenot, Jean Tijou, in their ornate, skilfully crafted ironwork. While Laguerre, who arrived in London in 1683, was responsible for frescoes at Hampton Court and Buckingham Palace (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:81). Thus, notwithstanding the chronic conflictual relationship between France and the UK recorded in the annals and perpetuated in certain habituses today, the material and symbolic heart of the British realm bears the physical legacy of London’s French communities. Similarly, the Anglo-French royal union between Charles I and Henrietta Maria influenced the interior and sartorial design trends of the time, for at Somerset House, she “introduced the painted ceilings and panelling of French decorative and furnishing taste, as well as a new style of dress” (Randall, 2013:23, citing Strickland, 1888). Of particular pertinence here is that the French decorative, furnishing and fashion craft capital influencing the London field in centuries past, continues to shape styles today, as evidenced by the Jean Michel Brun Ltd website in the London French Special Collection, self-defined as “a well-established London interior architecture and design company [...]. Craftsmanship is at the heart of all our projects [...] [w]hether it is a neo-classically panelled dining room or high-tech kitchen, our work [...] draws on a range of artisanal skills: from joinery to exquisite paint finishes or hand-crafted furniture” (Jean Michel Brun Ltd., no date). Thus, the same artisan expertise – panelling, paintwork, carpentry and furnishings – held in high esteem in the powerful circles of London’s past, persist as symbolic markers of social and cultural distinction (Bourdieu, 1979b) today.⁵²²

Extending the sartorial legacy into the present, Robert defines the French community’s contribution to the capital as “everything to do with cooking and clothing”.⁵²³ Providing concrete illustration of the lasting impact of French style on the London space are the innumerable French fashion outlets, spanning the economic and demographic spectrum, with high-street brands and designer labels, children’s clothes and womenswear all represented.⁵²⁴ Moreover, specific sartorial items, like Roland Mouret’s mythic “galaxy dress”, Lacoste’s classic polo shirt, the timeless *beret*, or the recently revived *espadrilles*,⁵²⁵

522 It is not coincidental that the Brun company is located in one of London’s most expensive areas: 1 Rosary Gardens, South Kensington.

523 Original: “tout ce qui est culinaire et vestimentaire”.

524 For example, Kenzo, Kookai, Lanvin, Nafnaf, Comptoir des Cotonniers, Catimini, Nicole Farhi, Gigi, Jacadi, Petit Bateau, Gerard Darel, Essence, Eden Park, Chanel, Dior, Cartier, Gaultier, Vuitton and Saint Laurent.

525 Strictly from the Basque *country*, but whose principal works are on the French side of the border, in Mauléon.

materialise Frenchness on a more individualised, habitus level in the physical diasporic field. The French origins of many French garments are also eternalised symbolically through their linguistic designation in the “English” lexicon; for instance, brassière, camisole, corset, cravat, décolleté, négligé (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:76), lingerie, blouse and robe, together with the very fabrics used to craft such items: cord(uroy), crêpe, chiffon, jacquard, muslin (from “mousseline”), satin, taffeta, velours, and so on. Not only did 17th-century French settlers in Spitalfields bring opulent hand-crafted silks to the London habitat, but a harder-wearing, intrinsically transnational fabric was introduced to the material and linguistic space: denim “imported ‘*de Nîmes*’, from Nimes, by the Huguenots” (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:70),⁵²⁶ specifically from the town of Gênes (as in “jeans”).⁵²⁷ Both English transformations of French proper nouns signify a heritage lost in the public consciousness, and today ironically serve as a worldwide symbol of the American dream, their original Frenchness invisible.

Further examples of the imperceptible permeation of French culture into the very fabric of the English language include the entire nomenclature of the fields of ballet, transported to London in the 1600s (Boucher & Murdoch, 2013:62); fencing (Randall, 2013:29); traditionally the diplomatic *corps*; and to this day the military, with terms such as *lieutenant, colonel, regiment, corporal, fusilier, grenadier, munition* and so on, being direct terminological transpositions disguised and appropriated through their Anglicised pronunciation alone. The extent of the intangible infiltration of Frenchness into the military lexicon is undoubtedly the consequence of the historic physical penetration of waves of French soldiers into the English field and/or ranks, from the Huguenots (Randall, 2013:29) and later the émigrés (2013:100), to London’s Free French (Kelly, 2013:303). Today, military unification has gone further still,⁵²⁸ with a 2014 agreement between the two nations, “natural

526 Original: “importé *de Nîmes* par les huguenots”.

527 In turn, following another migratory route, denim jeans became the quintessential symbol of American popular culture, with the Levi’s label being founded in 1873 by Bavarian Jewish migrant to San Francisco, Levi Strauss. Since then, the garment has undergone a transformation from its original status as a “blue-collar” garment, whose practical function outweighed its symbolic one, to a fashion item par excellence and emblem of “global americanisation” (Miller & Woodward, 2012:3). Indeed, not only adopted, as discussed in Chapters 3, 6 and 9, as the universal garment of preference in French schools and broader social spaces, but research cited by Miller & Woodward posits that “around half the world’s population, exclusive of South Asia and China, ‘was wearing denim on any given day’” (Miller & Woodward, 2012:4), 3.5 days per week being the global jean-wearing average, “with the highest frequency [...] in Germany, where jeans are worn 5.2 days” (ibid.). Thus, following a circular transnational trajectory, France’s legacy has returned “home” (and beyond), even if its founding contribution is largely ignored the world over.

528 Despite EU scepticism dominating public discourse in the run-up to the EU referendum of 23 June 2016 and the “Brexit” result casting doubt over the future of such Anglo-French

partners for defence co-operation”, being, in the words of the then Defence Secretary, Philip Hammond, set to “improve the interoperability of our forces, enhance our joint equipment procurement and build on our capacity to support security and stability” (Ministry of Defence, 2014).

Most socioculturally penetrating of all, however, as Robert’s remark above demonstrates, is the language and symbolic influence of the culinary field. Almost all spheres of the cooking and consumption experience in the migratory field are imbued with French vocabulary, from material eating places, such as *restaurants*, *brasseries* and *cafés*, through conceptual eating spaces like *gastronomy* and *cuisine*, to the myriad materialities of eating practices, for instance, the aesthetic, civilizing promotion – from beast to dish – of beef and veal (from the French “bœuf” and “veau”, rather than the overly explicit English bull or calf), mutton (“mouton”) and pork (“porc”), together with myriad victuals.⁵²⁹ It is telling that despite the global dominance of English today, the *menus* (itself another lexical example of the materialised French influence)⁵³⁰ of Buckingham Palace are still written in French, which bears witness to the continued prestige of Frenchness within the migratory social space, especially regarding culinary art in distinct social circles (Mars, 2013:227).

In addition to leaving its imprint on the language of the “host” culture, the symbolic capital of French cuisine is evident in objectified form throughout the material diasporic space (Kelly, 2016), with several eateries founded generations ago still standing and continuing to generate economic, cultural and symbolic capital in and for the adopted field.⁵³¹ Such a long and continued tradition of French gastronomic eateries as objectified signifiers of good taste arguably distinguishes the French presence in London from other

military collaboration.

529 From *casseroles*, *quiches* and *canapés* to *vol-au-vents*, *hors d’œuvres*, *desserts*, *petits fours* or *pâtisserie*.

530 The semantic value of “menu” has nonetheless undergone a distortion during its migration from France, as is often the case, in both directions, with menu in France denoting a “meal of the day” at a fixed price, and “la carte” designating the English “menu”, hence choosing food “à la carte”.

531 L’Escargot restaurant, for instance, opened in 1894 and remains in operation today (Mars, 2013:239), as does the “famous Communard pâtisserie, Maison Bertaux” in Greek Street (Jones & Tombs, 2013:172), opened in 1871 (Mars, 2013:239), the Baker Street/Piccadilly Restaurant Richoux, opened in 1909, the Pâtisserie Française in 1925 in Kensington, the Pâtisserie Valérie in 1926 in Soho (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:207), the Maison Prunier in St James’s Street in early 1935 (Kelly, 2013:327), and the Mon Plaisir restaurant in Monmouth Street in 1943 (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:206), not forgetting the cultural crossbreed that is the Belgian-owned English “pub”, named The French House, in Dean Street, Soho (itself the community heartland formerly known as “the French colony” (Rapoport, 2013:241-2)), which began trading in its current guise in 1914 (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:207-8).

migrant communities. Indeed, the symbolic power of French cuisine in the migratory space is evident through its capacity to cross dichotomous conceptual boundaries, most notably bridging public and private spheres, together with tangible and ephemeral domains. As Parkhurst Ferguson argues, through the *publication* of culinary texts in the diasporic space, a collective discourse reaches *private* households and ultimately individual stomachs (2004:16-17), and, as such, French cuisine is both a “material product that engages the senses and appeases appetites” (Parkhurst Ferguson, 2004:16) and “a symbolic creation tied to the intellect and spirit” (ibid.). It hence undergoes multiple transformations in the migratory field, going from material food from the physically bounded origin of France, to intangible discourse in the diasporic space, itself objectified in the cookery books of individual habitats, and subsequently rematerialised through the reproduction of the recipes in physical homes and social mealtime contexts, where its semiotic force as a signifier of social distinction re-emerges (Kelly, 2016). Indeed, over the centuries, the sociocultural significance of the French culinary brand in British domestic contexts has moved beyond the physicality of the nutrients themselves, involving the cognate objects involved in the dining experience as a whole, be they the porcelain dishes and glasses initially introduced to Chelsea and Greenwich families, respectively, by 17th-century Huguenot craftsmen (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:69) or the rustic chic of cast-iron Le Creuset cookware in modern kitchens. In this way, the culinary reconfigures “the material as intellectual, imaginative, symbolic, aesthetic” (Parkhurst Ferguson, 2004:17) and converts it into a (socially) distinct form of cultural capital in the London field.⁵³² The continued success of French cuisine in London, therefore, is doubtless attributable to both its sensory taste and its socio-semiotic value as a signifier *of* taste; for as Mars indicates, in the 19th century, the “rich who employed French chefs continued to enjoy French haute cuisine as they had in the eighteenth century. Likewise, when they dined out they could eat at [French] hotels that offered the same cuisine” (2013:239), and throughout the following century, “the place of French haute cuisine remained secure as the ideal cuisine for elite dining” (ibid.). Even the cultural revolutions of the 1960s failed to undermine the socially symbolic worth of French cuisine in the diasporic context, since “inexpensive French cookery was to be enjoyed in the new bistros” (ibid.) and “English households began to enjoy French bourgeois recipes” (ibid.), following the publication and widespread espousing of Elizabeth David’s *French Country*

532 As Charles pointed out above, there is a noticeable degree of snobbery associated with French culture, including French cuisine. Such social distinction is made manifest through the high-end prices of many French restaurants in London and the absence of French take-away/home-delivery outlets, unlike the culinary output of the Italian, Indian or Chinese communities.

Cooking (1951) and its 1960 sequel, *French Provincial Cooking* (both cited in Mars, 2013:239). Both titles illustrate the capital conversion that has taken place alongside the culinary transformation from French foodstuff to London symbolic objectified discourse and socio-semiotic signifier, in that “country cooking” and “provincial cooking” are originally humble dishes, borne from the land and crafted with *terroir* produce (Guy, 2011) to meet the basic demands of local inhabitants. However, through their geographical migration to the London field, via a process of discursive transmutation, the recipes have adopted an exoticism and elitism absent from their initial incarnation. In other words, they have been reconverted into constituents of symbolic capital, to the same socially classificatory ends as London-French culinary practices in centuries past. This is a phenomenon identified by Sprio in relation to the symbolic power of Italianicity in London, though perhaps to a less socially pronounced degree, whereby initially low-cost, peasant food is customarily “sold back to the moneyed British at vast expense” (2013:157). Thus, it is the very Frenchness of French cuisine – and the alchemic process it undergoes through its spatial migration – that defines its symbolic worth in its adopted cultural context.

Further links between the craft capital of the past and present include the perpetuity of the French printed word in the diasporic space. The bygone journalistic⁵³³ and literary⁵³⁴ output of London-French migrants, serve as spatio-temporal bridges to titles published today by the Editions de Londres⁵³⁵ and such London-French magazines as *Ici Londres*,⁵³⁶ *London Macadam*, or *L’Echo*, all of which constitute fractal elements of symbolic worth in the material migratory field/habitat. In parallel, the digital word of the 21st century, manifested in the (ostensibly women-authored) blogs of the LFSC, maintains a connection between the personal diaries and memoirs of migrants past.⁵³⁷ Likewise, the e-books published by the all-digital Editions de Londres, together with South Kensington’s literary retailers, La Page

533 Such as Collet’s 19th-century, bilingual *International Courier* (Jones & Tombs, 2013:188), Huguenet’s *La Chronique de Londres* in circulation at the turn of that century (Rapoport, 2013:262), or the WWII articles of Aron in *La France Libre* (Drake, 2013:373-390).

534 For instance, the literary works of post-Revolution emigrées Mme de Flahaut, Mme de Genlis and Mme de Staël, or later Mrs. Robert Henrey (Kelly, 2013:329) during the Second World War.

535 See the London French Special Collection (LFSC) in the UK Web Archive.

536 Itself a direct intertextual nod to the World War II “call-sign-cum-title of the French service: ‘Ici Londres, les Français parlent aux Français’” (Cornick, 2013:359).

537 Flora Tristan, Jules Michelet, Alexis de Toqueville (Cross, 2013:136-152), la marquise de la Tour du Pin, la comtesse de Boigne, le comte de Montlosier, Chateaubriand and Fanny Burney (whose married name was Mme. D’Arblay) are examples from the 19th century (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:103-4); while the autobiographical work of Tereska Torrès (Kelly, 2013:307) was penned a century later.

and The French Bookshop, maintain a sense of continuity with London's Huguenot and émigré publishers and bookshops (Janvrin & Rawlinson:103). In addition to the legacy of the written word, the visual artworks of Eléonore Pironneau,⁵³⁸ or London-French street artist Zabou (Zabou, 2016), build on the body of London-French paintings produced, for example, by Impressionists, Monet and Pissarro,⁵³⁹ during their exile in the British Capital in the late 19th century, themselves adding to the body of work attributable to such 17th-century London-French artists as Monnoyer and Chéron, who “taught at the art academy in St Martin’s Lane” (Boucher & Murdoch, 2013:49), where many French students now flock. This brief and inexhaustive sketching of literary and visual capital serves to reveal the cultural thread that weaves its way through history, passing through the present and doubtless persisting into the future; in other words, a reproductive London-French habitus, since “the past, the present and the future overlap and mutually interpenetrate each other in the habitus” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:28).⁵⁴⁰

Another form of cultural capital continuously maintained in the diasporic field for generations is French education (perhaps ironically, given the revelations of Chapter 3, readdressed in Chapter 9). From the French *gouvernant(e)s* of the London aristocracy, appointed to verse the young in the language of the culturally refined elite, an early illustration of the sort being Pierre Coste (1668-1747), “one of several immigrant writers obliged to work as a tutor in an English family” (Randall, 2013:35),⁵⁴¹ to the multitude of French teachers and *assistant(e)s* employed in British schools and universities today (Block, 2006:107-35), French language teaching has for centuries served as a means of symbolic capital gain for local Anglophone residents and economic capital generation for French migrants seeking a viable and reputable method of subsistence. As Janvrin & Rawlinson recount (2013:98), well-heeled *émigrés* enrolled their progeny at British (public) schools,⁵⁴² before French establishments opened in Chelsea, Somerstown and Hammersmith (*ibid.*) to

538 Also archived in the LFSC.

539 The Pissarro legacy is tangibly maintained through the Pissarro Gallery, owned by the artist's descendants, many of whom made London their permanent residence (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:143).

540 Original: “le passé, le présent et le futur se recourent et s’interpénètrent mutuellement dans l’habitus”.

541 It is notable that, as with current migration waves, an imbalance in cultural capital from one geographical space to another resulted in Coste being over-qualified for his post, having “translated Newton’s *Optics* into French and contributed to France’s ‘enlightenment’ by translating the philosophy of John Locke” (Randall, 2013:35).

542 There is again a link here between past and present, since wealthy London-French parents today, demonstrated by Chantal (see Chapter 9), often opt for an English (public school) education for their children.

meet their demands *and* those of “the children of numerous English families” (ibid.).⁵⁴³ The French Lycée in South Kensington, founded in 1915 (Faucher et al., 2015), is indicative of these cultural dynamics, as in the 1920s it educated more English girls than French (Faucher et al., 2015:37), and for over 60 years has had a dedicated British Section to cater for the educational needs of aspiring non-Francophone local families. Indeed, the symbolic value of a French/bilingual education in an increasingly globalised world is today recognised by ever-growing numbers of French and local families, resulting in the creation of yet more French/bilingual schools in the Capital, the most recent of which are the Lycée Winston Churchill in Wembley (2015) and the International Academy of Greenwich (2016).

A 36-year-old female respondent to the questionnaire distributed at the French Saturday school, *Grenadine*, demonstrates this desire for an education rich in bilingual and bicultural capital. Her children attend:

Pointers School, Blackheath – a co-ed school with a good reputation locally. Since our children are in primary school, we thought it best for them to take advantage of the English language as much as possible to start with, before going onto a French or bilingual secondary school later.⁵⁴⁴

To open these French schools – past and present – and offer an education of (socio-cultural) distinction in French language and arts,⁵⁴⁵ as well as in the humanities, mathematics, science and medicine, for which London’s historic waves of French migrants had developed a reputation (Randall, 2013:21, 27, 29, 35; Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:98), it was, and remains, necessary to employ sufficient numbers of teachers to fill the posts. Such systematic recruitment of French migrants⁵⁴⁶ into the English education system has therefore enhanced France’s educational and cultural symbolic status in London over the centuries.⁵⁴⁷

Whether in terms of the artisan craft capital introduced by the Huguenots,⁵⁴⁸ or the

543 Original: “les enfants de nombreuses familles anglaises”.

544 Original: “Pointers School, Blackheath – Ecole mixte réputée dans notre quartier. Nos enfants étant en primaire nous avons préféré dans un premier temps qu’ils profitent le plus possible de l’anglais, pour ensuite en secondaire intégrer une école française ou bilingue.”

545 For example, the painter, sculptor and engraver, Alphonse Legros, learnt his craft with Rodin in France in the mid 1800s, before emigrating to London in 1863 and becoming a teacher of fine art at the Slade School, where he remained for 17 years (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:144).

546 Bellion’s research shows that teaching is the profession most represented by London’s French residents (2005:12).

547 One figure who was particularly influential in this respect was Denis Saurat, whose work at the French Institute and King’s College London during the Second World War (Cornick, 2013:347) has left a lasting legacy.

548 For instance, the musical instrument makers of London’s East End (Hobbs, 2004:143)

cultural capital of music makers and performers,⁵⁴⁹ the legacy of London's French communities is indisputable. Today, the performing arts' tradition continues through the productions of amateur theatre groups such as Tamise en Scene⁵⁵⁰ or E(x)change Theatre, or indeed through music events like the 2013 London OohLaLA festival. This rich and long cultural heritage serves to bridge past and present, as well as injecting symbolic value into a minority group, whom, unlike other migrant populations, has a distinctive reputation in the "host" imagination as talented working citizens, contributing positively to the diasporic field on social and cultural levels alike.

In a familiar cycle of reproduction, where "the social structure tends to be self-perpetuating" (Bourdieu, 1994:39),⁵⁵¹ many members of the contemporary French community in London fulfil the same professional roles as their predecessors. In the late 1700s, post-Revolution "exiles occupied a number of niches in London. Economically, they were often able to continue their previous scholarly or artisanal pursuits, or found work by meeting London's brisk demand for French cooking, tailoring and language instruction, whether they had experience in those trades or not" (Jones & Tombs, 2013:176). French language teachers and university lecturers remained in high demand during the Belle Epoque.⁵⁵² Likewise, in the early Victorian era, London's French population was "not to be found loafing in the neighbourhood of Leicester Square and Piccadilly" (Villars, "The French", 1901:133, quoted in Atkin, 2003:185, and subsequently in Kelly, 2013:312), but "in City offices and warehouses, in workshops and studios, in West End establishments and shops, in schools and in private families" (ibid.). In other words, historic waves of French migrants in London represented the same diversity of occupations as in the present day. It is

and later Sébastien Erard, who opened a shop in Great Portland Street (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:105).

549 Such as the Laniers (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:69; Randall, 2013:24); the renowned violinist and harpist, the comte de Marin (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:98); French Catholic dancers (Randall, 2013:41); and David Garrigue, a second-generation French protestant exile, who founded the ever-popular Garrick theatre (Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:69; Randall, 2013:41). French actors again took to London stages to great acclaim at the turn of the 20th century, most notably Réjane, Sacha Guitry and Yvonne Printemps (Rapoport, 2013:275), and in the 1930s, Michel Saint-Denis directed The London Theatre Studio (Rapoport, 2013:276).

550 Archived in the LFSC.

551 Original: "la structure sociale tend à se perpétuer".

552 For instance, Bernard Minssen, "with a degree in arts and qualified as a university lecturer [...] was recruited by Harrow, where he taught French" (Rapoport, 2013:262). Therefore, the symbolic worth of Minssen's objectified capital, namely the university qualification, underwent, as is often the case among migrants (Kelly & Lusia, 2006:835, 840; Tzeng, 2010) a downward conversion through his displacement to the London space, where his artistic capital depreciated in value and his "innate" language capital increased.

this long-standing reputation of craft skill, professional dependability and adaptability, together with their “innate” linguistic capital, that has added to the symbolic worth of the community within the London field, attesting to the distinctiveness of the French as a minority migrant group, and in turn to their invisibility, giving “very little trouble to the police and law courts” (ibid.).

The final testament to the symbolic power of French craft capital in the London social field is the extent to which creating an *illusion* of Frenchness functions as a potent semiotic tool. The positive associations made with superficial signs of Frenchness, in particular French-sounding names, means that they are used purely symbolically to market British brands. For example, Maman Bébé Jojo and Café Rouge are in fact English, the high-end furniture designer/retailer Boconcept, Danish, and more locally to me are the “Francicised” businesses, Jolie à Pied (East Dulwich), Bon Vélo (Herne Hill) and la Petite Bretagne (Clapham). Just as “older associations of *terroir* with authenticity and regional identity have been reinflected in recent decades in order to chime with contemporary concerns [...and] become brands *par excellence*” (Guy, 2011:461), so the aforementioned labels play on French *savoir-faire* and *savoir-vivre* (ibid.) to represent style and quality, with Frenchness becoming “a shared language of connectedness, seemingly bridging the gap between [...] past and present” (Guy, 2011:461-2). This is precisely the insinuation of François, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, in his reference to “luxury” constituting the symbolic French contribution to the city, namely, that which the London-French press typically term “the French touch”. Sadia defines this somewhat nebulous, but undeniably positive designation,⁵⁵³ as follows:

The “French touch”, it’s like an intuitive French flair. [...] In terms of taste, it’s an upbringing, a culture, traditions, a way of life... a lifestyle in itself. Even with very little money the quality of life is better in France. Take my family, in the countryside, they prepare healthy meals, and it’s always delicious. I mean, even my aunts, their houses are gorgeous, they don’t have much... but they’ve got good taste. They put little ribbons on things, they make things themselves, they like old objects, they like antiques, I mean, things of beauty... They haven’t studied for a degree like me, nothing like that, actually, it’s just... Where does it come from? Really, where does

553 A designation which seems to be used more in French discursive contexts than English. A Google search resulted in most French hits – i.e. using the article “le” – relating to social media and mainstream media pages, whereas the Anglophone results – using “the” – tended to represent businesses using “the French touch” phrase as a symbolic branding tool, notably in commercial fields of historical pertinence, such as flower arranging in Ireland (e.g. www.thefrenchtouch.ie), vintage furniture upholstery and “revamping” in Victoria, Canada (www.afrenchtouchfurniture.com), commercial music labels in the US/UK (e.g. <http://thefrenchtouchconnection.com/>) and teaching or private tuition firms in London (<http://www.frenchtouchlessons.com/en/>).

that actually come from? I mean, that's just the way it is, it's just that sense of taste.⁵⁵⁴

Sadia's description touches on the dynamics of the symbolic and material aspects of the French touch. It is at once an intangible "flair" and a tangible set of dispositions and practices that over time constitute a shared culture. Her aunts' use of ribbons (recalling the craft capital of French migrant women in centuries past, Janvrin & Rawlinson, 2013:97) impart a subtle, yet noticeable aesthetic in the material habitat,⁵⁵⁵ just as the salubrious and gustative quality of her rural relatives' meals resonate with the concept of "taste" that Sadia uses to summarise this material-notional complex in a single word. It is of note that Sadia also considers this good taste to be naturally acquired, rather than taught in an educational framework, in other words, a domestic (in both senses) habitus or hexis, a form of "tacit knowledge" (Polanyi, 1958[2002]) implicitly transmitted from one generation to the next within a framed cultural context, in this case, France. For her, therefore, the French touch (or "Love of beauty", as Poirier terms it, 2006:19-28)⁵⁵⁶ transcends the social distinctions alluded to frequently by Bourdieu (1979b), and as such simultaneously transcends the dispositions associated with particular habituses of practice found in different social and geographical spaces in France, instead representing a deeper cultural habitus linked purely to being "French", in the "low/non-dominant" culture sense of the term. At least, that is the broad-brush interpretation of the French touch perceived through the Anglicising prism of a long-term London-French resident, her vision perhaps obscured by nostalgia and the symbolic influences present in the diasporic space, where Frenchness has considerable aesthetic and distinctive semiotic affordances.

It is for this reason that many terms related to "luxury" (François), "quality" and "taste" (Sadia) remain in their French guise within the English language, the direct linguistic transposition, as opposed to a calque or an Anglicised distortion, itself carrying semiotic weight regarding the inherent *prestige* of Frenchness, even lexically. Therefore, *de luxe*, *crème de la crème*, *je ne sais quoi*, *par excellence*, *elite*, *bourgeoisie*, *nonpareil* and so on,

554 Original: "Le 'French touch' c'est comme un flair français. [...] Au niveau du goût, c'est une éducation, c'est une culture, c'est des traditions, c'est une façon de vivre... la façon de vivre en elle même. Même avec très peu d'argent en France la qualité de vie est meilleure. Je vois ma famille, à la campagne, ils préparent des repas sains, et c'est toujours délicieux. Enfin, même mes tantes, leurs maisons sont magnifiques, elles ont pas beaucoup ... mais elles ont du goût. Elles mettent des petits rubans, elles font des choses elles-mêmes, elles aiment les vieux objets, elles aiment les antiquités, enfin, les belles choses... Elles ont pas étudié ce que j'ai étudié en *degré* en fait, rien du tout, c'est juste... D'où ça vient? C'est vrai, d'où ça vient ça, finalement? C'est comme ça, quoi, en fait, c'est juste ce goût."

555 Doubtless that which the English Canadian furniture repurposing company mentioned in the footnote above are attempting to emulate.

556 Original: "L'amour du beau".

all relate to abstract concepts associated with wealth and extravagance, whose embeddedness in the French language and culture convey socio-semiotic meanings beyond their propositional function, undoubtedly rooted in the upper-class British circles who used them as signifiers of social distinction in centuries past, the echoes of which resonate still in contemporary British society. Meanwhile, terms such as *eau de parfum*, *en vogue*, *haute couture*, *haute cuisine*, *porcelain*, *champagne*, *claret*, *trompe l'oeil*, *chaise-longue* and so forth correspond to the fields of expertise and the craft capital introduced to London by historic waves of French migration and readily adopted by wealthy “hosts”, all of which today constitute material components of the diasporic field, “fractal habitus” (Rowell, 2011:333), whose symbolic worth is intertwined with material value, craft capital and, ultimately, Frenchness. Luxury is (in) French in the London field, the migration of French terms of extravagance into the English lexicon – and their immutability over time – being the articulated embodiment of “host” appropriation of the *finesse*, *savoir faire* and *panache* imported with French communities. It is this potent symbolic capital that arguably has given French residents in the metropolis *carte blanche*, effortlessly and invisibly integrating diverse fields, thanks in part to their presumed, and historico-culturally defined, expertise: a type of positive discrimination.

The cultural dynamics of French migration to London are thus complex, involving a combination of geographical, temporal and social mobility. The following section will attempt to gain an understanding of how my research participants negotiate and experience their Frenchness, focusing in particular on symbolic linguistic capital.

7.2 NAVIGATING LINGUISTIC CAPITAL AND DEFICIENCY: “French is recognised as an asset”

The French language occupies a fundamental place in French culture, at field and habitus levels. Its centrality is illustrated institutionally, structurally⁵⁵⁷ and politically⁵⁵⁸ in the

557 Institutional and structural field examples include the Académie Française, created in 1635 to standardise and unify the language across France; the IOF (Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie), founded in 1970 to unite French-speaking countries across the world and promote French as a global language capable of countering the emerging global dominance of English; France’s worldwide network of *lycées*, designed to ensure that France’s migrant children can, as Sarkozy pleaded in his 2007 presidential campaign speech, “go home” with relative ease, should they wish; or its international Alliance Française and French Institute networks, both publicly subsidised to increase France’s cultural and linguistic worldwide reach.

558 French Culture Minister Jacques Toubon’s law of 1994 stipulated that French be the exclusive language in official State and private sector documentation, including commercial

domestic and international social space, and is equally evident through its place in the field of popular music,⁵⁵⁹ for example. On the level of habitus, in particular that of my research participants, the French tongue is considered to be an essential component of their identity and a conveyor of multiple symbolic meanings in both originary and diasporic fields.

Robert and Bruno consider the French accent to invoke positive connotations in the London field, perceiving it as a form of symbolic capital, itself representative of the “French touch” alluded to above. Bruno, explains that the French Touch is “a matter of accent, because people immediately recognise us because of our accent, but I think the French Touch also has a positive side... in catering.”⁵⁶⁰ The material legacy of the French chefs and French culinary craft capital that has infiltrated the “host” culture through centuries of migration to London has bequeathed Bruno a symbolic inheritance of benefit to his professional activity⁵⁶¹ and perceived status, identifiable semiotically through the disposition of accent alone. This may be why, as de Roquemaurel, author of the autobiographical work *La Reine, la City et les grenouilles* (2014), posits that “[s]ome people even go so far as to exaggerate their French accent [...] proudly displaying the Frenchness [...] as a nationalist claim” (2014:82).⁵⁶² However, the “beautiful accent”⁵⁶³ to which Robert alludes, and others purportedly hyperbolise as an embodied, modal affirmation of their cultural heritage, is experienced by others less favourably.

Brice underlines the semiotic ambiguity of the French accent, claiming it to infer “positive” dimensions of Frenchness, “the charmer or romantic”, yet concomitantly harbouring negative affordances, potentially evoking an individual who is “arrogant, who doesn’t wash”.⁵⁶⁴ On a personal level, the French accent is a disposition/mode Brice is able

transactions, advertisements and all domestic audiovisual production, with the exception of music, where a quota of French-language songs was instead set for radio broadcasters. Twenty years on, in an age of instantaneous global communication, much of which is in English, the law remains, somewhat artificially, in force, with radio presenters referring obediently to “courriels” or, more clumsily, “courriers électroniques”, and “mots clefs”, while private individuals speak of email and hash tags.

559 Whereas in the UK, melody tends to take precedence over the word, in much French popular music, priority is given to lyrics. Demonstrating this emphasis is the documentary *Je t’aime: The Story of French Song with Petula Clark*, the aim of which was to explore “the story of the lyric-driven French chanson” (BBC 4, 2015). This may explain the relative lack of success of the latter outside the Francophone world and, conversely, the success of rap and contemporary slam poets like Grand Corps Malade in France.

560 Original: “une histoire d’accent, parce qu’on nous reconnaît de suite par rapport à notre accent, mais je pense aussi que le French Touch ça a un côté positif... en cuisine”.

561 As a French head chef in a central London eatery.

562 Original: “[c]ertains vont même jusqu’à exagérer leur accent français [...] arborant fièrement la francité [...] comme une revendication nationaliste”.

563 Original: “bel accent”.

564 Originals: “le charmeur ou romantique [...] arrogant, qui se lave pas”.

to manipulate to his own whimsical ends:⁵⁶⁵ “I play around with the cliché”.⁵⁶⁶ Yet, he acknowledges that its ultimate symbolic value is determined by the listener, “becoming a new inward sign” (Kress, 2010:32), the speaker often having little control over the cultural semiosis: “people throw in pretty much what they want, and often stereotypes”.⁵⁶⁷ This culturally dynamic process of stereotypical meaning making recalls Herman’s “hermeneutic circle” (2007:225) and the potential harm involved when reducing “Frenchness” to a nexus of national dispositions. As Suzanne explains, it soon runs the risk of evolving into prejudice and causing symbolic harm: “I really hate generalising, I hate it, because when people do it to me: ‘you’re French, so...’, ‘the French, so...’, it hurts.”⁵⁶⁸ There is little doubt, however, that in the London field, a French accent is often associated with sexualised and intellectualised national stereotypes, perhaps stemming from 20th-century “mediated cultural icons” (Sprio, 2013:151),⁵⁶⁹ or rooted further back in the historical field.⁵⁷⁰ In this sense, it is arguably a distinctive form of cultural capital in London: an intrinsic characteristic borne of the physical habits of the tongue, or the “linguistic habitus” (Bourdieu, 2001[1982]:113), which, when transposed to a new cultural setting assumes an inhabitual sexualised value, thus confirming Kelly & Lusi’s contention of variable cultural capital exchange rates between the ordinary and migratory fields (2006:835-6).

Sarah reasserts both the erotic and highbrow connotations of the French language as a semiotic force in the diasporic field, but she also highlights the value it is awarded in education, having noted an unjust distinction of Frenchness vis-à-vis so-called “community” languages:

French is recognised as an asset here. The fact that I speak French... There’s always that romantic image of French, and literary... For example, my daughter’s trilingual [French, Spanish, English], and at school they’re very positive about her languages. But I’ve seen loads of other kids who are trilingual because they speak Punjabi or Nigerian, etc., and I don’t think they’ve been so positive with them [...] there’s a

565 He is audibly of sufficient proficiency in both French and English to be able to do so.

566 Original: “je joue avec dans la caricature”.

567 Original: “les gens mettent dedans un peu ce qu’ils veulent et souvent donc des stéréotypes”.

568 Original: “je déteste généraliser vraiment, je déteste, parce que quand on me fait ça: ‘tu es française, donc...’, ‘les Français, donc...’, ça fait du mal”.

569 The *femmes fatales* of the French New Wave, Brigitte Bardot, Jeanne Moreau, Ana Karina, for instance, or their male counterparts, Jean-Paul Belmondo and Alain Delon, or popularised French thinkers such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus.

570 Namely, at the time of the publication of the Marquis de Sade’s erotic works or when rumours of the libertine sexuality of Louis XV were circulating among the very aristocrats who found themselves exiled in London following the French Revolution some years later. Similarly, most foreign prostitutes in 19th-century London were referred to as “French”, even though they were not.

difference, and that's sad. ⁵⁷¹

This pertinent observation of the contemporary power dynamics of different languages in London is again solidly rooted in history. While the relegation of African and Asian languages to positions of inferiority, or perhaps more aptly silence, in the official field of education, and by extension the workplace, re-articulates the symbolic devaluation of local populations under colonialism, conversely, the recognition of French as the language of romance and letters recalls the value assigned to it through the positive contributions made by previous waves of migration. Moreover, the inaudibility of (certain) “community languages” manifests precisely the insidious powers referred to Bourdieu, the subtle symbolic domination which very few think to question. By not granting these languages institutionally objectivised recognition, they remain ephemeral and imperceptible dimensions of habitus, never penetrating the field and thus never gaining any value as exchangeable forms of capital on the labour – or broader social – market (Bourdieu, 2001[1982]:72).⁵⁷² Conversely, French has gained high status in the field, legitimised through official adoption and approval as the dominant second language taught in English schools.

Somewhat surprisingly, however, it is the symbolic linguistic devaluation linked to “community” languages with which successful City banker, de Roquemaurel, identifies (2014). In his account, there is no trace of the romanticised, symbolically distinctive worth of the French accent noted by several of my research participants, rather de Roquemaurel painfully alludes to the frustrations of having insufficient linguistic capital to effectively convey his thoughts, and the humiliation such deficiencies bring in the struggle for belonging. According to the author, other members of London's French community, like himself,

571 Original: “Ici, c'est clair que le français est reconnu comme un atout. Le fait que je parle français... Il y a toujours cette image romantique du français, puis littéraire... Par exemple, ma fille, elle est trilingue [français, espagnol, anglais], et à l'école ils sont très positifs sur ses langues. Après, j'ai vu pleins d'autres enfants qui sont trilingues parce qu'ils parlent punjabi ou nigérien, etc., et je n'ai pas l'impression qu'on a été aussi positif avec eux [...] il y a une différence, et ça c'est triste.”

572 Equally, by recognising the legitimacy of standard English, French and other “official” languages (notably of the European Union), which can be exchanged for objectivised institutional capital such as GCSE or A level qualifications, public authorities and authority figures (teachers, employers, etc.) are at once giving those whose mother tongue is one of these languages an advantage and disadvantaging further those whom, in many cases, are already in socially disadvantaged positions, by negating the symbolic worth of their languages. This will doubtless translate into deficits in objectivised symbolic capital and related monetary insufficiencies later in life, as touched upon in Chapter 3.

suffer from their accent in silence, like from an indelible birthmark. I personally experience this Gallic trait that distorts my language as a disability, a handicap far worse than a vice, because unlike many psychological defects, it is difficult to hide a vile accent. It adorns my thoughts and my words, it corrupts everything that escapes from my mouth, down to the most benign onomatopoeia or interjections.⁵⁷³

The intensity of internal suffering caused by living with his accent, even after twelve years of residency in London (2014:11), is exposed through the vehemence of his words.⁵⁷⁴ De Roquemaurel's "vile" accent is experienced as a debilitating disorder, not a romantic asset. "Worse than a vice", it is an innate disability over which he has no control, its inevitability increasing his frustration and its corporeality exacerbating his emotions; he feels cheated by his own body, his tongue remaining distinctly French, while his mind and outlook have been transformed through the migratory process. In this light, de Roquemaurel and several of my research participants appear to be experiencing a hysteresis effect: a considerable lag discernible between his linguistic habitus and the adopted field (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]:178, 260). Bourdieu contends that with considerable effort it is possible to alter a particular accent within the French language, but its traces never fully disappear (2005:45). When attempting to lose a national accent in a foreign tongue, the scope for eradication is reduced further, with the originary linguistic habitus susceptible to change only "within the limits inherent in its originary 'structure'" (Bourdieu, 2005:65). In this case, it is a matter of powerful physical structures, determined by the flexibility of the tongue and the sensitivity of the ear. Thus, despite de Roquemaurel's desire to assimilate his Englishness to the bodily extent of his tongue, ultimately, he seems unable to subvert this fundamental and intimate aspect of hexis (Maton, 2012). This in turn excludes him from full integration in the social space, his identity, "this perceived-being which exists fundamentally through recognition from others" (Bourdieu, 1982[2001]:287),⁵⁷⁵ being pre-reflexively identified as Other, the moment he speaks.

Furthermore, as Bourdieu foregrounds the social implications of the mode of accent (2001[1982]:126-131), so de Roquemaurel remarks its socio-semiotic relevance, which

573 Original: "souffrent en silence de leur accent, comme d'une tache de naissance indélébile. Je vis personnellement cet air gaulois qui travestit mon langage comme une infirmité, un handicap bien pire qu'un vice, parce qu'à la différence de nombreux défauts de l'âme, on peut difficilement dissimuler son vil accent. Il habille mes pensées et mes mots, il corrompt tout ce qui échappe de ma bouche, jusqu'à mes onomatopées et interjections les plus anodines."

574 For example, the French verb "travestir" can be translated as "distort", "misrepresent" or "*deform*".

575 Original: "cet être-perçu qui existe fondamentalement par la reconnaissance des autres".

compounds his sense of exclusion and inferiority in the diasporic space. Bourdieu notes the “stigma” (2001[1982]:282) that accompanies certain linguistic traits.⁵⁷⁶ Similarly, de Roquemaurel refers to his national accent as an “immigrant complex” (2014:86), issuing from “the internalisation of a social stigmatisation of the deviant accent” (ibid.),⁵⁷⁷ considered of particular symbolic value – or depreciation – in the migratory field. Both authors also observe a perceived correlation between a strong accent and intellectual incapacity. Bourdieu emphasises the bodily, domestic prominence of “‘guttural’ accents” (2001[1982]:129),⁵⁷⁸ which by default negates their intellectual and professional standing. Likewise, de Roquemaurel notes an association between a “non-orthodox accent and intellectual deficiency”, making an explicit link between a thick accent and a “thick mind” (2014:86-7). It is an inferiority complex that haunts de Roquemaurel throughout his daily life as a migrant in London, pursuing him into the professional field, where he feels his distinctive accent not only intensifies the struggle for belonging, but belies the competence of his mind: “How could a thick accent communicate refined, subtle thinking?” (2014:87).⁵⁷⁹ He therefore fears being the subject of ridicule among colleagues (2014:88), for it is deemed socio-culturally acceptable in the diasporic field to deride Frenchness in its incorporated form as accent.⁵⁸⁰

However, de Roquemaurel, together with Bourdieu and several of my research participants, conclude that the socio-semiotic transformation of their speech engendered through migration has had a liberating effect, allowing them to free themselves of the symbolic impedimenta of their originary linguistic habitus, so powerful in the primary social space, yet of no symbolic weight in the migratory context, as Catherine recounts:

I feel freer in England than I do in France [...]. You’re both anonymous, because people don’t know your background: there’s not that negative influence of your accent [...], but at the same time they notice you’re foreign, because you’ve got that slight foreign accent in English [and] a certain status.⁵⁸¹

576 Himself the product of a region with a pronounced accent and distinct language (his proficiency in Béarnais is evidenced throughout *Le bal des célibataires*, 2002), the markedness and symbolism of which took on greater meaning during his social and geographical mobility inside France.

577 Original: “complexe d’immigré [...] l’intériorisation d’une stigmatisation sociale de l’accent déviant”.

578 Original: “accents ‘grasseyants’”.

579 Original: “Comment un accent épais pourrait-il accompagner la communication d’une pensée fine et subtile?”

580 As popular culture has testified through the success of such national caricatures as the *Pink Panther*’s Inspector Clouseau or the “French” cast of the long-running BBC sitcom *Allo, Allo!* (de Roquemaurel, 2014:87).

581 Original: “Je me sens plus libre en Angleterre que ce que je me sens en France [...]. À la fois on est anonyme parce que les personnes ne connaissent pas nos antécédents: il n’y a

In the diasporic field, Catherine’s nationally defined accent transcends the regionally or socially nuanced inflexions discernible in the originary field, endowing her with a status previously denied, and a liberating anonymity.⁵⁸² De Roquemaurel identifies the same phenomenon, stating that migration has provided him with the freedom to “get out of the mental, familial and social structures of his country of birth” (2014:164).⁵⁸³ Being placed in a foreign field has freed him from the socially and filially stratified habitus meanings of the originary space, enabling a “freedom to evolve in a completely anonymous environment, where nothing [he] might have represented in France has the least significance here” (ibid.).⁵⁸⁴ Socio-culturally telling signs of the primary space are hence rendered meaningless in the migratory field, where most individuals have not acquired the cultural capital necessary to be able to decode the symbols. Language, dialect and accent, as Bourdieu writes, “are subject to *mental representations*, that is, acts of perception and evaluation, knowledge and acknowledgement” (2001[1982]:281-282; original emphasis).⁵⁸⁵ Therefore, devoid of the cultural *knowledge*, the “host” population are typically unable to *acknowledge* social symbols of the primary habitus, and this social anonymity is found to be a powerful liberating force. According to Miranda, the most enjoyable aspect of her London mobility was:

being free, being able to be anonymous, [...] being able to speak another language. Not speaking your own language actually creates a kind of barrier that allows you to say what you want, and that’s what I love. [...] In France, I think a bit more about what I’m saying. Here, I say to myself, yeah, go on, I can say what I want really, with my bad accent they won’t judge me, it’ll be alright.⁵⁸⁶

While de Roquemaurel and Miranda both appreciate the semiotic anonymity of migration, Miranda, unlike the former, finds her French accent to be a licence to utter

pas le poids de l’accent [...], mais en même temps ils remarquent qu’on est étranger, parce qu’on a un petit accent étranger en anglais [et] un certain statut.”

582 A sentiment which recalls the “comfortable anonymity” of Favell’s participants (2008a:37).

583 Original: “sortir des structures mentales, familiales et sociales de [s]on pays de naissance”.

584 Original: “liberté d’évoluer dans un environnement complètement anonyme, où rien de ce que je pourrais représenter en France n’a la moindre signification ici”.

585 Original: “sont l’objet de *représentations mentales*, c’est-à-dire d’actes de perception et d’appréciation, de connaissance et de reconnaissance”.

586 Original: “le fait d’être libre, de pouvoir être anonyme, [...] de pouvoir parler une autre langue. Ne pas parler sa propre langue, ça crée cette espèce de barrière, en fait, qui nous permet de pouvoir dire ce qu’on veut, et c’est ça que j’adore. [...] En France, je réfléchis un peu plus à ce que je dis. Ici, je me dis, ouais, allez, je peux dire un peu ce que je veux, et avec mon pauvre accent ils vont pas me juger, ça va aller.”

thoughts unutterable – at least without careful consideration – in the primary habitat. In this excerpt, she subverts the traditional notion of foreign language as a communication barrier, conceptualising it instead as a barrier preventing the onset of the inhibitions of her native tongue. The diametrically opposed relationships with the inherent Frenchness of their accents has gendered undertones, since de Roquemaurel might experience his accent as a handicap precisely because of the linguistic intimidation (Bourdieu, 1982[2001]:79) he perceives within the professional context, aware that “the French accent can prove a handicap for the financial expert who needs to base his professional credibility on symbols signalling the seriousness and importance of his position” (2014:88).⁵⁸⁷ Yet, adopting the accent of dominant individuals involves, according to Bourdieu, a double negation of the speaker’s virility, owing to the fact that language acquisition “requires submissiveness [...], and that this submissiveness encourages dispositions themselves to be perceived as effeminate” (2001[1982]:130).⁵⁸⁸ It is perhaps for this reason that de Roquemaurel is incapable of losing his French accent, subconsciously unwilling to submit to the “foreign” forces, whereas Miranda was comfortable with her accent when she arrived, deploying it as a mechanism for free speech, but has since opened her ears and adapted her tongue to adopt a highly convincing English accent.⁵⁸⁹ These examples therefore demonstrate the centrality of engrained and embodied accent to identity and the struggle for belonging in the diasporic field.

It is somewhat paradoxical that the initial motivation for many of my research participants to migrate to London was to acquire English language competence and convert such linguistic mastery into symbolic capital: “I needed English, so I decided to go to England to learn the language,” explains Arthur, “it’s good to have London on your CV.”⁵⁹⁰ Nevertheless, having migrated and acquired English as a symbolic asset, it is their mother tongue many participants appear to value most, considering it to be fundamental to their identity and a form of cultural capital they are intent on transmitting to their London-French progeny.⁵⁹¹ As one respondent to my survey wrote, “We like transmitting who we are”,⁵⁹²

587 Original: “l’accent français peut s’avérer un handicap pour le financier qui a besoin d’asseoir sa crédibilité professionnelle sur des symboles signalant le sérieux et l’importance de sa fonction”.

588 Original: “demande la docilité [...], et que cette docilité porte vers des dispositions elles-mêmes perçues comme efféminées”.

589 It could also be argued, however, that Bourdieu’s association of linguistic submission with innately feminine characteristics is itself inherently sexist and outdated.

590 Original: “il me fallait l’anglais, donc j’ai décidé d’aller en Angleterre pour apprendre la langue [...] c’est bien d’avoir Londres sur le CV”.

591 Including Arthur, who regularly sends his young child to Grenadine Saturday school.

592 Original: “On aime transmettre ce que l’on est”.

and that which appears most constitutive of Frenchness is the language. Another survey respondent framed the need to transmit the French language to her son in pragmatic terms: “I speak to him in French as often as possible, we watch French DVDs and read French books. I’d like my son to know both cultures so he can decide where he wants to live later.”⁵⁹³ Whereas a different mother responding to the survey wrote: “I speak to my daughter exclusively in French, I often cook French, we always eat together, I read her books in French, teach her French nursery rhymes. Because it’s my heritage, my culture, my identity.”⁵⁹⁴ Recalling Sarah’s testimony, examined in Chapter 4,⁵⁹⁵ the interconnectedness of the corporeal, buccal practices of eating and speaking French with the abstract idea of identity, of what it is to be French, is fundamental. Indeed, “[w]ithout access to language there is no access to the symbols necessary for thinking and acting as a self in a structured world of symbolic meaning” (Elliott, 2008). This explains the continued popularity of French schools in the diasporic field, serving as both a means of facilitating potential return migration and of transmitting bodily and symbolic articulations of Frenchness; in other words, an agentive means of ensuring that the originary habitus is reproduced.

The desire to transfer the linguistic capital of the primary habitus to their progeny is also the result of an awakening to their own “drift of character, of corrosion of the self” (Elliott, 2008:140). That is, being immersed in the culture of the diasporic field over a prolonged period, as explored in Chapters 4-6, the innate habitus of many French migrants transforms and adopts transnational features acquired in London. Such identity “flux” (ibid.) manifests itself potently through language, with several of my interviewees, like Robert, having “the impression of being a different person when speaking English and French. There’s another personality I discover in myself; I’m a bit more talkative, more at ease, less shy.”⁵⁹⁶ He, like Miranda, finds speaking English unlocks a formerly repressed, intimidated aspect of his character. This is pertinent, for as Elliott (2008:30) and Bourdieu (2001[1982]:287) argue, one’s self-identity is defined as much by others as by the self, and

593 Original: “je lui parle français le plus souvent possible, nous regardons des DVDs français et lisons des livres en français. Je désire que mon fils connaisse les deux cultures pour qu’il puisse décider où il veut vivre plus tard.”

594 Original: “Je parle exclusivement à ma fille en français, je cuisine souvent français, nous mangeons toujours ensemble, je lui lis des livres en français, lui apprends des comptines françaises. Car c’est mon héritage, ma culture, mon identité.”

595 Sarah: “I’d say my French identity is my language, the link to food, and nothing much else”. [Original: “Je dirais que mon identité française, c’est ma langue, c’est le lien à la nourriture, et puis pas grand-chose d’autre.”]

596 Original: “l’impression d’être une personne différente quand je parle en anglais et français. Il y a une autre personnalité que je découvre en moi; je suis un peu plu loquace, plus à l’aise, moins timide.”

as such, the reduction in the sensation of shyness perceived by Robert when speaking English, i.e. an embodied articulation of Englishness, could be a direct corollary of the reduced intimidation encountered in the diasporic field and of an evolving habitus. Since Bourdieu conjectures that “shyness lies in the relationship between an intimidating person or situation [...] and the intimidated person” (2001[1982]:79), and “the intimidation, a form of symbolic violence which is unaware of itself as such [...], can only operate on a person predisposed (in their habitus) to feel it” (ibid.).⁵⁹⁷ Thus, through speaking English, Robert’s linguistic habitus is transformed, which in turn impacts on his habitus more generally, allowing him to cast aside the positioning of exclusion and victimisation to which he was accustomed in the primary space⁵⁹⁸ and instead feel comfortable in his new embodied “Londonishness”. Séverine also attests to being inhabited by alternative identities when speaking English and French: “I’m not the same person, absolutely not [...] I’m immediately a little more sophisticated with French, a little more, almost snobbish, and then my voice, my pitch is higher than with English.”⁵⁹⁹ Not only does she adopt a different vocabulary when moving from one language to another, one selfhood to another, but the timbre of her voice shifts tonally upwards as a multimodal signifier of higher social standing in her originary habitus/hexis than in the diasporic field, where her embodied Frenchness serves as a social leveller, as seen above.

The most disturbing examples of identity blending engendered through “translanguaging” (Wei, 2011) are those affecting the migrants’ progeny.⁶⁰⁰ Sprio writes that “[f]luency of language is often the marker through which cultural identity is negotiated, and lack of entry into language through non-fluency is still a way to differentiate between assumed ‘true’ assimilation and a more partial one” (2013:227). Consequently, for London-French parents, witnessing their children’s lexical and phonological lacunae in the “mother” tongue can represent a painful division, their “own flesh and blood” being only a partial incorporation of themselves. Their children’s spoken embodiment of English culture is perceived as a threat to self-identification with their French heritage. Marie recalls vividly the physical revulsion caused by the realisation that her children were losing their French

597 Originals: “la timidité réside dans la relation entre la situation ou la personne intimidante [...] et la personne intimidée” ... “l’intimidation, violence symbolique que s’ignore comme telle [...], ne peut s’exercer que sur une personne prédisposée (dans son habitus) à la ressentir”.

598 Intimidated at once through his modest social heritage and his sexual orientation.

599 Original: “je ne suis pas la même personne, absolument pas [...] je suis tout de suite un peu plus sophistiquée avec le français, un peu plus, presque snob, et puis ma voix, mon registre est plus élevé qu’avec l’anglais.”

600 Disturbing for the parents rather than the children, whose verbal incorporation of Englishness does not appear to perturb them.

linguistic and cultural bearings: “it was a huge worry for me. At one point, my children couldn’t speak French any more, and then, really, I freaked out. I was sickened. It was important, for example, for my mother who couldn’t speak English. So I sent them to French school.”⁶⁰¹ Marie experiences her children’s loss of French as a personal loss, almost a second post-natal rupture, this time the severance being a symbolic habitus estrangement, as opposed to a physical separation between mother and newborn, but no less powerful for it. Her sense of distress is heightened by the French language being a communication tool vital for the maintenance of filial ties, as well as being a conceptual vector: “a language is a whole state of mind, so if you don’t speak it, that way of thinking fades away.”⁶⁰²

Marie therefore opted for the French education system as a mechanism for generating French linguistic capital and, by extension, minimising the breach between her children and older family members, as well as between their linguistic and cognitive habitus dispositions and her own. Similarly, Chantal believed that a French education was vital for the transmission of:

the mother tongue, and the French culture too. Then it’s up to them to choose. [...] When they go back to France, [...] when we see them with their cousins, the big difference is that the others have never left their country, they only speak one language, and they look at them like aliens, because they can speak English.⁶⁰³

For Chantal, the acquisition of the *mother tongue*,⁶⁰⁴ as an embodiment of her French cultural identity is fundamental, despite her children being born and raised in London. However, their fluency in French *and* English prevents them from being fully integrated in either cultural field: in London, their membership of the French Lycée and the South Kensington French community gives them a distinctive identity,⁶⁰⁵ and in France, they are estranged from their Franco-French cousins because they do not conform to the dominant monolingual norm. In this sense, rather than a form of cultural capital, their effortless

601 Original: “ça a été un gros souci pour moi. À un moment, mes enfants ne parlaient plus français, et vraiment, j’ai flippé là. J’étais dégoûtée. C’était important, par exemple, pour ma mère qui ne parlait pas anglais. Je les ai donc envoyés à l’école française.”

602 Original: “une langue c’est toute une tournure d’esprit, alors, si on ne la parle pas, cette tournure d’esprit elle diminue.”

603 Original: “la langue maternelle, et puis la culture française aussi. Après, c’est eux qui choisissent. [...] Quand ils rentrent en France, [...] quand on les voit avec leurs cousins et cousines, la grosse différence c’est que les autres n’ont jamais quitté leur pays, ils ne parlent qu’une langue, et ils les regardent comme des aliènes, comme ils arrivent à parler anglais.”

604 The embodied nature of this term is evocative of both the hexis and carnal filial phenomena described above.

605 Set apart from the arguably more integrated London-French who attend local English schools.

translanguaging serves as a liability, compromising integration in both the diasporic and “originary” fields. Sadia, on the other hand, has deprived her children of her native French tongue, thereby reproducing the linguistic (Arabic) disinheritance to which she herself was subject, and yet she considers language to be crucial to identity. As if in an attempt to rationalise this cultural loss and absolve herself of any cultural capital privation, she declares that “even if my kids did speak to me in French, there’d always be the accent, the English accent. It’s like me here, I mean, my French accent will always give me away. And an accent doesn’t go away, well mine doesn’t anyway.”⁶⁰⁶ In diametric opposition to Chantal’s children, it is Sadia’s children’s lack of fluency in the mother tongue that impedes their identification with their French “heritage”, effectively having undergone a linguistic capital disinheritance. As observed with de Roquemaurel, Sadia feels her nationally inflected pronunciation, and that of her children, serves as a stigma, preventing them from ever fully belonging to the fields of their parents. It also prevents Sadia from fully belonging in the diasporic field, and from being at one with her native habitus: “it’s as if I were a foreigner actually. Like, I’m not truly Algerian [...]. I definitely feel more French than Algerian. In France, I don’t feel like a foreigner – although now, what with England and my English husband, and my kids who don’t speak French... It’s awful.”⁶⁰⁷ Linguistic capital is therefore integral to the construction of self-hood and contributes profoundly to sentiments of belonging or, conversely, alienation. With accent being a marker of cultural difference (Bourdieu, 1982[2001]:282-3), it functions not as a materialisation of sociocultural capital here, but sociocultural deficiency.⁶⁰⁸

Brice, on the other hand, bears witness to the sense of being at home in his linguistic London habitus, “I generally feel more comfortable here, in the English language, in the English culture.”⁶⁰⁹ Yet this cultural well-being comes at the expense of a culturo-linguistic disidentification from France, where, like Sadia, he feels “almost like a foreigner”.⁶¹⁰ For

606 Original: “même si mes enfants vont me parler en français, il y aura toujours l’accent, l’accent anglais. C’est comme moi ici, je veux dire, j’aurais toujours mon accent français qui me dénonce. Et un accent, ça part pas, en tous cas, pas le mien.”

607 Original: “c’est comme si j’étais une étrangère en fait. Je ne suis pas vraiment algérienne quoi [...]. Je me sens plus française qu’algérienne, c’est clair. En France, je me sens pas comme une étrangère - quoique maintenant, avec l’Angleterre, et mon mari anglais, et mes enfants qui ne parlent pas français... C’est l’horreur.”

608 It is possible, however, that as a consequence of Sadia’s children’s accented exclusion from full belonging in France, coupled with their linguistic competence in the tongue of their adoptive culture, they are better integrated in London than Chantal’s children, and thus comfortable in their *London-French* habitus and field.

609 Original: “je me sens plus à l’aise ici en général, dans la langue anglaise, dans la culture anglaise.”

610 Original: “presque un peu comme un étranger”.

Robert, however, the generation of linguistic capital in English has not brought about the sense of diasporic security mentioned by Brice. Rather Robert's language gains have resulted in a "linguistic hysteresis effect", that is, an unpleasant sensation of insufficiency and otherness wherever he finds himself, commanding neither English nor French with "native-speaker" ease and intuition:

[English] is still my second language, even if I speak it well. [...] I'm now at the point where my French sometimes gets difficult, and my English isn't that great either, so I sometimes feel a bit *caught between the two*. It's strange. It's a bit of a *no man's land*⁶¹¹ (my emphasis).

Linguistically dislocated, Robert is devoid of solid culturo-linguistic anchorage, seemingly unable to escape his perpetual state of Otherness. It is a sensation which again corresponds closely to Bourdieu's notion of "habitus hysteresis" (1972[2000]:278), with language constituting a powerful disposition which has undergone a structural shift through Robert's long-term positioning in the London field, in turn leading to "the powerlessness often observed" (ibid.).⁶¹² By subverting his pre-destined habitus through the migratory act, Robert has simultaneously undermined the pre-reflexive linguistic practices inherent in his originary habitus, whilst being incapable of developing equally instinctive productive skills in the diasporic language. Rather than perceiving his gain in English linguistic capital as the asset, or symbolic pull factor, it represented prior to migration, Robert experiences his transforming linguistic habitus as a deficit, a dispositional loss leaving him at a loss for words and lost in a disorientating transnational space. A stranger with a strange relationship to his tongue in *both* the diasporic and originary fields, the linguistic hysteresis effect has left him bereft of the natural dispositions he once took for granted, instead producing an awkward Otherness.

Bruno reiterates this sense of linguistic hysteresis, again underlining shortcomings in spontaneous expression in English, contrasted with the pre-reflexive ease of the mother tongue: "there's always an effort to make, to speak, whereas in your own language you don't even think about it."⁶¹³ Miranda is equally emphatic on this point, yet the extent of her embodied habitus transformation means that the linguistic challenges she faces are,

611 Original: "[L'anglais] reste encore ma deuxième langue, même si je la pratique bien. [...] Je suis maintenant au point où mon français devient parfois difficile, et mon anglais il n'est pas au top non plus, donc je me sens un peu parfois *pris entre les deux*. C'est étrange. C'est un peu un '*no man's land*'."

612 Original: "l'impuissance souvent observée".

613 Original: "il y a toujours un effort à faire, à parler, alors que dans sa propre langue on n'y pense même pas."

significantly, in the *originary* field:

When I go back, [...] I have to find my dialect again; the accent, the dialect, not saying English words with an English accent, getting the structures right and all that. It's hard. To begin with they thought I was doing my little English act, but now they realise it's genuinely a problem, and it's tiring.⁶¹⁴

The intellectual investment required in formerly straightforward interactions is evidenced by Miranda's descriptive lexicon.⁶¹⁵ The sense of hysteresis, of a lack of natural synchronicity with her native linguistic habitus, is suggested by the reaction of those from her primary habitat, believing Miranda to be feigning Englishness for symbolic effect, since "any sort of capital [...] is perceived through categories of perception which are the product of the incorporation of divisions" (1994:117).⁶¹⁶ They therefore estrange her from the originary field, just as her communicative shortcomings disconnect her, like Favell's participants (2008a:9-10), from her primary linguistic habitus.

Lastly, Brigitte recounts the symbolic linguistic forces at play regarding her positioning within the transnational spaces she inhabits:

I still feel French, if only through the language. Because it's still the language I speak best, even if I don't speak English well and make more and more mistakes in French. [...] Doing presentations is the worst, I mean, speaking French professionally – it's a catastrophe. I can't find the words, so it comes over as super snobby, so everyone thinks we're showing off a bit, but actually, not at all, it also looks pretty ridiculous!⁶¹⁷

Despite encountering the same communicative shortfalls as Robert, Bruno and Miranda, and deploying analogous, or identical vocabulary, to express her linguistic

614 Original: "Quand je rentre, [...] il faut que je retrouve mon dialecte; l'accent, le dialecte, ne pas sortir les mots anglais avec un accent anglais, sortir les bonnes structures et tout ça. C'est dur. Au début ils croyaient que je faisais ma petite Anglaise, mais maintenant ils se rendent compte que c'est vraiment un problème, et c'est fatigant."

615 Such words as "hard", "tiring" and "problem" occur repeatedly, and the unpacking of the different thought processes involved in speaking in her native tongue reveal the mental strain involved in the simplest of utterances, Miranda having to actively seek out the correct syntax, accent and dialect, and make a conscious effort to express herself convincingly.

616 Original: "toute espèce de capital [...] est perçue à travers des catégories de perception qui sont le produit de l'incorporation des divisions".

617 Original: "Je me sens française quand même, ne serait-ce que par la langue. Parce que ça reste quand même la langue que je parle la mieux, même si je parle pas bien l'anglais et je fais de plus en plus de fautes en français. [...] Le pire c'est quand il faut faire des présentations, enfin au niveau professionnel en français – c'est une catastrophe. Je trouve pas de mots, donc ça fait super snob, donc on croit tous qu'on se la pète un petit peu, mais en fait pas du tout, ça paraît très ridicule aussi!"

struggles in originary and adopted fields alike, Brigitte does not experience this linguistic habitus transformation as a hysteresis trigger. Rather than being stranded in a rhetorical wasteland, her sense of self compromised by her linguistic slippage, she continues to remain steadfast in her identity as a Frenchwoman, at home in her Frenchness. However, the symbolic potency of her loss of French linguistic capital emerges when she considers its effect on her identity and status as a credible scientist, when playing the academic game. As a successful neuroscientist, she believes the meaning potential of her deficient oral performance to include pretentiousness or, worse, ridiculousness, by her expert audience, recalling de Roquemaurel's concerns (2014:88), and constituting an unwitting and unwelcome process "of symbolic alchemy" (Bourdieu, 1994:184).⁶¹⁸ For, just as Bourdieu wrote, the "power of words is nothing other than the spokesperson's delegated power, and their words – that is, the subject matter of their speech and the manner in which they speak are indistinguishable" (1982[2001]:160-1).⁶¹⁹ Therefore, in the same way that de Roquemaurel notes that his French accent "coats the words and affects their rhetorical impact" in the professional field (2014:88),⁶²⁰ so Brigitte's unintentional translanguaging⁶²¹ during presentations in the scientific field risks "cracking, even shattering the fine façade" (ibid.).⁶²² Translanguaging, a practice with which all my research participants identify, together with de Roquemaurel at some length (2014:90-4), ought not to be apprehended in systematically negative or dispositional hysteresis terms, however, because it plays a positive symbolic role in community construction. The "common-unity" of spoken practices, of imperceptibly and spontaneously switching from one language code to another in a manner typical of the diasporic London field is evidence of a shared London-French (linguistic) habitus. Robert, whose frustrations at his increasing capital losses in both French and English were central to his account earlier, later in our conversation frames the specific translanguaging practices of his London-French circle of friends in more objective terms:

618 Original: "d'alchimie symbolique".

619 Original: "pouvoir des paroles n'est autre chose que le pouvoir délégué du porte-parole, et ses paroles – c'est-à-dire, indissociablement, la matière de son discours et sa manière de parler".

620 Original: "enrobe la parole et en affecte la puissance de frappe rhétorique".

621 Mirroring de Roquemaurel's situation, it is the discrepancy between the accuracy of Brigitte's accent in her native tongue and her lexical lacunae, together with her Anglicised repair strategies, that provoke the symbolic capital re-evaluation. Conversely, in de Roquemaurel's case, it is the discrepancy between the quality of his rhetoric and the native inauthenticity of his English accent that disrupt the established symbolic dynamics and are cause for anxiety. In both cases, however, as Bourdieu posits, it is the *manner* in which they speak, in other words the multimodal social semiotic value of their delivery, that takes precedence over the subject *matter*.

622 Original: "fissurer voire faire s'effondrer cette belle façade".

we can quite easily begin in French and end in English, or come out with an English expression we'll all understand because it doesn't really translate into French, or because it sums up either the sentiment or the remark. We do that quite often. Or it might even be just using a single English word in a French sentence. It's quite odd, and anyone listening – anyone French listening – would take us for a bunch of lunatics because it's French mixed with English.⁶²³

It is precisely the exclusivity of this emergent London-French “dialect” that gives it symbolic value in the diasporic space. By excluding Franco-French listeners from London-French conversations through the formers' unfamiliarity with English terms and regular lexical/phonetic blending, the latter are automatically *included* in the communitarian language space. The London-French dialect thus functions dynamically as a mechanism for symbolic belonging and cultural division, referred to by some as “communitarianism”.⁶²⁴ Laura confirms that “there's a new sort of London *franglais*”, giving the example of her daughter, who might say “where's my bag for the [in French] *swimming pool* [in English]?”, or her son, who typically has to “*practise mon violon*”, and even members of her own generation, whose ordinary linguistic habitus is more entrenched, would more readily refer to the school “*auction*” in English than in its French – slightly longer – equivalent.⁶²⁵ Miranda⁶²⁶ sheds more light on the phenomenon, considering the notion of intonation as an additional modal signifier, surpassing the intentions of the speaker:

there's a lot of “code switching”; it's easy to communicate with a lot of my friends because we do it without thinking [...]. Cognitively, it's easier, the words often come quicker in English. [...] But that happens in all *communities*. Even when we speak French, but use an English word, we'll immediately put English intonation and sounds onto it. [...] Actually, the sounds come to me automatically, they're established in my phonetic space in English. Even just saying “OK” [with a French accent], is an effort – it's funny. [...] Sometimes I come out with French words that are half English: the other day instead of saying “to plan” in French [“*planifier*”], I said “*planer*” [based on the English word, but actually meaning to glide or hover in French]. I often invent things like that, and they understand [at home], but it's a bit

623 Original: “on peut très bien commencer en français et terminer en anglais, ou sortir une expression anglaise qu'on va tous comprendre parce qu'elle se traduit pas vraiment en français, ou parce qu'elle va résumer soit le sentiment ou la remarque. On a tendance à faire ça. Ou même ne serait-ce qu'à utiliser un seul mot anglais dans la phrase française. C'est assez particulier, et les gens qui nous écouteront – les Français qui nous écouteront – nous prendraient pour des tarés parce que c'est un français mélangé avec de l'anglais.”

624 In the same way that the *verlan* of the Paris suburbs or the cockney rhyming slang of London's East End have served the dual purpose of (sub-)community cohesion and non-community/authority exclusion.

625 Original: “il y a une nouvelle sorte de *franglais londonien* qui existe [...] c'est où mon sac pour le *swimming pool*? [...] l'*auction*, et non pas la foire aux enchères.”

626 A linguistics doctoral candidate.

weird for them.⁶²⁷

Unlike the agentive decision to migrate, this unintentional transformation of the originary linguistic habitus is perceived as strange in its pernicious hijacking of self-hood. Unfamiliar with the dialectical practices of the migratory field and habitus, former friends and colleagues have a tendency to misinterpret the translanguaging as an affected form of London-French elitism, a signifier of social distinction, rather than the linguistic automatism it has become. As Charles explains, it is essential that he consciously prevents English words from seeping into his French radio broadcasts, because such code switching would invariably distance his audience semantically, in addition to relaying unintended socio-semiotic messages:

when commentating on the radio [in French], I always have to be careful not to slip in any Anglicisms, because you begin to pick up certain habits. It's sometimes seen as a form of snobbery when you're in France; there are some words that come more easily, and we're seen as if we're showing off a bit. [...] It's true that things get mixed up and it can sometimes be easier to express yourself in English. We use a lot of [anglicised] terms like that, for example, when sending an email we'll say we're going to "forwarder" it. It's not snobbish at all, but there is a sort of *franglais* developing.⁶²⁸

"Snobbery", "ridiculous", "lunatics", "showing off", "little English act": all terms deployed to describe the semiotic potential of English use by French migrants in the originary social space. They contrast starkly with the lexical fields of hardship and struggle ascribed to their own dwindling command of the native tongue, which compounds the sense

627 Original: "il y a beaucoup de ce qu'on appelle 'code switching'; c'est facile de communiquer avec beaucoup de mes amis parce qu'on ne réfléchit pas [...]. De manière cognitive, c'est plus facile, les mots viennent souvent plus facilement en anglais. [...] Mais ça, ça se passe dans toutes les *communautés*. Même quand on parle en français, mais utilise un mot anglais, tout de suite on va mettre une intonation et des sons anglais. [...] Les sons ils me viennent automatiquement en fait, ils sont établis dans mon espace phonétique en anglais. Même juste de dire 'OK' [avec un accent français], c'est un effort - c'est marrant. [...] Des fois je sors des mots français à moitié anglais: l'autre fois au lieu de dire 'planifier', j'ai dit 'planer'. J'invente des trucs comme ça souvent, et ils comprennent [chez moi], mais pour eux c'est un peu bizarre."

628 Original: "en commentant à la radio [française], je dois toujours faire attention de ne pas glisser quelques anglicismes, parce qu'on commence à prendre certaines habitudes. Parfois c'est vu comme une forme de snobisme quand on est en France; il y a certains mots qui peuvent arriver plus facilement, et on est vu comme si on se la jouait un petit peu. [...] C'est vrai que les choses se mélangent et ça peut être plus facile de s'exprimer parfois en anglais. Il y a beaucoup de termes comme ça [anglicisés] qu'on utilise, comme par exemple quand on envoie un e-mail on dit qu'on va le 'forwarder'. C'est pas du tout du snobisme, mais il y a une sorte de *franglais* qui se développe."

of inner and outer estrangement. The negatively converted symbolic value of the migrants' Anglicised speech in the originary field plausibly stems from resentment on the part of those left behind, a corollary of the "hidden injuries" (Lehmann, 2013:9) suffered. The migratory act is not only conceived as a personal rejection, a desire to sever, or at least distance, filial ties, but equally a form of symbolic distinction, geographical mobility operationalising a perceived social mobility, or "snobbery", through exposure to, and embodiment of, strange – and potentially superior – practices. In a process of cultural dynamics, my research participants' decision to migrate, to reject the habitat of origin, has caused a shift in their cultural capital, transforming their dispositions and in turn subverting their originary habitus/hexis. This transformation, demonstrated powerfully here by the altering relationship to, and mastery of, their mother tongue, "has seen them move increasingly further away from their old self, their family, and their old peer group and arrive at a destination that is better, desirable, and [...] as part of this transformation of habitus, the 'old' has become foreign and dislocating, while the 'new' is now familiar and reassuring" (Lehmann, 2013:9). The "hidden injuries" are therefore felt on both sides, by the movers alienated from the once familiar social space of their originary habitat, having undergone "an embodied expression of hysteresis" (McDonough & Polzer, 2012:357), and by the stayers who feel cheated and socioculturally inferior: although the migrants, now "cultural outsiders" (Lehmann, 2013:12), "have moved on and improved themselves, old peers (and perhaps family) are seen as 'stuck'" (ibid.). This is illustrated by both Robert, "I've lost touch with some of my friends because it was clearly 'you've gone, so you're abandoning us',"⁶²⁹ and Miranda:

When I'm "at home" [in France], I feel at home, but I'm not really at home any more. [...] There's a lot of jealousy; I lost a lot of friends like that, actually, because they felt inferior to me. A lot of my childhood friends all stayed in the village, and all work in the supermarket, or they've all got kids, and are at home. [...] So, they think I've got big-headed now compared to them, but it's not true. I mean, they're childhood friends and I don't think any less of them; as for me, I'll always like them, and it doesn't change anything.⁶³⁰

629 Original: "il y a certains amis avec qui j'ai perdu contact parce que c'était clairement 'tu es parti, donc tu nous laisses tomber'."

630 Original: "Quand je suis 'chez moi' [en France], j'ai l'impression d'être chez moi, mais je ne suis plus vraiment chez moi. [...] Il y a beaucoup de jalousie; j'ai perdu beaucoup d'amis comme ça, en fait, parce qu'ils se sentaient inférieur à moi. Beaucoup de mes amis d'enfance sont tous restés dans le village, et ils travaillent tous dans le supermarché, ou ils ont tous un gosse, et sont à la maison. [...] Donc ils pensent que j'ai pris la grosse tête par rapport à eux, mais c'est pas vrai. Je veux dire, c'est des amis d'enfance et je ne les considère pas moindre; pour moi, je les aimerai toujours, et ça ne change rien."

Nevertheless, the symbolic force of Miranda's changed embodied dispositions⁶³¹ serve to disaffiliate her from those whom inhabit her past, in the same way that "it's a bit difficult to feel at home"⁶³² for Séverine, repeatedly having to justify her decision to live in London whenever she returns to France. Similarly, certain practices of the originary habitat "seem natural" for Sarah, while others awaken her to the fact that she is no longer "100% French",⁶³³ her habitus having imperceptibly mutated. Therefore, representing the sentiments of many research participants, Brice remarks that "France and French are my holiday languages, [...] I feel almost like a foreigner over there".⁶³⁴ In this way, the concerns of loved-ones left behind are borne out, for the London-French migrants are no longer members of the populations, communities, homes and habitus they once assimilated, they are citizens of the world in a global city, fundamentally transformed by their transnational experience. As Robert recounts, when he or his London-French friends play host to:

friends from France on holiday in London for a few days, we call them "the French", although we're French ourselves. But we don't consider ourselves to be truly French any more: we're a mix. Maybe we feel a bit more international, because we live in London. So, we all have a lot of friends who come from Europe, but from elsewhere too, and thanks to those friends, we don't feel so French: not necessarily European, but global.⁶³⁵

Disconnected from the parochial Frenchness of their primary habitats through their transformed linguistic,⁶³⁶ social⁶³⁷ and cultural⁶³⁸ habitus, the London French, as demonstrated in Robert's anecdote, are in practice a collectivity apart, sharing a geographically, symbolically and linguistically characterised identity, in other words, a community.

631 Together with the social status awarded through the educational opportunities of the diasporic space, where Miranda has been able to complete a doctorate, an opportunity she feels would not have been presented in the originary field.

632 Original: "c'est un peu difficile de se sentir chez soi".

633 Original: "paraissent naturelles [...] 100 % française".

634 Original: "la France et le français sont mes langues de vacances, [...] je me sens presque comme un étranger sur place."

635 Original: "des amis de France qui sont en vacances à Londres pour quelques jours, on les appelle "les Français", alors que nous-mêmes on est français. Mais on ne se considère plus vraiment français: on est un mélange. On se sent peut-être un peu plus international, parce qu'on habite à Londres. Donc on a tous beaucoup d'amis qui viennent d'Europe, mais aussi d'ailleurs, et grâce à ces amis là, on se sent pas aussi français: pas européen nécessairement, mais mondial."

636 That is, English-French translanguaging and the birth of "Franglais" (de Roquemaurel, 2014:92).

637 Namely, the establishment of new international networks.

638 Their evolved, transnational dispositions, opinions and tastes.

CONCLUSION

By assessing present conceptions of French cultural capital contributions to the London social space on the contextualising backdrop of the historic field, meaningful observations have been made regarding the reproductive nature of French migration and the very tangible sense that today's migrants are walking in the footsteps of their Huguenot, émigré and Free French forefathers. This finding confirms Burke's assertion that "both habitus and capital are pre-disposed to reproduce themselves; they direct individuals to occupy certain positions within social space and carry particular attitudes, and, in turn, these individuals form the environment influencing the next generation's habitus" (2016:11). The unusual aspect here is that new migrants to London are not the next generation *per se* of former London-French migrants, yet, curiously, many occupy the same positions and carry similar attitudes, therefore adding greater weight to Bourdieu's already compelling reproductive argument. Moreover, by considering the role recurrent waves of French migrants have played in the objectivised and imagined diasporic field, this chapter has revealed a certain distinctiveness, setting the French community apart from other migrant groups through the social distinction associated with their Frenchness and rich cultural capital in the collective "host" consciousness. Finally, by analysing the narratives of my on-land research participants regarding their embedded and embodied, yet evolving, linguistic habitus, "internalised struggles" (Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016:88) in the migratory and originary fields have emerged, notably in terms of converted symbolic capital in each space and the resultant sensations of distinction, Otherness and not fully belonging. This uneasy feeling has engendered a hysteresis effect, leaving the migrants' transnational habitus at odds with the fields from which they emanate.

Having established the on-land cultural capital flows of the London French and acknowledged the relational properties of habitus and field, the emphasis of the following chapters will now be placed on on-line manifestations of Frenchness, field practices and habitus dispositions, beginning with the London French Special Collection as an objectivated form of London-French cultural capital.

CHAPTER 8

PRESERVING ON-LINE LONDON-FRENCH CULTURAL CAPITAL: ETHNOSEMIOTIC ARCHIVAL THEORY IN PRACTICE

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INTRODUCTION: The Practice and the Theory

A fundamental component of this doctoral research project has been my creation of a collection of Web resources, the London French Special Collection (LFSC; Huc-Hepher, no date), in the UK Web Archive (UKWA). The principal stimulus behind constructing this on-line home was to preserve the intangible cultural capital of the French community for posterity, allowing future generations of scholars, Web visitors and London-French community members to trace their on-line heritage, as well as to provide a corpus of Web resources on which to draw for the ethnosemiotic analysis envisaged in the following chapters. The value of this unique record of the 21st-century London-French digital presence is only cemented by the UK's recent referendum vote in favour of leaving the EU, as it will offer an exclusive record of pre- and post-“Brexit” developments among a minority group directly affected by the decision. Yet, beyond its pertinence as a stable consultative archive and valid method of gaining deeper sociological and ethnographic knowledge of the community under scrutiny, the question of how to broach its curation needs to be addressed. Thus, through a combination of Bourdieusian ethnographic and Kressian semiotic principles, this chapter proposes a conceptual framework for the selective construction of a small corpus of thematically linked Internet resources.

Mirroring my own motivations for constructing the LFSC, the key purpose of a Web archive is to retain a version of the fragile (Strodl et al., 2011:8; Taylor, 2012:2) and ephemeral (Day, 2006:178; Gomes & Costa, 2014:107; Masanès, 2006:6) digital material found on the Internet for posterity, thereby providing a lasting record of Web objects deemed to be of intellectual and cultural value to current and future generations (Digital Preservation Coalition, n.d.; Kitchin 2014:30; Pennock, 2007:1). As distinct from a digital archive *per se*, which preserves digitised copies of physical collections or born-digital documents never available in “hard” form, a Web archive collects only “material” found on the “immaterial” Internet, regularly safeguarding it from future obsolescence as the on-line landscape evolves. In this sense, a Web archive, or collection therein, is not so much a record of born-digital data, and by no means an “identical copy” (Brügger, 2014:20) of the Internet, rather it is a reproduction, a created entity composed of digital material reborn and reassembled in a technically and ontologically more restricted environment than in its original dynamic network. Given the inherent limitations of Web archives in relation to the live Web (Pennock, 2013:5; Spaniol et al., 2009) and concerns over their long-term usefulness, or at least usability, as vast repositories of unwieldy Big Data,⁶³⁹ this chapter moves towards a

639 There is debate over whether Web archives constitute Big Data, but ventures such as the

theorisation of the practice of selective Web archiving. It shall thus ascribe several ethnosemiotic principles to curating a small, thematically framed collection, arguably a more manageable set of materials for present and future end-users (Brown, 2006:32), as well as for examination within the framework of this doctoral thesis, since the following two chapters both involve analyses of Web resources contained in the LFSC. It will also reflect on the problematics of contemporary on-line curation practice, through the formative ethnosemiotic prism developed for this doctoral project.

The LFSC is effectively an archive within an archive: for a Web archive refers to a vast agglomeration of resources harvested automatically from the entire World Wide Web (as with the US Internet Archive) or an entire national domain (as with the UK Web Archive or the Danish Net Archive; Jacobsen, 2008), whereas the “micro” archive (Brügger, 2005:10) under discussion is a targeted corpus of websites selected for their thematic coherence, presenting users with a clear pathway through the mass of “messy” (Kitchin, 2014:160; Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier, 2013:12) data contained in the colossal, and ever-expanding, national UK Web Archive (UKWA). Further, just as the collection of Web objects⁶⁴⁰ discussed here offers a defined, and necessarily small, route into the Big Data that constitute Web archives, particularly useful for understanding the French community in its dynamic on-land/on-line iterations, so the ethnosemiotic approach posited aims to offer a fine-grained theoretical route into both the curation exercise and subsequent analysis (Chapters 9 and 10).

Housed within the UKWA, which has been harvesting websites from the UK domain since 2004 and is itself hosted by the British Library (BL), the opportunity to create the LFSC rose directly from the UKWA’s key mission to “reflect the diversity of lives, interests and activities throughout the UK” (Pennock, 2013:26), as discussed in Chapter 2. In its (re)presentation of one of London’s most significant, yet comparatively invisible, minority communities, the LFSC corresponds unequivocally to this objective, offering on-line insights into the on-land lived experience of the French in London. Constructing the LFSC is effectively, therefore, a practice-based facet of the holistic methodology devised for this doctoral project, enabling in the following chapters the sociosemiotic analysis of community

AHRC-funded, collaborative Big UK Domain Data for the Arts and Humanities project, and the 2014 Web Archives as Big Data international conference, together with the sheer volume of data (approximately 65 terabytes) held in the JISC UK Domain Dataset (1996-2010) or the 20+ petabytes in the Internet Archive (Lepore, 2015:12)), support the definition.

640 The terms Web “objects” and Web “resources” are used interchangeably to designate the Internet “material” captured in the archive, since they encompass the manifold items which can be archived, from single Web pages, to entire websites or distinct on-line PDF documents, for example.

Web objects and a more nuanced understanding of the migratory field.

To that end, in 2010, work began to appraise and collect Web material, or that which could be broken down into “Web elements”, “Web pages” and “Web sites” from the London-French “Web sphere” (according to the five-tiered conceptualisation of the Web developed by Brügger, 2014:5). Each Web resource was selected from the live World Wide Web, irrespective of domain⁶⁴¹ and was captured with the Web Curator Tool, which, like the majority of other tools, uses the Heritrix Web crawler, developed by the US Internet Archive. In an effort to achieve consistency with the theoretical framework of this doctoral project as a whole, and to reflect the community as fully as possible – in keeping with the BL remit – the curation, construction and analysis stages were approached from a multimodal ethnosemiotic perspective.

Although rarely united in a single investigative or analytical undertaking, as discussed in Chapter 1, ethnographic and social-semiotic schools of thought share much common ground, such as agency and interest; habitus, practice and the insights of the invisible; the tyranny of language; dynamics and meaning-making; holism; reflexivity and social engagement. It is this hitherto unexplored common conceptual ground that is seen as relevant to the practice of thematic, selective Web archiving and analysis. As seen in Chapter 1, the branch of semiotics to which Kress subscribes, and by extension adopted in the curation and examination of the LFSC, is the British school of multimodal social semiotics. Multimodality, in this context, refers to the multiple channels through which meaning is expressed in on-line environments, extending from the ostensible “major” modes of written text, audio text or moving image – all of which can be embedded in the medium of a single Web “page” – down to the finer-grained modes of gaze, layout or colour found within them. Each mode is capable of imparting meaning – however implicitly – and each acts intermodally (Jewitt, 2011:11). Likewise, each mode is necessarily contingent on the socio-cultural context of its utterance (Kress, 2010:8), all cultures or communities, in this case the French community in London, as Lotman postulates, exist in their own “semiosphere” (1990:124-5), that is, the entire semiotic space of the culture in question, and it is the semiosphere of the London French on-line – itself a manifestation of the physical semiosphere they inhabit on-land – that informs the curatorial approach posited here and the prism to be relied upon when the corpus is transformed from a collection of Web objects to an object of analysis.

641 Despite the standard UK TLD – Top Level Domain – scope of the UK Web Archive at that time, since excluding <.com> and <.fr> domains, for instance, would have precluded a significant number of thematically-relevant sites and pages.

The major traits of Bourdieusian ethnography bear a striking resemblance to the socio-semiotic aspirations of Kress, both of which helped to define the curatorial strategy adopted. For Bourdieu, the logic of a theory of practice lies precisely, and exclusively, in its juxtaposition with, application to, and reflection on, the broader field and social space (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]:263). Kress believes that all modal communication and representation is a product of the prior social and cultural shaping of individuals and communities (Kress, 2010:19), and should be seen in the (con)textual frames of “discourse” and “genre”, as well as in the “field of meaning as a whole [...] [and] across the range of modes in different societies” (2010:11). Similarly, just as Bourdieu’s theory of practice, notably his theory of habitus, seeks to find meaning in the ordinary habits and habitats of individuals and communities, in their embodied, habituated practices and tacit knowledge, as previously discussed, so Kress emphasises the significance of the quotidian in revealing broader (socio-cultural) meanings (2010:69). In other words, by shining a beam onto the minutiae of pre-reflexive, taken-for-granted, daily practices and activities of a specific population – that is, the ontological denotation of habitus – Bourdieu makes visible previously invisible social and cultural dispositions that he then attempts to translate into broader truths free from the “objectivist” structuralism of Marx and Levi-Strauss (1972[2000]:256). Thus, Bourdieu recommends a shift from the *opus operatum* to the *modus operandi* (ibid.) in order to unearth hidden realities, just as Kress believes it “is the unnoticed, near invisible social and ideological effects of the signs of the everyday, the signs of ordinary life, of the unremarkable and banal, in which *discourse* and *genre* and with them *ideology* are potently at work – nearly invisibly – as or more effective than in heightened, clearly visible and therefore resistible instances” (2010:69; original italics). It is by applying these interrelated theories of Bourdieu and Kress to the LFSC as curation process: selecting Web material that demonstrates the everyday existence of the London French in the spatial and temporal context of the here and now; as archival product: ensuring that the archived collection serves the social purpose of (re)presenting and preserving the multifaceted aspects of this community, from the institutional to the individual, through a variety of genres, discourses and modes, on a platform which is socially-committed through its open-accessibility (Kitchin, 2014:55); and as analytical object: drawing on notions of field theory, reflexivity, objectivation and multimodality, that the ethnosemiotic approach, integrated within this ethnographically oriented doctoral research, finds its wider justification and its use as an example here.

8.1 BETWEEN CURATION AND CREATION: Constructing a Community

Empirical evidence previously explored revealed that a resounding majority of research participants recognise the existence of a French community in London, yet, as individuals they do not conceive of themselves as belonging to it (Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013:402). For them, the French community in London is based in and around South Kensington, and refers to a socio-economic elite with whom they cannot identify (Huc-Hepher & Drake, 2013; Favell, 2008:125, 175).⁶⁴² If this sentiment is considered to be applicable – hypothetically – to the London-French “community” as a whole, it subsequently poses the question of the very validity of constructing a “community” Web archive. For how can a community archive be created if the community does not exist in the eyes of its very “members” and indeed has little visibility (Kelly, 2013:436) in the eyes of the local population? Indeed, what are the effects of *objectifying* Web material which does not consider “itself” an object? Selecting and archiving a Web object which has hitherto functioned solely in its primary capacity as a means of communication or display among Worldwide Web users⁶⁴³ is systematically raised to the status of aesthetic, historical or scholarly artefact through its very inclusion in a BL archive. Surely, this transforms the task of curation to one of creation (Bhaskar, 2016): through the process of selection of on-line manifestations of the French community, the curator is in effect constructing both a culturally-themed collection of Web resources reincarnated as rarefied objects of contemplation to be scrutinised by “secondary” end-users, and a collective identity, or sense of community, of which the individuals themselves are in the main devoid on-land, despite the unperceived commonalities of their shared cultural semiosphere. This could be deemed fitting in an Internet context, where the notion of “community” is applied more frequently (Berthomière, 2012:8; Bray & Donahue, 2010:1; Casilli, 2010:58; Miller & Wood, 2010:1) than in physical settings, the term “on-line community”, referring to any group of individuals connecting to the same Web resource and often connected purely through this digital, physically disconnected, means (Rowley et al., 2010:1), bears direct witness to such a phenomenon. It can therefore be argued that the assemblage of culturally-linked Web objects into a single “community” collection has

642 Indeed, they are referred to as “free agents” by Block (2006:133), whilst the very absence of a notion of French-community ties in Ryan et al.’s (2014) study of London-French social networks is telling.

643 Although this functional notion is in itself complex, as the distinction between communication and representation, discussed in Chapter 1, is at best hazy in many online contexts (Kress, 2010:191; Pennock, 2013:10).

creative implications ontologically, imposing a collective identity on potentially disparately conceived websites and their creators, and epistemologically, since a parallel can be drawn here between the functional transformation which the final corpus has undergone, effectively taken from its born-digital dynamic, “live” state and re-born as a static, thematically-coherent, yet temporally and at times technically incoherent (Brügger, 2005:23; Lepore, 2015:18; Pennock, 2013:12; Spaniol et al., 2009:1), archived body.

Having acknowledged these caveats, and with Bourdieu’s three-stage field analysis paradigm (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) in mind, the Web selection process began. Strict adherence to Bourdieu’s three-stage field analytical model involves: (1) positioning the field of study (the French community) in the overarching field of power (the French – and London – governing bodies); (2) identifying the objective structural relationships between competing individual and collective agents within the field(s) (for example, the relationship between French Londoners with official community groups or local schools); and (3) examining habitus and the effect thereof in the field(s) (in other words, the dispositions and practices of the London French) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Websites lending themselves to each of these analytical tiers therefore informed the LFSC selection methodology, thus allowing for a diverse (re)presentation of the London-French diaspora (see Appendix A), rather than a monochromatic portrait that would crystallize the established (South Kensington) “community” myth. As discussed in Chapter 1, Bourdieusian “field” can be conceptualised as simultaneously comprising three denotations: field as (professional) domain, field as (power) game and field as (researcher) terrain, all of which are present in his “field analysis” model (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:80; Grenfell, 2008c:222; Jenkins, 1992:86). Consequently, the Franco-British Council, the French Institute, the French Lycée and the French Embassy websites, for example, were chosen for the LFSC to represent the field of administrative power; whereas sites such as Notre Dame de France (Roman Catholic Church), *Ici Londres* magazine or the Parti Socialiste were included to throw into relief the dominant field of power, as their respective religious, media and political influences could prove to counter that of the establishment, thereby potentially revealing field as game. Subsequently, these Web resources serve as empirical evidence at the level of field as terrain, in that the French Lycée Charles de Gaulle website landing page, for instance, will become a research object in the final analytical stage of the undertaking, namely in Chapter 9. Web objects representing field as domain, such as Jean Michel Brun Ltd. (interior design), Les Editions de Londres (on-line publishing) or Echange Theatre Company (amateur dramatics) sites, were also collected, as they provided another perspective on the microcosmic social workings of the community within the macrocosmic social field of the “host” culture,

providing a richer resource in terms of cultural capital for the benefit of future end-users and demonstrating links with the past, as discussed in Chapter 7. These Web objects, when selected in conjunction with other on-line material demonstrating the quotidian practices of the French on-land, and as such shedding light on migrant habitus, for instance the Teatime in Wonderland and Britishette blogs, or the Bastille Day Ball Web page, help the researcher and/or end-user to understand the three-dimensionality of the migrant experience within the field (as domain and game). There, at the interface of (field selection) theory and (curatorial/community) practice, the ethnosemiotically conceived Web collection can serve the socially and politically committed purpose advocated by Bourdieu and Kress. Furthermore, by embedding the LFSC at the centre of this study, itself an embodiment of the diversified data-gathering approach recommended in the Bourdieusian investigative paradigm, not only will the on-land research findings be triangulated, they will arguably be given greater (socio-political) meaning and validity (Kitchin, 2014:147, 191).⁶⁴⁴

The application of Bourdieu's field theory has resulted in a diverse dataset, not only regarding provenance, ranging from the official records of the established community to the informal displays of the unestablished "non-community" (cf. the French diaspora's "non-histoire", Berthomière, 2012:1), but in the heterogeneous modes of expression presented, from the written and spoken word to the drawn and photographed images. This selection method aimed to (re)present a cross-section of genres and discourses, allowing for the appreciation of field as terrain in the wider framework of field as domain(s) and game, abiding therefore by the objectivation strategies presented in the Bourdieusian model (see Appendix A for a sample of resources).

Whilst theoretically secure as a selection strategy, and successful in its manifestation of the London-French social field, the resultant corpus occasionally falls short in its multimodal affordances due to the "coherence defect" (Spaniol et al., 2009:1) between the live Web and the "surrogates" (Day, 2006:178) archived in the collection, which at times – but inconsistently – lack the images, audio, layout and (hyper)links of the original Web pages, and at the present time is consistently incapable of (re)capturing video data. Despite

644 In terms of impact, as mentioned in the General Introduction, the LFSC has already been acknowledged by Eric Bayer, Consul Général Adjoint, as a viable means of gauging "community opinion". Indeed, I was invited to attend a meeting with Mr Bayer, together with a government representative from Paris, in September 2014, during which Mr Bayer explained that the French Consulate in London intended to use the collection in future, in order to have an overview of the community "on the ground". The meeting was followed up by a bulletin on the LFSC published in the French Embassy's e-newsletter and "permanently" posted on the website on 10 March 2015 (Consulat Général de France à Londres, 2015).

the intrinsic technical shortcomings involved in the re-production of the material, applying a relational, field-theory method not only enhances the comprehensiveness of the culturally-themed corpus, but it facilitates the task of selecting “relevant” Web objects from the “big data deluge” (Kitchen, 2014:130; Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier, 2013:70, both citing Anderson, 2008) available on the Internet, which brings us to the question of “value” and how to define it.

8.2 FUTURE MEMORY: Valuing Habitus in the Hinterland Between the Now and the Not Yet

Pennock describes digital curation as “maintaining, and adding value to, a trusted body of digital information for current and future use: in other words, it is the active management and appraisal of digital information over its entire life-cycle” (2007:1). Yet this definition fails to address the underlying complexity of both “value” and “appraisal”, and the temporal implications of the “current and future”, as Dallas (2007:3) astutely points out, inherent in the curation exercise. For, as with a physical archive, determining the value of a Web resource is not straightforward; indeed, according to which *criteria* can “value” be defined and assessed? By what means can the longevity of “value” be anticipated, when information deemed of value today risks not being held in equivalent esteem in future? The prospective assessment of value poses a major challenge to Web (and conventional) curators, all of whom are inextricably bound to their judgemental points of reference at the time at which they are making such assessments (Pennock, 2013:10). Moreover, given the vastness of the data available on the Internet and, equally importantly, the lack of a long-standing Web-archival precedent, the difficulty of the task is multiplied for the curator of on-line material. Peters poses similar questions as those raised above (2011:4), exacerbating the dilemma further by injecting the notion of *community* value and its appraisal, together with the notion of constructing a collective memory. He acknowledges that “a collect-all approach (...) needs to be filtered and measured against criteria of demand: community memories that reflect communities’ interests”, but provides no solutions as to a reliable method of creating “collective memories” or assessing “valuable content” (2011:4). He is not alone; the absence of a universal theory of digital curation (Flouris & Meghini, 2007; Hockx-Yu & Knight, 2008; Moore, 2008) and, by extension, an agreed theory of selective Web archiving, remains a challenge. With the exception of some persuasive, if technically focused, strategies put forward by Brown (2006), Brügger (2005) and Masanès (2006), theorising the practice of Web curation has been largely ignored. Flouris & Meghini (2007) developed an objective,

mathematically inspired theory of digital preservation for digital libraries, but this does not extend to the process of digital, or more specifically Web, curation. Furthermore, the curatorial applicability of this type of formulaic theoretical system is questionable, as it appears to remove the reflective, sensitive, informed and necessarily subjective, curator from the curation process, boiling “value” down to a set of lifeless equations and removing the “aura” (Taylor, 2012:8) and the “subject-matter experts’ influence” (Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier, 2013:141) from the selection process.

If the traditional archivist’s criteria for assessing value are to be relied upon, those Web objects offering the most scholarly and verifiable information on the London-French community ought to have been favoured in this particular collection. Indeed, it was the specific intention of the BL that the LFSC should contain a substantial quantity of such material: “Nominations and collections of archived websites that support scholarly research are therefore of particular interest” (Pennock, 2011:1), which stands to reason given the UKWA’s status as a “trusted digital repository (TDR)” (Kitchin, 2014:33). At this point, however, it would appear that the interests of the Web researcher-curator and those of the conventional or digital librarian-archivist might diverge. The 2013 UK non-print legal-deposit regulations, as established in Chapter 2, constitute another point of departure: the BL/UKWA and the traditional archivist seem to welcome the right to regularly crawl the UK domain and indiscriminately harvest big Web data, bypassing the need for temporally and financially onerous selective permissions (Jacobson, 2014:2; Pennock, 2013:9, 13). Whereas the researcher-curator of the LFSC perceives the legislation in a less favourable light.⁶⁴⁵ Any Web object selected and harvested for the collection under the licence-free framework could now be housed in an ostensibly “separate” collection, causing it to become “stranded data” (Kitchin, 2014:156, quoting Singh, 2012), accessible only on-site in one of the UK’s six legal deposit libraries. This would reduce the potential audience of the collection as a whole and jeopardise its socially-committed founding principles (and therewith realise the interoperability and open-accessibility concerns voiced by Kahle (in Lepore, 2015:7) and Jacobsen (2008:4), Kitchin (2014:38, 55) and Mayer-Schönberger (2013:116)). In other words, with regard to this particular collection, which began its life pre-legal-deposit legislation and should continue to grow indefinitely, institutional “[p]ower and politics [may] continue to underwrite access” (Taylor, 2012:8-9), just as they have in physical archives.

Power, politics and legislation aside, when adopting an ethnosemiotic theoretical model for “valuation” and appraisal in culturally-thematised Web curation, it is, arguably above all else, the habitus element of Bourdieu’s three-stage field model which should take

645 See also my entry to the British Library’s blog (Huc-Hepher, 2014).

precedence; that is, the resources displaying the quotidian, taken-for-granted practices and spaces of the community under scrutiny. Kress states that “communication is embedded in social environments, arrangements and practices” (2010:35); similarly, Bourdieu gives prominence to a theory of practice (1965, 1972[2000], 1980a, 1994, etc.), articulated through his concept of habitus. While Bourdieu’s notion of field lends itself convincingly to the *selection* process, it is data embodying the habitus of the London French predicted to be of most *value* to future (cultural) historians. The voice of the lone blogger is hence deemed of equal, if not greater, value to that of the political party; likewise, the objects and spaces, habits and practices, opinions and viewpoints of the blogger’s on-line habitus are tantamount to the official manifestations of London Frenchness, by virtue of the insights they provide into the cultural reality of the here and now. The survey alluded to in Ball’s paper (2010:24) confirms the perceived long-term value of blogs, with 71% of the 223 respondents believing their own blog should be preserved. Hank’s empirical study also demonstrates that the majority of scholars who blog “viewed their blogs as part of their scholarly record” and “had an interest in preserving” them (Hank, 2013:6). Given that blogs “have the characteristics of personal journals” (Yoon, 2013:175), Yoon also believes them to be of marked cultural and historical value. The fact that they offer a privileged “window into the past” and will provide future onlookers with evidence of “social characteristics and changes”, since “individual memory can only be recalled in the social framework within which it is constructed” (Yoon, 2013:175, citing Halbwachs, 1992) confirms both their preservation worth and their status as convincing (re)presentations of the internal–external dialectics of Bourdieusian habitus. Thus, if the blogosphere is the closest the on-line environment presents as a window onto the habitus of London’s contemporary French population, offering the richest representation of London-French “‘non-dominant’ cultural capital” (Wallace, 2016:40, citing Carter, 2003), it can be argued that autobiographical Web data, such as blogs, should take precedence in the assessment of future value. It is for this reason, that the LFSC contains a large proportion of blogs (30 of the 68 Web resources currently in the public-facing version of the collection are blogs)⁶⁴⁶ and that two of the three case-studies in the following chapters are dedicated to

646 It should be noted that while there are 68 Web resources currently accessible on the public LFSC interface, behind the scenes in the private, curatorial collection some 343 Web resources have been “archived”. Effectively, therefore, only one fifth of all the sites selected have been harvested, the most recent of which on 14 October 2014. This is in part due to insufficient permissions being granted in the pre-legal deposit years of the archive, as the typical ratio of selections to permissions is 4 to 1, but the low uptake has been exacerbated by post-legal deposit inactivity on the part of the UKWA/BL. Indeed, when logging into the selector tool, an automated note reads as follows: “Non-Print Legal Deposit Regulations came into effect on 6th April 2013 and as a result we are currently not processing selections for permissions until new procedures have been decided. Please contact Peter Webster

blogs.

8.3 THE SUBJECTIVE SELF: Notions of Authority, Authorship, Agency and Audience

Although Bourdieusian habitus, as set within the structuring field, is helpful in constructing a “valuation” framework for culturally themed collections, it remains difficult to avoid the “selector bias” (Pennock, 2013:10) inherent in selective micro archiving (Brügger, 2005:10) and, by extension, the curated product. Arguably, it is this very subjectivity that positively distinguishes a curated collection from other on-line “archives”, such as YouTube or Flickr, which are little more than “vast reservoirs of materials” (Taylor, 2012:2; Dawson, 2010:12), “data stores or back-up systems” (Kitchen, 2014:30) because they are not subject to “expert” appraisal or selection. However, the extent to which the 21st-century digital curator is an expert (Dicker, 2010:3) in the field of Web archiving is questionable in view of the very “openness” and “democracy” (Casilli, 2010:45; Taylor, 2012:5) which has enabled access to the role in the first place. Many digital and Web curators receive little or no training, despite efforts to reverse this (Bromage, 2010:1), and many on-line collections welcome user-generated content (Dicker, 2010:1), user nominations of Web material (Gomes & Costa, 2014:115; Lepore, 2015:11; Masanès, 2006:5) and user cataloguing information (Jacobsen, 2008:3). Whilst this is in keeping with the open-access, collective ethos of the Internet and of institutional digital preservation initiatives (for instance, Bromage, 2010:5; Dawson, 2010:3), it is simultaneously somewhat paradoxical in its subversion of the “valued” authority formerly invested in and associated with recognised bodies, such as the BL. As Dawson indicates, memory institutions should “be conscious of the value that they bring [...] with respect to curation and quality of knowledge” (2010:5), yet by outsourcing Web curation projects to benevolent “interested-amateurs”, they not only risk compromising the quality of their collections, but jeopardizing their reputations. Among the advantages, however, of loosening the hold over knowledge and information, is the economic gain of tapping into the services of willing researchers and other non-specialist parties interested in preserving cultural heritage (Masanès, 2006: 5), together with the opportunity to begin to manage a minuscule proportion of the mass of data contained in archives of the World Wide Web. The nascent age of Big Data promises multiple research opportunities, but its sheer

(Peter.Webster@bl.uk) for further information.” Peter Webster in fact left the BL in Spring 2015 (and the last submission to the collection was made on 20 March 2015), which is a telling testament to the institutional inertia and selective archiving disengagement observed.

volume could render it “too big to handle”, ultimately resulting in the UKWA becoming an underexploited “dusty archive” (Meyer, 2011) or “data mortuary” (Beagrie, 2006:5, quoted in Dallas, 2007:53), hence the necessity for targeted, thematic or otherwise, management of big Internet data in the form of smaller, selective collections curated by subjective subject-experts.

Whereas the curator of a themed Web collection is not necessarily a specialist in archival cataloguing or museum curation, it is likely that (Pennock, 2013:10), or at least beneficial if (Gomes & Costa, 2014:110), s/he has deep insider knowledge of the “field” for which the collection has been created, which reintroduces the subjectivity-objectivity question from another angle. In keeping with Bourdieusian three-stage field analysis, “insider” research, that is, an investigation which places the researcher at the boundary between external observer and internal participant, is ethically sound and scientifically valid, provided the researcher engages in the process *reflexively*, and is not, as Pennock fears, creating a collection that is “unintentionally biased” (2013:10). Likewise, it could be argued that provided the partial digital curator undertakes the process of appraisal and selection with an active awareness of this subjective position, s/he is equally justified in casting judgement over the potential value of a Web object. It is subject knowledge, or in this instance the researcher’s subjective knowledge of the research object, namely the French community in London, which validates the curator’s agentive role and, in turn, endows him or her with due authority (Dicker, 2010:9-10; Gomes & Costa, 2014:110).

However, if the authority of the curator of a collection is subsequently dependent on (a) the institution’s quality assurance and permissions systems, and (b) permission being granted by the website holder for inclusion within the collection, the question of where the ultimate authority and agency dwell resurfaces. The Web researcher-curator is empowered to select and appraise data, but is denied the authority to seek permissions actively and independently; similarly, the “memory institution” (Dawson, 2010:5) is authorised to accept or reject selections, but – until the 2013 amendment to non-print legal-deposit regulations – was refused the right to collect Web information without creator consent, thereby leaving the definitive authority with the producer of the content. Thus, the digital age brings with it a blurring of the lines of hitherto clear-cut distinctions between the established authority of the institution and the subordinate visitor (Dallas, 2007:62), between the authority of the qualified curator and the lay selector, “utilising the knowledge, expertise and interest of the community” (Holley, 2010:2), and between the authority of the traditional author and the self-generated authorship of the on-line creator. As Kress underlines, “formerly settled – quasi-moral, legal and semiotic – notions about authorship, text and property are now no

longer treated as relevant; or are, more often than not, no longer recognized by those who engage in text-making” (2010:21). Consequently, the authority of the untrained Web curator is jeopardized no sooner does the collection “go live” and become accessible to any member of the on-line public, at which point any Internet user consulting it can nominate potential Web material, in the spirit of the crowd-sourcing, “citizen science” (Kitchin, 2014:97) era. It is precisely these redistributions of authorised and authorial power that Dallas addresses in his agency-oriented approach to digital curation theory and practice (2007), and which resonate with the technologically fuelled revolution in epistemological dynamics to which Kress refers (2010:21, 134). Despite the doubt and uncertainty that such an overturning brings (Taylor, 2012:2), akin to the “dark side of big data” to which Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier (2013) ominously allude, it also offers new opportunities for the transmission and acquisition of knowledge, enabling users to become authors and giving curatorial agency to formerly passive visitors (Allen-Greil & MacArthur, 2010:3, Kitchin, 2014:188), and thereby serves the social function prophesied by Bourdieu and Kress.

Irrespective of the arguable socio-politically democratising role presented by new technologies, new authors necessarily imply new audiences. If it is conceded that Web collections blur former boundaries of authority and authorship, the resources they contain are also likely to be accessed by new users. Audience is a notion addressed both by Kress and Bourdieu, and is one that can be usefully applied to collections of Internet objects, in that the curator needs. always to be mindful of the “re-born” audience(s) the collection addresses, over and above the audiences of the born-digital objects, which may again affect the selection strategy adopted. As outlined in Chapter 1, Kress argues that all communicational and representational acts are interest-led (2010:67), and whether the interest lies with the sign-maker or sign-recipient is largely dependent on the semiotic function of the resource as a whole. For example, Domingo et al. demonstrate that image is increasingly taking precedence over writing (2015), particularly in instructional food blogs, and that by designing Web pages in particular ways, making use of colour, spatial composition and (moving) images, for example, authors-cum-designers are conveying specific – though tacit – meanings to their “readership”. The notion of audience is therefore intrinsically linked to that of design and authorship, and multimodal social semiotic analysis equips the Web curator with the necessary skills to assess these initially imperceptible messages and agendas. Yoon (2013) and Technorati’s (2010) empirical findings also confirm the centrality of audience and design in bloggers’ motivations, as all Yoon’s respondents declared having an intended audience (Yoon, 2013: 181) and it was cited as a major motivational influence for the bloggers of the quantitative Technorati study (Technorati,

2010). Audience, therefore, unlike a 20th-century “personal journal”, shapes the content and provides the impetus for the 21st-century blogger.

Likewise, Bourdieu’s field theory is pertinent as regards audience: if all communication and action takes place within the broader framework of field (as game), questions over the respective agendas of key players in the special collection/Web archive/institution and their targeted user/audience come to the fore, and of the multiple audiences subsumed within the archive itself. That is, websites containing the official discourse of London-French “authorities” will be designed to reach one audience, while blogs produced by French Londoners target quite another. Indeed, the multiple audiences envisaged by Yoon’s respondents, decreasingly composed of friends, family, the general public, other bloggers, colleagues, professional networks and themselves (2013:181), not only confirm the bloggers’ target audience, as distinct from that of official sites, but demonstrate the inadequacy of a singular notion of “audience” when curating a stand-alone Web collection. Although the born-digital blog audience is intended to include all the above, it is possible that there is also an unintended, “covert” (Murthy, 2008:846) audience in the born-digital environment, with yet another layer of present and future audience(s), coming at the material from very different perspectives, joining the strata when the new version of the Web object is reborn in the archive. The implicit heterogeneity of audience in born- and reborn-digital settings compounds the validity of the ethnosemiotic appraisal and selection process outlined above, since the methodology transcends the notion of “audience” as a unified, homogenous whole, instead acknowledging and predicting the multiplicity of audiences implicated when on-line data is reborn in surrogate surroundings, in this case the LFSC/UKWA, and recognising the intrinsic infiniteness of meaning(s) through its dependency on audience interpretation (Kress, 2010:37).

8.4 THE IMPLICATION OF LANGUAGE: Naming and Framing

Just as the notion of “audience” is deceptively simple in the context of on-line curation, so language is superficially straightforward. When collecting Web objects for inclusion in a themed collection, the curator is required to engage in a process of naming and framing to give a sense of “order” to the collection and increase its usability/accessibility. However, given the plethora of librarian standards for generic positioning and the allocation of metadata (Gill et al., 2005), as well as the discrepancies between archival- as opposed to Web-based norms (relative to both structure and content), the activity of naming, defining, categorising and framing material is complex. Indeed, the recent admission in the Web

community that reaching an absolute standard is unattainable means that Lyman's urgent call (in 2002) for a "standard way of recording the metadata (...) to record the historical and technical context" (2002:4) of Web objects harvested has yet to be achieved fourteen years on. In addition to the pragmatic complexity of ordering and labelling originally *networked*, uncategorised Web material – which is "not discrete" in its born-digital form (Lyman, 2002:2) – in a thematically rationalised, bounded *framework*, are the deeper, ideological implications of the process. Both Bourdieu and Kress emphasize that language is not innocent; "words *do* have power" (Jenkins, 1992:155) and the researcher-cum-curator needs to be wary of their superficial "naturalness", which is also a fundamental point made by Bourdieu, who urges the ethnographer to be suspicious of the implicit and symbolic power of language (1972[2000]:227; 1982[2001]). As observed previously, he is emphatic on the repercussions of language in education, deeming insufficient linguistic capital, due to lack of exposure to socially valued language and rhetoric in the habitus of origin, to be the root of much academic underachievement and exclusion (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:25).

The language employed by Web curators is no less innocent. Gomes & Costa highlight the positive role external researchers can make by "generating additional meta-data" (2014:110); yet Dalton articulates concerns over the potentially conflicting interests of user-generated tags and the metadata of specialists, namely curators, who act as mouthpieces for the "institutional voice" (2010:5); while Hockx-Yu underlines the need for "a hybrid of curatorial and technical skills" in order to address the challenges of naming and framing Web data (quoted in Volk, 2012:1). Ultimately, irrespective of whom assigns the metadata to a website and frames it categorically, doing so is an implicated act: partial curators are implicated through their subjective perspective alone, and the language chosen for description has implications. It could be argued that this has always been the case when cataloguing physical collections, but the difference here is that a Web object is an innately *linked* entity, which in its born-digital state cannot be divorced from the network of which it is a co-dependent part, unlike a physical book which has a discrete physical existence in the world. Web objects are also intrinsically and fundamentally multimodal entities, or "compounds of design elements" (Lyman, 2002:4), again, unlike a book restricted by the physical limitations of its form, which complicates the naming and framing process further in the field of Web archiving. This casts doubt over the very applicability of "cataloguing" archived Web material and may explain why metadata "are often a neglected element of data curation" (Kitchin, 2014:9), since "precise systems that try to impose a false sterility upon the hurly-burly of reality, pretending that everything under the sun fits into neat rows and columns" (Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier, 2013:43), are inexorably ill-suited to the

inherently “messy” data of the Internet. However, given the ever-increasing amount of data contained in Web collections, selective ones included, and that paradoxically “the excess of information can be transformed into a huge data paucity, over time” (Gomes & Costa, 2014:120), since the “huge volumes of data [...] make it difficult to interact and take advantage of them” (Gomes & Costa, 2014:116), such designations are deemed in the interest of end-users (Dallas, 2007:57), providing them with descriptive and contextual insights (as understood by the informed curator) which will assist their navigation through the mass of information in the Web archive, and thereby improve its research value and the credibility of the archival institution.

Nevertheless, compartmentalising material according to patent content characteristics (Abbot & Kim, 2008) implies classification, which in turn implies “class”. Kress refers to classification as “a social and semiotic process carried out by semiotic means”, the result of which “is to stabilize the social world in particular ways” (2010:122–3) (which favours the usability argument). However, its “seemingly innocuous character helps to make its political effects more effective” (ibid.) (which supports the implicated argument). When choosing the terms to describe a selection (e.g. “Website for guided London walks”, LFSC) or its generic classification (e.g. “Arts & Humanities” from the seven umbrella subject categories provided, within which combinations of 18 sub-categories can be made, e.g. “Languages”, LFSC) the digital curator is performing an implicated semiotic act, at once restricting the meaning potential of the “raw” material (Dallas, 2007:58) by introducing an intermediary layer between the Web resource and the user, and allowing for “unintended” meanings to be drawn from the associations between the resource and its framing genre or the websites and pages alongside it. In the case of the LFSC, these meanings could involve the fabrication of a sense of community (discussed earlier) through the collective framing of thematically – but not necessarily socially, ontologically or hypertextually – linked Web objects.

As established in Chapter 1, Kress defines framing as a way of punctuating semiosis by fixing meaning in a specific spatio-temporal context and, more importantly, in a given mode, genre and discursive form (Kress, 2010:122). In an effort to begin to construct a useful theory of Web curation, it is necessary to dwell briefly on Kress’s conceptualisation of modal, generic and discursive framing of information. He posits that in any rhetorical process, “meaning is *fixed* three times over – *materially* and *ontologically/semiotically* as *mode*; *institutionally* and *epistemologically* as *discourse*; and *socially* in terms of *apt* social relations, as *genre*” (2010: 121; original italics). Although the reliance on italics is somewhat obtrusive, it helps to clarify – multimodally – Kress’s understanding of mode, genre and

discourse. For Kress, therefore, mode corresponds to the channels through which meaning is conveyed, which traditional cataloguers might associate with the notion of medium (although modality functions on a considerably more granular level). Genre relates above all to commonalities between the texts/multimodal ensembles of a specific community or culture; conforming to the socio-cultural norms of the genre gives a “text” its identity and serves to position it within the said genre. In Bourdieusian terms, genre could be seen as the “textual habitus” of a Web resource, emanating from social practices and interactions. Discourse, however, acting at a broader, external level of institutions and governing bodies (Kress, 2010:110), shapes and imparts knowledge. Bourdieu might have referred to discourse as “textual field” therefore. Both can be considered to operate at the level of extra- and inter-textual coherence, rather than intra-textually, as is the case for modes, and both the (con)textual generic and discursive characteristics of a harvested Web object warrant consideration when fixing it an archive.

However, cataloguing Web material according to its perceived generic properties as defined above becomes a challenging and implicated task, requiring fine-grained multimodal analysis of the “text” itself, coupled with knowledge of the cultural and structural framework of which it forms part. A sense of this complexity is alluded to on the Digital Curation Centre (DCC) website, where genre classification is described as “shrouded in ambiguity” and a shift from a topical categorization system to a text-typological one is advised (Abbot & Kim, 2008:1). Indeed, the definition of genre provided by the DCC echoes Kress’s words: “Document genre, as with music, pertains to style and/or form. The style and form of a document is constructed to meet the functional requirements within the target community in realising predefined objectives of document creation” (ibid.). Thus, a multimodal socio-semiotic approach to genre classification, which prioritises the implicit meaning-potential of mode (or text type, to employ DCC terminology) over thematic content (or topic for the DCC), is compliant with the expectations of the digital curation authority, namely the DCC, as well as being dependent on the expectations of its audience, predominantly, in this case, London Francophones or Francophiles. Furthermore, with on-line “texts” deconstructing formerly fixed understandings of genre, through their simultaneous inclusion of a variety of modes, media, styles, forms and ultimately genres, a multimodal theory of classification, or information framing, is a convincing strategy. In practical terms, and if the recommendations of the DCC were applied, this might mean categorising content in the Web collection/archive according to its *on-line generic* typology, such as blog, website or pdf, as opposed to, or in addition to, its thematic specificity. Using *discourse* as a marker, for example grouping together Web objects as a result of their pre-classified administrative (<.gov.uk>),

institutional (<.ac.uk>), commercial (<.com>, <.co.uk>) or philanthropic (<.org.uk.>) domain-name commonality, may present advantages over genre in a themed collection both in terms of its scope for automated classification (Warwick Workshop Report, 2005:16), which in turn would reduce the subjectivity (and cost) of the classifying process, and its resolution of the ambiguity problematics posed by text typology. That is, in an Internet age where text-typological frames are increasingly porous, with a single London-French blog potentially corresponding to an on-land recipe book, diary, chapter, travel guide, photograph album and more, not to mention its modal variants, categorisation by genre or text type becomes a near impossible task.

In on-line multimodal environments, therefore, generic naming and framing is far from straightforward; just as modal boundaries merge in such settings, so fixing Internet texts in the wider socio-cultural and institutional frameworks of genre and/or discourse is challenging, particularly given the propensity of on-line media to encourage new genres to develop out of the medium itself (Domingo et al., 2015), and for them to be generically pluralist. Hence the awkwardness and potential arbitrariness of assigning Web content to discrete genres solely for the purpose of facilitated cataloguing and searching, and to Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier's endorsement of organic, ad hoc tagging "as the de facto standard for content classification on the Internet" (2013:43). Nevertheless, a culturally-themed collection, however small at its inception, is, like the Web archive itself, an "infinitely" growing corpus, with additions to its original form being made with every scheduled capture of the Web objects included (in 2012, the Internet Archive had collected ten petabytes of data; two years on, the number had doubled, equating to over "four hundred and thirty billion Web pages" (Lepore, 2015:12)). In this way, although the cultural theme offers the end-user a coherent and more manageable set of materials within the big data of the Web archive as a whole, the ever-multiplying nature of the collection means that, for the sake of navigability and usability, further classification will doubtless be required in future. To this end, the discursive approach to the sub-categorisation of the on-line data, already framed generically within the cultural context of the London-French ethnological theme, is considered fittest for purpose, not least because it is facilitated by the inherent identity of the Web object's born-digital domain name.

As has been seen, the application of language to archived Web resources is open to misrepresentation and lends itself to oversimplification and/or partiality on the part of the curator (Gomes & Costa, 2014:107; Pennock, 2013:10-11), particularly if an inadequate text-typological rationale is adopted. Moreover, the very act of framing a "set" of otherwise disparate Web objects in a Special Collection is in itself meaningful (Kress, 2010:119).

Through the housing of diverse London-French resources under a thematically homogeneous umbrella, those consulting the collection, today and in the future, are likely to create conceptual links between sites and information that may have been unintended and, perhaps more importantly, that would not necessarily be created outside the collection in the born-digital environment. Such associations allow for new meanings to be made, infinitely (in accordance with Peircean and Kressian semiotic theory), and for an imposed (by the curator) sense of coherence and intertextual semiosis to be effected. “Semiosis, the making of meaning,” as Kress explains, “is ongoing, ceaseless” (Kress, 2010:93) and it is contingent on the dynamics of its materialisation through a given mode and its realisation in the mind of the recipient (*ibid.*). Thus, regardless of the efforts of the Web curator – who is inescapably fixed in the time, space and frame of mind at which the cataloguing process is undertaken – to ascribe defined nominal interpretations and generic/discursive classifications to the Web objects framed in the LFSC, its meaning potentials are limitless, and as dependent on the temporal and spatial framing of the end-user as on their integral positioning within the archive. In short, all meaning-making is dynamic and boundless, and as such, the curator’s reliance on language to direct and contain it is innately problematic. This leads to the final Bourdieusian and Kressian concept relevant to this discussion: dynamics.

8.5 WEB ARCHIVAL DYNAMICS: On-land–On-line Symbiosis

According to Taylor, “the embodied, the archival and the digital overlap and mutually construct each other” (2012:3), and Toyoda & Kitsuregawa refer to “the Web as a projection of the real world” (2012:1442). Thus, there is no distinction to be made between the London French on-land and on-line, the latter is the reflection of the former, and each affects the other symbiotically. The embodied presence of the French in London is displayed in digital form on-line which in turn feeds into the Web archive/collection. In a process of mutual construction, the collection will preserve and renew the physical and digital representations of the London French, the dynamics of which will intensify once French Londoners engage with the user-nomination functionality. The overt manifestation of this symbiosis will be the potential modification of the collection over its life-cycle, according to the nominations made by future LFSC users, many of whom are likely to be members of the London-French community itself, for, as Holley describes, the most successful crowdsourcing initiatives have been those with which the public feel a direct connection, such as, “history [...], personal lives [... or] genealogy”, their contribution giving them a “sense of public ownership and responsibility towards [their] cultural heritage collections” (2010:2). Less

obvious manifestations might take the form of modifications to the style and content of London-French blogs subsequent to the realisation that their once audience-specific material (Yoon, 2013:181) is to be henceforth displayed and preserved in the official collections of the BL, and as such transformed from personal log into cultural heritage, a legitimised form of cultural capital deemed of lasting historical value to the nation. This inevitable elevation in status will undoubtedly have ontological and epistemological ramifications, measurable only after the collection has been in the public domain for a period of time.

If members of the French community in London choose to nominate websites and if those already with a presence in the collection adjust, wittingly or otherwise, their behaviour on-land and on-line as a result thereof, they will be explicitly contributing to the dynamic process and product (Taylor, 2012:4) characteristic of an ethnographic archive. Just as Bourdieu wrote, “reality is relative”⁶⁴⁷ (1994:17), this dynamic Web archive, unlike traditional archival forms, invites physical, live beings to participate in the on-line curation exercise, thereby enlisting “visitors as active subjects of knowledge construction” (Dallas, 2007:59), indefinitely, blurring former divisions between the corporeal and the virtual, the lived and the represented, the present and the future.

Fittingly, as seen in Chapter 1, dynamics are key to Bourdieusian and Kressian theories, the fact of which substantiates further the legitimacy of a multimodal ethnosemiotic conceptual framework for culturally-themed Web curation. The fundamental overlap between the dynamic approaches adopted by Bourdieu and Kress lies in their shared belief that it is only by examining cultural practice through a relativist lens that true, and often hidden, meanings will be revealed. In this way, Kress extols methodological and analytical frameworks which compare modes in order to elicit semiotic substance: “Depending on the *mode* and its *affordances*, relations and connections may have any number of forms [...] as a means of making meaning” (Kress, 2010:156; original italics), and the LFSC provides an ideal, pre-selected and intrinsically multimodal set of data for comparing such modes. In a similar vein, Bourdieu’s methodological and analytical recommendation, expressed through his three-stage field analysis model, that it is through the comparison of a variety of habitus practices (such as speech, posture, drinks, sports, food and so on) (1994:21), and their positioning within broader field structures, that ethnographers gain an in-depth understanding of the social realities of ordinary people’s lives (1972[2000]:263), echoes the relativism advised by Kress. It is also an approach that has been recently advocated as “a helpful way to theorize the human dynamics at play in and across many [on-line/on-land] fields” (Hillis et al., 2013:30). Grenfell recalls that “much of Bourdieu’s work demonstrates

647 Original: “le réel est relatif”.

the way in which we should see *habitus* and *field* as mutually constitutive” (2012a:5), and it is only by scrutinising one that hidden truths of the other will materialise and *vice versa*. Likewise, the dynamic constitution of the LFSC, in its combination of field and habitus material, and in its dynamic spatial and temporal dimensions, is fundamental to its ethnosemiotic identity and validity.

This underscoring of the intermodal and inter-relational is akin to the concept of multimodality itself, in that different modes cannot be separated in their experiential effect, in spite of possible attempts to do so for the purpose of analysis, for it is their very coalescence which completes the meaning-making. Consequently, all modes combine and mutually interact, in the same manner that all individuals, on-land as on-line, live multimodally, with layout (Kress, 2010) or micro-gestures (Bezemer, 2014) constituting equally telling modes as speech or writing, and their “life lived offline [being] directly connected to online life” (Adami & Kress, 2010:189). The Internet allows for modal and physical-digital interplay more than the printed text or the material archive has ever before permitted, hence the relevance of a multimodal ethnosemiotic approach to the construction of a Web collection.

CONCLUSION: Finding Big Meanings through a Small Approach to Big Data

In order to develop the basis of an ethnosemiotic theory of culturally themed Web curation, this chapter has focused on the points of convergence between Bourdieusian and Kressian concepts pertinent to the field of Internet archiving generally and the preservation of on-line London-French cultural capital in particular. By examining the practice of constructing the ethnographically-themed Special Collection, as part of the Big Data that is the UK Web Archive, considerations and suggestions for selecting resources, assessing value, anticipating audiences, cataloguing and crowd-sourcing have been made through the ethnosemiotic prism of field, habitus, reflexivity, language and dynamics.

The significance of the small-scale, micro-Web-archiving approach foregrounded lies in its deployment as a strategy for overcoming the “data deluge” inevitably triggered by non-selective, catch-all repositories, such as JISC’s UK Web Domain Dataset (1996–2010). National archives of the sort have therefore proven to be of limited use to researchers in the arts and humanities today, who are often unsuccessful in accessing the specific datum they seek within the big data archive consulted⁶⁴⁸ or, in the words of Kitchin, “extracting a

648 See, for example, Peter Webster’s blog post on the experience of researchers involved in the Big UK Domain Data in the Arts and Humanities project (Webster, 2015).

meaningful signal from the noise” of big data (2014:151). Until the development of more efficient search tools (Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier, 2013:41), which nevertheless allow the researcher to have full access to unadulterated material (a delicate balance to achieve), selective archiving remains the most viable, user-oriented option.

The lasting output of *this* selective archiving experiment is the LFSC itself, which constitutes a unique and multifaceted representation of London-French on-line cultural capital, offering an exclusive window onto a largely invisible component of Britain’s socio-cultural make-up at the dawn of the 21st century. The impact of the ethnosemiotically constructed collection extends from the present day to future users of the archive and covers a broad spectrum of interest and knowledge. Furthermore, the approach posited here intends to make a valid contribution to the under-theorised development of Web archiving more generally, being potentially scalable from the community-themed level to larger on-line archives, whose themes may differ but whose selective principles concur.

Ultimately, the ethnosemiotic paradigm proposed, and to be applied empirically in the subsequent chapters, offers a qualitative alternative to that which Crawford terms “data fundamentalism” (2013:1). The ethnographic smallness and reflexivity – methodologically, archivally and analytically – allows the practices and narratives of individual migrant lives give meaning to the vastness of the archived Web, which is “why ethnographic work holds such enormous value in the era of Big Data” (Wang, 2013:1) and why the LFSC will offer future generations of French Londoners, among others, a valuable record of the community’s cultural capital. In the next two chapters, the value of the Collection whose curation was theorised here will be put into analytical practice.

CHAPTER 9

TOWARDS AN ETHNOSEMIOTIC APPROACH: ON-LAND AND ON-LINE SYMBOLIC FORCES IN LONDON-FRENCH EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter unites both the on-land and on-line facets of my research, demonstrating how the mixed-methods approach strengthens the credibility of both sets of findings in a dynamic process of triangulation. Unlike the case studies in the final chapter of this thesis, which deploy Web resources as their starting point, this chapter begins with the on-land interview data for the purpose of contextualisation, proceeding to the on-line data subsequently. As discussed in Chapter 3, symbolic violence in the educational field in France served as a migration trigger for some. In this chapter, the theme of symbolic violence is reintroduced, with specific reference to its presence (or otherwise) in a selection of schools attended by “French” children in London. Additionally, Bourdieusian concepts such as symbolic, cultural and social capital will be considered in relation to the on-land and on-line data collected, in order to understand why the majority of my research participants appear to favour the English educational model.

9.1 SYMBOLIC DYNAMICS IN THE LONDON EDUCATIONAL FIELD: AN ETHNOSEMIOTIC CASE-STUDY

The semiotic resources chosen for this case-study consist of three school websites whose selection was inspired by the on-land experience of one of my research participants. Laura, a mother of three living in Clapham, has a privileged overview of the three core schooling options available to London-French migrants, as one of her children attends Wix, a local French State-sector school, another, Honeywell, a nearby English State-sector primary school, and a third, Whitgift, an independent English “public” school. Following this French State-sector, UK-State-sector, UK-independent paradigm, the on-line analysis is therefore centred on the websites of three corresponding schools, but in this case all secondary institutions, in order to add parity and hence validity to the comparison. For the sake of methodological coherence, I have therefore decided to focus the multimodal on-line analysis on the landing pages of the two State-sector secondary schools where my on-land Focus Groups were conducted, namely the Lycée Français Charles de Gaulle (LFCG) and Newham Sixth Form College, with Whitgift (the school Laura’s son attends) serving as the UK-independent-school example. However, before examining the school websites through the prism of multimodal social semiotics, it is necessary to consider the on-land back-drop to the case-study, that is, the ethnographic element of the ethnosemiotic approach, and return to the interviews.

9.1.1 ON-LAND PERCEPTIONS OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL MODELS: “They focus on engaging the children rather than cramming them”

As Laura and I converse in a French café in South Clapham, instead of lamenting the poor academic standards of the English education system, the lack of discipline or the over-sized classes, as I anticipate, she is deeply critical of the French, State-run Wix school nearby. Laura identifies a communicational breakdown between parents and teachers, “the teachers think we’re attacking them all the time; and the parents think no-one ever listens to them,”⁶⁴⁹ and considers the intrinsic hierarchy of the pupil-teacher structure to be a negative force. This results in “an authority problem at the French school: they’re always giving out orders, whereas in the English classrooms, the children are very calm, there’s no unruliness whatsoever, the teachers never shout.”⁶⁵⁰ With the balance of power tipping unequivocally towards the teaching staff in the French schools and the assertion of their positions of authority over their pupils resulting in repeated, commonplace and apparently natural articulations of symbolic violence, it would appear that the system corresponds convincingly to Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic power as “the incorporated form of domination, [making] this relationship seem natural” (1998:55).⁶⁵¹ Whereas in the English primary school, Laura describes there being a greater sense of serenity in the classroom which could be attributed to an increased degree of teacher-student equality, the views of students being valued by teachers and the entire learning process seen more as a collaboration than a transfer of knowledge from authority figure to subordinate learner. Indeed, this coincides with the literature on best teaching practice in the UK (Bovill et al., 2015) and with field evidence I have collected in my capacity as a university lecturer, where French students often remark favourably upon the value awarded to their opinion by academic staff, be it in the classroom or through official (and therefore institutionally recognised) feedback surveys and course committees – a phenomenon unfamiliar to them before migrating. It is also unfamiliar to the French Lycée students I interviewed, one of whom compared the school to a factory, stating that students were “on a production line [...] that the teachers have to process”,⁶⁵² with a perceivable absence of co-creative learning or valuing the student experience.

649 Original: “les profs ont l’impression qu’on les attaque tout le temps; les parents, eux, ont l’impression qu’on ne les écoute jamais.”

650 Original: “un problème avec l’autorité dans l’école française: ils sont toujours entrain de donner des ordres, alors que dans les classes anglaises, les enfants sont très calmes, il n’y a pas du tout de bazar, les maîtresses ne crient jamais.”

651 Original: “la forme incorporée de la domination, [faisant] apparaître cette relation comme naturelle”.

652 Original: “on est à la chaîne [...] dans une chaîne que les profs doivent traiter”.

Laura also notes the lack of enthusiasm from the teaching staff at the French primary school her daughter attends: “at Wix, there’s this kind of weight, you can feel the depressed side, whereas at Honeywell, you go there in the morning and all the teachers seem to be having a whale of a time, they’re super happy.”⁶⁵³ Perhaps the position of power and of imparting knowledge rather than co-creating it engenders an apathy and a monotony that are tangible in the classroom, where they translate into symbolic violence enacted as a coping mechanism. Irrespective of the reason for this atmospheric difference between the English and French systems encountered in London, Laura’s parental experience of the British State education system is one in which the pedagogical approach is perceived as confidence-building and engaging, inspiring pupils to learn rather than reprimanding them if they do not.

This perception echoes the words of 63-year-old returnee, Marie, who contrasts the “playful” approach of the English teaching staff and the purportedly more positive and nurturing learning environment of English schools with the aggression and depression perceived in the French system, where “there’s a lot of aggression, as much among the teachers as the pupils” and where “the teachers are depressed and aggressive”.⁶⁵⁴ In short, the English system is considered to adopt an approach which celebrates students’ successes and achievements, whereas the pedagogy of the French system is thought to be based on a reverse approach of attainment through (public) humiliation and failure, as Laura explains, “they’re a lot more positive and into enjoyment; in France, we’re into punishment and frustration”.⁶⁵⁵ This punitively defeatist approach recalls the legal definition of harassment defined in Chapter 3 (footnote 160) and its incarnation as a form of “insidious violence”, but one which appears to be customary in the French education system and transferred to French State schools in London, hence the habitus of those who attend them. Hélène, a former student at London’s French Lycée, now a lawyer, whom I encountered in the field, corroborates this with her account of the classroom practices to which she was exposed at the institution. She explains how teaching staff handed back homework in order of “merit”, with the strongest piece (out of 20) being returned first, the weakest last, and the pieces in between in descending order, thus giving the entire class a clear sense of each other’s academic ranking, reinforcing the inevitability of their situation as either high or low

653 Original: “à Wix, il y a cette espèce de poids, on sent le côté déprimé, alors qu’à Honeywell, vous y allez le matin, tous les profs ont l’air de s’éclater, ils sont hypers heureux”.

654 Original: “ludique [...] il y a beaucoup plus d’agressivité, autant chez les professeurs que dans les élèves [...] les profs sont déprimés et agressifs.”

655 Original: “ils sont beaucoup plus positifs, et dans le plaisir; en France, on est beaucoup plus sur la punition et la frustration.”

achievers, and compounding the reproductive characteristics of their relative status (Bourdieu, 1994:48).

In addition to the more supportive framework identified in British schools, my respondents allude to a greater emphasis being placed on “learning through doing”, as Antoine explains, contrasting it to France, where “there is too much thinking about doing, more than doing and then thinking about it.” His observations relate to tertiary education, but Greenwich mother, Sarah, notes a similar phenomenon at primary level:

I like the English system more for now. I find it a lot more participatory. I think they focus on engaging the children rather than cramming them [...]. There's a lot more interaction, a lot of groups, it's not always the teacher explaining things. There's a lot of teamwork, student research, and they make everything lively.⁶⁵⁶

The overwhelming positivity among the interviewees regarding English pedagogics is surprising to me given the frequency with which the French model is praised in British political and media discourses.⁶⁵⁷ The symbolic power of received knowledge is illustrated further by it being only those interviewees with an absence of first-hand experience of the former that challenge the English model and endorse the French one, simply perpetuating an idea engrained in them through mythologised opinions and standardised discourses. Thus, Paulette, of Beninese heritage, with whom I talk in her open-plan, Kensington office and whose originary habitus was influenced by the last vestiges of a French colonial narrative whose aim was to reinforce these Republican values, *fought* to send her child to a French primary school in London.⁶⁵⁸ She nevertheless recognises that one of the benefits of the English system is “to see the child more as an individual. For example, the English don't repeat an academic year [...]. Maybe it's less academic here, more cultural, more sporty, more arty, which is also important for children's development.”⁶⁵⁹ For Paulette, the student-

656 Original: “J'aime mieux pour l'instant [l'école anglaise]. Je trouve que c'est beaucoup plus participatif. Je pense qu'ils mettent l'accent sur intéresser les enfants plutôt que leur bourrer le crâne [...]. Il y a beaucoup plus d'interaction, beaucoup de groupes, c'est pas toujours le professeur qui explique quelque chose. Il y a beaucoup de travail entre élèves, de recherche personnelle, et puis ils rendent tout vivant.”

657 Although according to the 2015 OECD PISA results, the UK outperformed France in both science (coming 15th compared to France's 27th position, with respective mean scores of 509 and 495) and reading (the UK was ranked 20th and France 21st, with a mean difference of a mere point). Only in maths did France outperform the UK by a single mean point, France coming in 26th position and the UK 27th, scoring 493 and 492 respectively.

658 In her own words: “I battled to send my son to a French school” [Original: “J'ai lutté pour que mon fils soit dans une école française”].

659 Original: “de voir plus l'enfant en tant qu'un individu. Par exemple, les Anglais ne redoublent pas une classe [...]. Ils sont peut-être moins académiques ici, plus culturels, plus sport, plus art, ce qui est aussi important pour le développement de l'enfant”.

centred teaching approach and the traditional valuing of non-academic activities encouraged in London schools and HE institutions represent a positive dimension of the UK system. However, to her pragmatic mind, they do not outweigh the advantages of the French system, which include, above all, a worldwide network of schools where an identical curriculum is taught (thus leaving open the possibility of subsequent migration); secondly, the “opportunity” for academically weaker students to repeat a year of schooling, as “it can be a way of filling in knowledge gaps”,⁶⁶⁰ irrespective of the detrimental psychological effects such segregation from the peer group and immersion in a younger cohort of students might have; and finally, a method of ensuring the transmission of the French language to her children. Indeed, Paulette was denied such a legacy by her own father, who banned the Beninese mother tongue from the primary habitat, perceiving it to epitomise the inferiority of the colonised and as being counterproductive to future career opportunities. He felt that he rose through the ranks of the French (colonising) administration thanks to his very embracing of the French language, culture and education system:

He was very geared towards culture. Actually, I think that might be why I don't speak the mother tongue. I think dad enforced that because mum hadn't received the same education as he had. It's something I regret enormously, not being able to speak my mother tongue, it's an absence, a void.⁶⁶¹

Although Paulette recognises her linguistic loss as being related to her father's academic and subsequent professional success, “at the time my dad had a very good position and I think we were respected because of his status”,⁶⁶² she fails to see his stance as an expression of the (post-)colonial indoctrination to which he was exposed at the very *Ecole de la République* that she is so keen for own children to attend. As Puwar (2004) indicates, the “association of European languages with rational thinking, the values of civilization and intelligence is part and parcel of the long routes of colonisation that make our post-colonial times today” (2004:108-9) and that continue to guide Paulette, implicitly perhaps, towards the “civilizing” and intergenerationally valued *Ecole de la République* for her own progeny. Just as Bourdieu's habitus theory posits, the same values are (re)transmitted as a matter of pre-reflexive course, from one generation to the next, despite migration to secondary fields

660 Original: “ça peut être une façon de combler les lacunes”.

661 Original: “Il était très axé sur la culture. D'ailleurs je crois que c'est pour ça que je ne parle pas la langue maternelle. Je pense que c'est papa qui avait imposé ça parce que maman n'avait pas eu la même éducation que papa. C'est quelque chose que je regrette énormément de ne pas pouvoir parler ma langue maternelle, c'est un manque, c'est un vide.”

662 Original: “[m]on père à l'époque avait un très bon statut et je pense qu'on a été respectés de par le statut de papa”.

where differing capital systems risk interrupting the reproductive cycle (Ingram & Abrahams, 2016:148; Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016:89). In keeping with this Bourdieusian paradigm, Paulette seems willing to overlook the fact that she herself was the victim of symbolic violence during her time at school in France, just as her own son is now feeling the consequences of being one of only two families of African heritage in his French school in London⁶⁶³ and where racist comments have been noted:

Oh yes, I really felt it [the discrimination]. I felt it through non-verbal communication and verbal as well, yeah, that, totally. [...] I had a few teachers who sometimes made remarks, but perhaps not specially because I was of African origin. [...] What I went through, I wouldn't wish it on my children, no way. [...] At my kids' [London] French school there are only two children of African origin, so the French mentality is still there, but that's life. [...] My son said there'd been several comments, but they're only kids, aren't they; I think it might have happened to him somewhere else as well. I think my son's happy.⁶⁶⁴

While Paulette is reigniting evidently painful memories which – through their continuation beyond school – ultimately pushed her to London, in this extract she simultaneously appears to be endorsing the behaviour of those teachers who were prejudicial towards her (“but perhaps not specially because I was of African origin”). Perhaps more surprisingly, she also vindicates those individuals who have been racist towards her child (“but they're only kids”). As if habituated (“that's life”) to this subordinate, victimised position in the French education system as a “natural” result of her ethnicity, as Senni also describes (2007:77, 81), Paulette is at once aware of, and oblivious to, these symbolic forces, appearing to be in a state of denial about the true seriousness of the remarks directed at her son (“I think my son's happy”) and contradicting her previously stated desire for her children *not* to be exposed to the same acts of symbolic violence as she was (“What I went through, I wouldn't want it for my own children, no way”). She seems (unwittingly) intent on

663 Significantly, very few children were identified as having African heritage in entire year-group cohorts at the secondary French Lycée also: “In Year 12, there's one black student in the entire year. One student out of 100, 120” and “in Year 12, there aren't many black people” (Focus Group 2). [Original: “En première, il y un élève noir dans toute la première. Un élève sur 100, 120” and “en seconde, on n'a pas beaucoup de noirs”.]

664 Original: “Ah oui, je l'ai vraiment sentie [la discrimination]. Je l'ai sentie par communication non verbale, par communication verbale aussi, oui, ça, totalement. [...] J'avais quelques professeurs qui avaient parfois des remarques, mais peut-être pas spécialement parce que j'étais d'origine africaine. [...] Ce que j'ai vécu, je ne le souhaite pas à mes enfants, non. [...] À l'école française de mes enfants il n'y a que deux enfants d'origine africaine, donc la mentalité française ça se retrouve quand même, mais c'est la vie. [...] Mon fils m'a dit qu'il y a eu quelques commentaires, mais c'est des enfants, en fait; je pense que ça lui aurait arrivé peut-être aussi ailleurs. Je crois que mon fils est content.”

defending the French education system, in spite of her acknowledgement of its discriminatory traits (“the French mentality is still there”) and therefore, as Bourdieu contends (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:43; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:142), she is complicit in her own victimisation and in the reproduction of the very criticisms she has of the French system, re-inflicting them on her own children, just as her father did on her, in an ostensibly inevitable cycle of prejudicial institutional structures being embodied as subjective habitus. Thus, Garratt’s observation that it is “habitual schemas of perception that prevents [sic] racist behaviour being labelled as such by both perpetrator and victim” (2016:77) is borne out by Paulette’s testimony.

One of the few other interviewees who is critical of the English system, favouring instead the standards achieved by the *Ecole de la République* is returnee Moses. Of Senegalese descent and therefore undoubtedly exposed to a similar pro-French-education discourse in his primary habitus, he laments, in our lengthy telephone conversation, the English education system’s failure to equip its students with basic general knowledge (unlike in France), claiming English students “had no clue where to place China or Russia on a map” because “they specialise early, even too early.”⁶⁶⁵ Similarly, François, the 52-year-old Caucasian surgeon applauds the education he was given in France. Unlike Paulette and Moses, however, he was born into a privileged place in French society and in turn drew on his inherited cultural capital to reap the benefits of the *Ecole de la République*, which he describes as “such a powerful and organised education system”, of which he is “very proud” and “a pure product”, regretting that “the French don’t know how lucky they are to have open, neutral, and not free but very affordable schools.”⁶⁶⁶ By contrast, he finds fault in the exorbitant cost of (private) education in the UK, while again commending its emphasis on extra-curricular activities, such as music and sport, if questioning their long-term benefits: “All the surgeons I know here have done art, music or singing at school – but everything stops at 23-years-old – not one of them has carried on.”⁶⁶⁷ To counterbalance the artistic sensitivities developed in the English model which are considered futile in later life,⁶⁶⁸ the French system is said to be academically more rigorous, providing students with a solid

665 Original: “ne savaient pas du tout où situer la Chine ou la Russie sur une carte [...] ils se spécialisent tôt, voire trop tôt.”

666 Originals: “un système d’éducation si puissant et si organisé [...] très fier [...] un pur produit [...] les Français ne savent pas qu’on a tellement de chance d’avoir une école libre, neutre, et pas gratuite mais vraiment abordable.”

667 Original: “Tous les chirurgiens que je connais ici, ils ont tous fait de l’art, de la musique ou le chant à l’école – mais tout s’arrête à 23 ans – il n’y en a aucun qui a continué.”

668 Although they doubtless contribute to the widespread patronage of the arts in the UK and London’s vibrant artistic scene, which François enthusiastically extols later in our conversation.

intellectual grounding and broad knowledge base. François himself is deeply grateful for the linguistic capital with which the French education system provided him, “I’m part of that generation who were lucky enough to have access to three languages during our education”,⁶⁶⁹ although he questions the lack of *practical* expertise in modern languages on leaving school. Bruno, the gastronomic chef, also recalls the *practical* shortcomings of the French system as regards foreign language acquisition, describing how he was “incapable of having a conversation in English” when he arrived in London, and “couldn’t understand a thing”.⁶⁷⁰ His current acquaintance with a regular flow of young, French kitchen porters and *commis* chefs recruited via the Centre Charles Péguy, migrating for their ritual *années Londres*, bears witness to the perpetuation of this pedagogical shortfall, for in his words, “not one of them knows how to speak English well”.⁶⁷¹

This lack of practical learning may be the principal deficiency of the French model, revealed to the research participants only through the comparative prism provided by migration, as in an age where factual knowledge is quite literally at the fingertips of all those currently at school, who are able to tap into the “data deluge” (Kitchen, 2014:130; Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier, 2013:70) of the Internet at the click of a mouse or the touch of a smartphone screen, unrestricted by time or space, it could be argued that the quest of French schools to impart vast quantities of general knowledge, and thereby nurture a population befitting the country’s “exception culturelle” (Poirier, 2006:63-70), is an outdated model. Whereas the focus on encouraging students to think independently and to develop such social, cultural and practical skills as inter-student or inter-cultural collaboration (Huc-Hepher & Huertas Barros, 2016), artistic awareness and public speaking are potentially of more socio-professional value. Indeed, the acquisition of large quantities of knowledge, while undoubtedly enhancing informed critical analysis competence, can serve *au contraire* as an impediment to creativity and invention, students’ imaginations oppressed by the weight of their cultural heritage, “condemned by history” (Parisot, 2007:13),⁶⁷² just as France’s advancement is inhibited by the fact that it “continues to look at itself through glasses from the past” (ibid.).⁶⁷³ It could be argued, therefore, that it is precisely France’s academically stringent and fact-biased schooling that is the key contributing factor to the country’s “pessimistic inclinations” (Parisot, 2007:12)⁶⁷⁴ and Paris’s comparative stagnation,

669 Original: “moi, je suis issu de cette génération où on a eu cette chance extraordinaire d’avoir accès à trois langues pendant notre éducation.”

670 Original: “incapable d’avoir une conversation en anglais [...] je ne comprenais rien”.

671 Original: “il n’y en a aucun qui sait bien parler anglais”.

672 Original: “condamné[s] par l’histoire”.

673 Original: “continue de se regarder avec des lunettes du passé”.

674 Original: “inclination au pessimisme”.

previously alluded to by interviewees in relation to London's perceived dynamism.

By contrast, with the exception of Paulette and Moses, there is an unexpected air of positivity associated with the English education system in all the interviews. Even François proceeds to denounce certain aspects of the French pedagogical approach, drawing attention to the difference between teaching and learning, which itself implies the difference between the teacher-centred approach predominant in French schools and the student-centred one found in English equivalents: "Teaching has nothing to do with learning. [...] All the emphasis has been placed on teaching, but [...] there's no feedback."⁶⁷⁵ Thus, just as the valuing of student feedback has been favourably noted by migrant students in the English education system, so an absence of constructive feedback from academic staff in the French system is underlined, which in turn confirms the communicational breakdown described by Laura above. François subsequently juxtaposes his criticism of the French teacher-led approach with his (again, somewhat unexpected) esteem for English higher education: "England has potentially the best education system in the world. And I'm being completely sincere, the universities and standards are of the highest level from the outset, and the educational tools given to doctors are the best in the world."⁶⁷⁶ In a similar vein, and reiterating the sentiments expressed in the interviews – such as Laura's allusion to the negative discourse of the French system: "the narrative is a lot more 'could do better', etc., etc., whereas at Honeywell, it's always 'well done', 'brilliant'"⁶⁷⁷ – the teenagers in Focus Group 1⁶⁷⁸ refer to *education* being the main advantage of living in London, whereas it is said to constitute the main disadvantage for the members of Focus Group 2, who, significantly, attend the French Lycée in South Kensington. Both groups thereby reach the same, albeit inverted, conclusion. Indeed, despite the groups' diametrically opposed socio-economic backgrounds and divergent school pathways, both cohorts are unexpectedly concordant in their opinions on education, and both, once again reiterate the comments made by the interviewees. The themes of punishment, as a form of symbolic violence deployed to forcibly instil a sense of application in students, as opposed to the tactic of praise and aspiration favoured in the UK model, and an overly academic, "hands-off" approach are cited by members of Focus Group 1: "There's less punishment here than in France," where

675 Original: "Enseigner ça n'a rien à voir avec apprendre. [...] Toute l'attention a été portée sur l'enseignement, mais [...] il n'y a pas de rétrocontrôle."

676 Original: "L'Angleterre a potentiellement le meilleur système éducatif du monde. Et je suis vraiment sincère, les universités et les standards sont au plus haut niveau dès le début, et les outils d'éducation donnés aux médecins sont les meilleurs du monde."

677 Original: "le discours c'est beaucoup plus 'peut mieux faire', etc., etc., alors qu'à Honeywell, c'est toujours 'well done', 'brilliant'."

678 Attending the State-sector sixth-form college in Newham.

“it was writing, writing, writing, and there was less practical work.”⁶⁷⁹ Meanwhile students in Focus Group 2 maintain their criticisms of staff attitudes at the Lycée Français Charles de Gaulle (LFCG) and the emphasis placed purely on institutionalised markers of success, namely grades and qualifications, making those who fail to achieve the expected grades feel inadequate and abased. This discontent is unanimous among the students taking part in the group discussion and at times damning, as one statement vehemently illustrates, “the teachers don’t give a damn about us. [...] They don’t give us any advice.”⁶⁸⁰ This purported lack of guidance and disregard for students’ outcomes echoes François’s objections, even though he was experiencing the French education system some 35 years earlier, which is undoubtedly a direct consequence of the absence of interim reform and the perpetuation of the status quo described by Dubet (2004:6), and foreseen by Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:44).

Compounding the French *lycéens*’ disparagement of staff at the school is their impression of certain members indulging in their own self-satisfaction and of the teaching body being “unbearable, arrogant [...]: the picture of France, but in London.”⁶⁸¹ Although, according to one boy, “there are teachers who are good”, to his mind, “the administration’s lousy”, and pedagogics are again deemed “incredibly academic, everything’s based on grades, competitive exams, etc. But in England, there are more dossiers, interviews, you have to put yourself into it, what you like, what you’re good at, etc.” and “it’s based on personality a lot”.⁶⁸² Valuing students’ *individual traits* is thus thought to be missing from the French model, which adds to the sense of symbolic violence permeating the school, leading unacknowledged and uncelebrated students to cumulate a vivid antipathy for the LFCG teachers, “I didn’t like the teaching staff at all”, and escalating to a resentment of the school as a whole, “I didn’t like the spirit of the school at all.”⁶⁸³ Obsessed with academic achievements, be they of staff⁶⁸⁴ or students, the school fails to recognise the extra-curricular

679 Originals: “Ici, il y a moins de punition qu’en France [...] c’était l’écrit, l’écrit, l’écrit, et il y avait moins de pratique.”

680 Original: “les professeurs n’ont rien à foutre de nous. [...] Ils nous donnent pas de conseils.”

681 Original: “insupportable, arrogant [...]: la représentation de la France, mais à Londres.”

682 Originals: “il y a des profs qui sont bons” ... “l’administration est minable” ... “vachement académique, tout est basé sur les notes, les concours, etc. Alors qu’en Angleterre, il y a plus de dossiers, d’interviews, il y a un mouvement de soi-même, de ce qu’on aime, à quoi on est bon, etc.” ... “c’est beaucoup basé sur la personnalité.”

683 Originals: “j’ai pas du tout aimé le corps enseignant” ... “j’ai pas du tout aimé l’esprit de l’école.”

684 One Lycée student singles out a teacher who persistently reminds her students of her own successes: “Madame XXXX spends all her time showing off: ‘yes, I’m a qualified university lecturer, no, I’m a qualified university lecturer, oh yes, I’m a qualified university

accomplishments and qualities of individual students, who in turn feel rejected and devalued: “condemned to perpetually ask themselves who they are and what they’re worth and having no other sign [...] than academic success, it’s in their very being that they feel overcome by failure or anonymity” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:74).⁶⁸⁵ This accent placed on academic success (or failure), seen purely through the prism of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1979a:5-6) (i.e. marks and formal qualifications), at the expense of more creative skills, therefore has a powerful effect on the school environment and educational experience; it is a phenomenon also lamented by Suzanne, the 80-year-old former teacher at the LFCG, and as such represents a cross-generational observation. According to Suzanne, “the French lycée used to be really nice, it’s become less nice. The students are completely preoccupied with marks. You can’t do poetry any more”.⁶⁸⁶ Suzanne’s statement corroborates the students’ account in its allusion to the atmosphere of the school being “less nice” than in the past and to the current emphasis on marks at the cost of more creative undertakings, but it is telling that she ascribes this present emphasis *to the students* themselves, rather than the staff, blind to her own complicity and inability to appreciate the teachers’ role in the current state of affairs. Through this misplaced blame, Suzanne is effectively committing an unwitting act of symbolic violence towards the students and in so doing simultaneously corroborating the focus group student’s earlier remark (Chapter 3.1) that the staff “create clans”⁶⁸⁷ and collectively portray pupils in a negative light.

Although Focus Group 2 students concede that there is “quite a good atmosphere”⁶⁸⁸ at the school, the pedagogical rigidity and prosaicness, together with the haughtiness of staff, is considered to take precedence over this singular advantage, causing a number of students to turn to the English alternative for GCSEs, A levels, or the International Baccalaureate, and university courses, as both Chantal and Laura have experienced. “In terms of human relationships, the lycée here’s very pleasant for the children, but [...] what attracts them is an English-style education, with lots of sport, lots of art and lots of music: there’s the possibility to do lots of things we don’t have in the French system which is extremely

lecturer. Yes, did you know my husband did [...]. Yes, yes, I’m a qualified university lecturer’. That’s exactly what the Lycée is like.” [Original: “Madame XXXX passe son temps à se la péter: ‘oui, je suis agrégée, non, je suis agrégée, ah oui, je suis agrégée. Oui, vous savez, mon mari il a [...]. Oui, oui, je suis agrégée’. C’est exactement ce Lycée.”]

685 Original: “condamné à se poser sans cesse la question de ce qu’il est et de ce qu’il vaut et n’ayant d’autre signe [...] que la réussite scolaire, c’est dans son être qu’il se sent atteint par l’échec ou l’anonymat”.

686 Original: “le lycée français, c’était très sympa, c’est devenu moins sympa. Les étudiants sont maintenant très portés sur des notes. On ne peut plus faire de poésie.”

687 Original: “font des clans”.

688 Original: “une assez bonne ambiance”.

academic. My eldest son left for his last two years. He's been at Sevenoaks in Kent for two years and his sister wants to go too, and my youngest wants to go to Harrow in a year. So, they'll all be in the English system",⁶⁸⁹ remarks Chantal in her light and airy South Kensington house. Likewise, one of the Focus Group 2 participants expresses his intention to attend an English school (City of London School) and rejection of the French HE route: "I'm not going back to France [for higher education], no way."⁶⁹⁰ It should be noted, however, that all the English schools for which these children are opting are the high-fee-paying independent schools alluded to by François above; only a select few will be aptly able to access such schools, and even fewer in a financial position to afford the fees.⁶⁹¹ Laura's son is also now in an independent English school, having spent most of his childhood in the French system, and he too is keen on the extra-curricular activities the school offers. His mother, nevertheless, recognises that his place in the recently-launched French-English Bilingual Section of Whitgift School is a privilege not available to everyone, and that each child's educational needs vary, meaning that her preference for the English system in respect of her eldest child was not a rule to be necessarily applied to the others:

Private English schools are very, very expensive; but they said "we want him, so we're giving him a bursary." So, he got into this amazing school; he's in uniform in an all-boys school. He's as happy as can be, really, super fulfilled. But then my daughter, after three years at an English State school, we realised she wasn't that comfortable in French and not that comfortable in English either; it wasn't easy for her. And as we are French after all, we decided to put her back into the French system [Wix]. And the youngest has been at school for two years now and we put her into an English school [Honeywell].⁶⁹²

689 Original: "Le lycée ici, en termes de relations humaines, c'est très agréable pour les enfants, mais [...] ce qui les attire c'est une éducation à l'anglaise, avec beaucoup de sport, beaucoup d'art et beaucoup de musique: il y a la possibilité de faire beaucoup de choses qu'on n'a pas dans le système français qui est extrêmement académique. Mon aîné, il est parti pour les deux dernières années. Il a fait deux ans à Sevenoaks dans le Kent et sa sœur veut y aller aussi, et mon troisième va à Harrow dans un an. Donc ils vont tous se retrouver dans le système anglais."

690 Original: "Je ne vais pas retourner en France [pour les études supérieures], no way".

691 In the region of £30-35,000 per annum for boarding places.

692 Original: "Les écoles privées anglaises sont très, très chères; mais eux ils ont dit 'nous, on le veut, donc on lui donne la bourse'. Donc il a été pris dans cette école géniale; il est en uniforme dans une école de garçons. Il est heureux comme tout, vraiment, hyper épanoui. Et puis ma fille, au bout de trois ans dans une école publique anglaise, on s'est rendu compte qu'elle n'était pas hyper à l'aise en français et pas hyper à l'aise en anglais; c'était pas facile pour elle. Et comme nous on est quand même français, et qu'on peut toujours rentrer en France un jour ou l'autre, on a décidé de la rebasculer dans le système français [Wix]. Et puis la petite est scolarisée depuis maintenant deux ans, et on l'a mise à l'école anglaise [Honeywell]."

The examples of French children in London from affluent backgrounds preferring English teaching, based on their knowledge of privately-funded schools, could be perceived as non-representative of the London-French experience as a whole. However, arguably as a testament to their naivety and the failure of their education to equip them with a discerning, critical eye,⁶⁹³ the students involved in Focus Group 1 are not only in favour of the English education system, but condone its two-tiered (State and independent) constitution: “It’s fair,” exclaims one student, “if your parents want to send you to private school, it’s their choice, and if you accept, it’s your choice as well.”⁶⁹⁴ They appear unaware of the likelihood of means or circumstance taking precedence over desire or choice, and of the inequity of the situation, as if playing out, with notable fidelity and this time in relation to the English system, the role of complicity conjectured by Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:142). Indeed, rather than resentment, they all express a feeling of gratitude that their current English State education offers them flexibility and equips them with skills and qualifications relevant to the workplace. In the words of one student with experience of both French and English schooling, “After your studies there are different places you can go with your qualifications. There’ll be more opportunities here than in France,”⁶⁹⁵ a point substantiated by a number of the interviewees, including returnee, Catherine. Her experience of London dates back to the 1980s, but her recollection of the highly academic education in France and subsequent professional openings in each country is lucid: “in France, with an English degree, the only way to find work would be to take the competitive English teaching exam. The fact that I went to England opened up other doors for me which I may never have had at all if I’d stayed in France.”⁶⁹⁶ Similarly, Laura believes that the English system’s emphasis on oral and groupwork, as opposed to teacher-led, written skills gives students a confidence that directly influences their employability, “the English perform a lot better orally, because of their education, so they speak very easily.”⁶⁹⁷ Conversely, according to Bourdieu & Passeron, “in the French University tradition, the co-operative ideal is not encouraged at all and, from primary school up to scientific research, collective work is only supported by

693 Therefore, students attending English schools are arguably also victims of an insidiously reproductive system, complicit in their own subordination.

694 Original translation: “C’est juste [...] si tes parents veulent t’envoyer dans une école privée, c’est leur choix, et si tu acceptes, c’est ton choix aussi.”

695 Original: “Après les études, il y a différentes places où tu peux aller avec tes diplômes. Il y aura plus d’opportunités ici qu’en France.”

696 Original: “avec une licence d’anglais, on aurait pu uniquement présenter des concours d’enseignement pour trouver du travail. Le fait que je suis allée en Angleterre m’a ouvert d’autres portes que peut-être je n’aurais pas du tout eues si j’étais restée en France.”

697 Original: “les Anglais sont beaucoup plus performants à l’oral, de par cette éducation, et donc ils prennent la parole très facilement.”

institutions on an exceptional basis” (1964:52).⁶⁹⁸ Underlining the unattainability of this pedagogic model in French teaching, student group work is later referred to by the authors as a *utopia* (1964:58) and “absolutely non-directive teaching,”⁶⁹⁹ or co-learning, as a *myth* (ibid.). In the English model, however, as Brice explains, teamwork and practice-based teaching have been successfully transformed from myth to reality, which again is thought to prepare students for the workplace: it is only once students have left the French system that “they’ll have to learn what company life is like, working in a team, with managers, things like that. Whereas here [...] you leave uni and you’re able to work.”⁷⁰⁰

Both Laura’s and Brice’s accounts concur in their praise of the practical skills honed in the English system and their relevance to the workplace, but both also agree that the investment in this professionally symbolic capital detracts from the intellectual capital gained in the French education system. However, this ascription of greater worth to intellectualised cultural capital in the originary habitus/educational field, also noted among Polish migrants in the UK (Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016:101), than practical capital is challenged by Bourdieu & Passeron, whom seem rather to envisage the acquisition of knowledge, and more importantly the traditional means by which it is assessed, as an educational game (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:67-68), an illusory process or “emperor’s new clothes” phenomenon, whereby all those involved, teachers and students alike (ibid.), are so engrossed in the game and the validity of their roles that they are blind to the fact that “learning is an end in itself” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:66)⁷⁰¹ and that “intellectuals are undoubtedly the worst placed to become aware of symbolic violence (especially exercised by the school system) because they themselves have suffered it more intensely than the average person and because they continue to contribute to it” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:145).⁷⁰² Thus, being products of a culturally-rich habitus and of the French educational model, and today being successful intellectuals in their own right, Brice and Laura, and many of those who hold the French education system in esteem, at least in terms of the knowledge

698 Original: “l’idéal de coopération ne trouve aucun encouragement dans la tradition de l’Université française et, de l’école primaire à la recherche scientifique, le travail collectif ne peut qu’exceptionnellement s’appuyer sur les institutions”.

699 Original: “l’enseignement absolument non-directif”.

700 Original: “il faudra apprendre [...] ce que c’est la vie d’entreprise, à travailler en équipe, avec des managers, des trucs comme ça. Alors qu’ici [...] on sort de la fac et on peut travailler.”

701 Original: “l’apprentissage est à lui-même sa fin”.

702 Original: “[I]es intellectuels sont sans doute parmi les plus mal placés pour prendre conscience de la violence symbolique (notamment celle qu’exerce le système scolaire) parce qu’ils l’ont eux-même subie plus intensément que la moyenne des gens et parce qu’ils continuent à contribuer à son exercice”.

base it is claimed to develop, could be unconsciously continuing the game, taken in by the illusion and reinforcing it, which arguably explains the continued success of the LFCG (consistently over-subscribed), despite students being “overwhelmed by the experience of anonymity and by the aggression” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:57),⁷⁰³ as attested to by the Focus Group 2 participants above.

Perhaps crystallising the myth, Laura adds that those who have passed through the English education system “are a lot less technical. They’re very confident when it comes to speaking, but the underlying substance isn’t that great; they’re much less analytical than us.”⁷⁰⁴ Brice, who has had first-hand experience of both French and UK systems, completing his primary and secondary education in South West France and his tertiary education in Scotland and England, confirms that “the theoretical side [of the French model] also has advantages because you can... go further [...], which, in exceptional cases, means you can go beyond just the formula, and know how to adapt it in a specific case”.⁷⁰⁵ According to Brice, therefore, ironically, it is the deep *theoretical* knowledge of mathematics supplied in the French (secondary) model, as opposed to the “spoon-fed” formulae he witnessed in a UK university, that allows students to take ownership of the ideas and apply them autonomously and creatively in *practical* situations. This undermines Bourdieu’s notion of learning being an end in itself in the French system, and instead apprehends theory as the very key to practical know-how. In this way, whilst Laura and Brice feel that the English system instils confidence and aptitude in spoken skills and develops employability, they acknowledge that a French education, as oppressive as the students might find it, provides essential competence in analysis and maths,⁷⁰⁶ which, significantly and somewhat paradoxically, are two attributes, or forms of symbolic capital, that London *employers* find highly attractive. The true value of practice-based learning in the workplace is in this light questionable.

9.1.2 THE INEQUALITY OF EQUALITY: “They do the same class for everyone, so that very able students get bored out their minds and very weak ones do, too”

Irrespective of the success, or otherwise, of each educational model to prepare students for

703 Original: “accablés par l’expérience de l’anonymat et par l’agression”.

704 Original: “sont beaucoup moins techniques. Ils sont très sûrs d’eux pour prendre la parole, alors que le fond derrière, il n’est quand même pas terrible; ils sont beaucoup moins analytiques que nous.”

705 Original: “le côté théorique [du modèle français] a aussi des avantages parce qu’on peut... aller plus loin [...], ce qui permet dans les cas exceptionnels de sortir juste de la formule, de savoir l’adapter dans un cas précis.”

706 To such an extent that during his degree course in Scotland, Brice was excused from all maths classes.

working life, an unanticipated pattern of symbolic violence in the French system and of symbolic support in the English one has emerged from the empirical data. Surreptitious aggression is criticised in the former, but equally, and perhaps more fundamentally, so is the hypocrisy of the entire edifice, which serves to compound the violence felt. That is, the *Ecole de la République* is founded on France's core values of liberty, equality and fraternity, and yet it is in the name of equality itself that the French education system is denying its students fair and unprejudiced instruction. In the same manner that Bourdieu & Passeron (1964:67-68) draw attention to the illusion on which France's educational paradigm is constructed, particularly as regards assessment, so Dubet (2004) argues that it is only through the formation of a complex illusion, to which all parties are dupe, that France's values are seen to be upheld. In place of the "emperor's" opulent attire, here, the people of France are persuaded to behold a meritocratic system that treats its students equitably, with any underachievement being blamed on the students themselves, as seen in Focus Group 2, which in turn transforms academic failure into an agentive act, the exercising of one's own individual *liberty* (Dubet, 2004:29). For Laura, however, having been introduced to alternative models through her family's transnational mobility, this illusion is beginning to fragment; migration has stripped the French education system of its fictitious apparel, the true imperfections of its underlying state emerging before her eyes. She sums up her frustrations at this revelation, as follows:

The English system is one where students never retake a year, but where there's streaming, which is of course unthinkable in the French system. In French schools, everyone's equal, so you're not allowed to say that some children do better than others; they do the same class for everyone so that very able students get bored out of their minds and very weak ones do, too. It's the result of the French system's equal opportunities and equality of who you are. In English schools, students are split into different groups based on level, and can go from one level to another: I think it's quite a significant advantage. And there's support as well.⁷⁰⁷

Laura effectively pinpoints the egalitarian deception at the heart of the French education system, and one which is doing the very students it is designed to serve a disservice, conceivable as an act of symbolic violence. Dubet echoes Laura's words when

707 Original: "Le système anglais, c'est un système où il n'y a pas de redoublement, en revanche, il y a des groupes de niveaux, chose qui est impensable dans l'école française, bien sûr. Dans l'école française, on est tous égaux donc, on n'a pas le droit de dire qu'il y a des enfants qui arrivent mieux que d'autres; on fait le même cours pour tout le monde de sorte que ceux qui sont très forts se font chier et ceux qui sont très faibles aussi. C'est le résultat du système français de l'égalité des chances et de l'égalité de qui on est. En l'école anglaise, il y a des groupes de niveaux, et on peut passer d'un niveau à un autre: je trouve que c'est un assez gros avantage. Et puis il y a du soutien."

he writes that “students are placed at the heart of a fundamental contradiction: they are all considered fundamentally equal while being engaged in a series of tests whose purpose is to make them unequal” (2004:28).⁷⁰⁸ Thus, by failing to treat students as individuals, with individual strengths and weaknesses, which the streaming of the English model permits, the French system places all its students on an artificially equal footing, necessitating single groupings and single assessments for mixed abilities, both of which in fact function as mechanisms of differentiation between individuals. Rather than being contradictory to equality, selective streaming is consequently perceived by Laura as a transparent way of addressing the intrinsic variability between students, whether as a result of their inherited sociocultural or biological rates of capital. Conversely, by maintaining a masquerade of student equality, the French system covertly, and seemingly legitimately – the State being “holder of the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence” (Bourdieu et al., 1993:1425)⁷⁰⁹ – perpetuates inequality, causing those students at the bottom of the class⁷¹⁰ (symbolically, but publicly, relegated to the position through their low marks in formal assessments) to fail the year and have to undergo the social humiliation of retaking it. This subtle articulation of symbolic violence can lead to self-despair (Bourdieu et al., 1993:133) and an ultimate rejection of schooling, if not society as a whole (Bourdieu et al., 1993:128). Therefore, beneath the veneer of equality and liberal meritocracy adorning the French educational model lies a highly competitive system, its achievements built on punishment and a disingenuous form of distinction between individuals. As Bourdieu & Passeron note, despite its egalitarian aspirations or, more aptly, pretences, “school instils, as of childhood, an ideal [...] of individualistic competition” (1964:52).⁷¹¹

It is this institutionalised hypocrisy, together with the subtle, yet deeply damaging symbolic acts experienced in the French education system, that have led many French Londoners to turn towards the English model for their own children. Indeed, all those whom responded to the survey conducted at the beginning of this doctoral project indicated that they had opted for local English State-sector primary schools for their children. Others, however, as witnessed above, continue to play the game, thereby contributing to the opening of new French State-sector schools in the British Capital, most recently the Lycée Winston Churchill in Wembley, which opened its doors in September 2015. It remains to be seen

708 Original: “[l]es élèves sont placés au cœur d’une contradiction fondamentale: ils sont tous considérés comme fondamentalement égaux tout en étant engagés dans une série d’épreuves dont la finalité est de les rendre inégaux”.

709 Original: “détenteur du monopole de la violence symbolique légitime”.

710 The *double entendre* is particularly fitting here.

711 Original: “l’Ecole inculque, dès l’enfance, un idéal [...] de la compétition individualiste”.

whether this so-called “international” *lycée*, named after one of *Britain’s* most influential and enigmatic political leaders, unlike its forerunner in South Kensington, will adopt an English pedagogy to match its name, devoid of the symbolic violence described at the Lycée Français Charles de Gaulle, which progressively expunges the confidence from its students, who may then grow into disillusioned adults.⁷¹²

It is with an air of pride and satisfaction, tinged with surprise, that Miranda tells me: “I’m doing my PhD here at the moment; that’s something I could never have done in France.”⁷¹³ Her sentiments meet mine with respect to the differences that have emerged between the French and English pedagogic models in the minds of those who have migrated to London from France. The following analysis of on-line data will ascertain whether these on-land views are corroborated in the digital representations of the three diametrically opposed London-French schools that have featured empirically in this section.

9.2 “VISION AND DIVISION” IN ON-LINE EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

Having discussed in detail interviewees’ perceptions of the assets and deficits – in terms of symbolic, cultural and institutionalised capitals – of the French and English educational options in the diasporic field, it is now necessary to turn attention towards the on-line semiotic resources relating to the three schools chosen to represent each system. By means of a multimodal analysis of the landing pages of the schools’ websites, I will ascertain whether or not the schools project implicit messages which cohere with the findings of the on-land interviews, thus shedding light on their educational choices. This holistic approach, as discussed in Chapter 1, is consistent with Bourdieu’s methodological recommendations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1994), as well as the aspirations of sociosemiotic ethnographers (Vannini, 2007; Dicks et al., 2006, 2011; Kress, 2011). If complementary results are obtained, the ethnosemiotic approach will prove an effective triangulation tool, of particular relevance in an age of increasing on-line communication.

The qualitative findings of the interviews regarding the value of the French education

712 It is noteworthy that this *lycée* has made a bold visual symbolic statement through its introduction of a conventional “British” school uniform, thereby semiotically breaking with Republican tradition where freedom of expression translates into a uniformless dress code (except in the case of manifestations of religious belonging, leading to the prohibition of Muslim head-scarves in all French State schools and even long skirts in some institutions) and instead implies the adoption of “host” educational ideals. If the typically English uniform can be perceived as an embodied disposition of its overarching ethos, perhaps its intentions are genuinely more international, reflecting the habitus of the student body (many of whom are from mixed Anglo-French backgrounds).

713 Original: “là, je fais mon doctorat; ça c’est quelque chose que je n’aurais jamais pu faire en France.”

system can be summarised through the following:

- Academically rigorous
- Analytically focused
- Mathematically superior
- Providing broad cultural foundations
- Constituting an organised national and international network
- Purportedly egalitarian

On the other hand, the interviews highlighted the following cultural capital gains nurtured in the English education system:

- Encouraging student-centred learning
- Favouring task-based activities
- Investing in creative capital
- Promoting collaborative work
- Motivating students through praise
- Developing public-speaking skills
- Preparing students for the workplace

In order to test the assertions made by interviewees in relation to French State-sector education in London, the landing page of the LFCG website shall first be examined.

9.2.1 SYMBOLIC CULTURAL CAPITAL DYNAMICS ON THE FRENCH LYCÉE WEBSITE

As can be seen from the two images below, the Lycée updated its website to coincide with its centenary celebrations in 2015. The image retrieved from the UK Web Archive (Fig. 6)⁷¹⁴ is noticeably more text-based in content than the 2015 equivalent (Fig. 7), resembling a static, physical “page” from a book, rather than the dynamic carousel of images that fill the screen in the updated version. This modal change from the predominantly written to the essentially visual – and “mobile”, moving from one image to the next automatically – not

714 This instance of the landing page was captured on 2 April and 24 September 2014, and is permanently stored in the London French Special Collection, despite its live incarnation now being obsolete.

only demonstrates advancements in the technological affordances of the site, but also a shift in its underlying function. The design of the landing page has evolved from the communicational to the representational, with the reader of the former being central to its purpose, and the website designer – representing the Lycée itself – taking precedence in the latter.

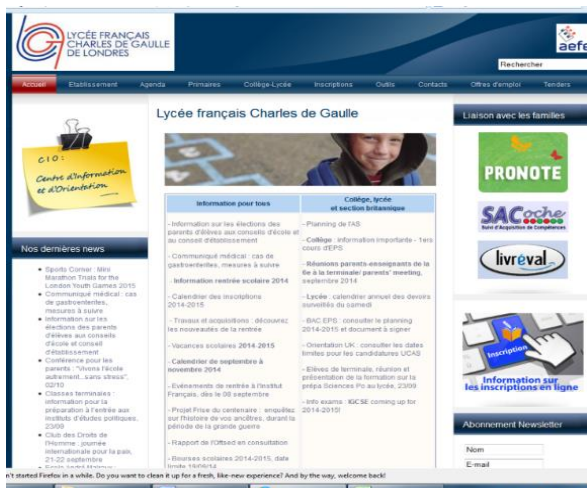


Fig. 6. LFCG landing page in LFSC (UKWA), captured 2014



Fig. 7. LFCG landing page, live Web, 2015

This shift in emphasis is reinforced by the intermodal dynamics of the pages, since in Fig.6, the three sub-headings flanking the page all relate to its communicational function: on the left, “Nos dernières news”⁷¹⁵ [Our latest news] relays recent information to readers; on the right, “Liaison avec les familles” [Keeping in touch with families] addresses the audience directly, and “Abonnement Newsletter” [Newsletter Subscription] again encourages families to engage with the school’s latest information. Similarly, the tabs running along the top of the page include “Accueil”, literally welcoming visitors to the Website, “Contacts” and “Teachers”. In Fig.7, however, the interpersonal rubrics pertaining to contacts and staff have disappeared, and instead the sparse text framing the dominant image chiefly pertains to the school itself, the tabs at the top of the page from left to right reading: “établissement”, “écoles”, “collège, lycée & British section”, “inscription”, “nos services” and “informations pratiques”.⁷¹⁶ The four tabs beneath the image are also inwardly representational, relating to the school calendar, lunch options, recruitment and the school’s role in a rugby competition to coincide with the World Cup hosted by the UK. Gone are any

⁷¹⁵ Itself a telling example of London-French code switching perhaps indicative of the dual audience of the school, targeting both families in the French and British sections of the school.

⁷¹⁶ Translation: “establishment”, “schools”, “secondary, sixth form & British section”, “applying”, “our services” and “practical information”.

written references to communicating with staff, keeping abreast of school news or liaising with families. Instead, the first-person plural pronoun has been introduced, “*nos services*”, which reiterates the (self-)representational function of the new website, designed to project a contrived image of the school through a carousel of screen-filling images and exclusively school-oriented text, with all traces of the sign-recipients having been removed. Furthermore, the London-French code-switching found repeatedly in the 2014 landing page has been substituted for French text only (with the exception of the British Section title – whose (high fee-paying) audience would need to understand this lexical item, but can, it would appear, legitimately be linguistically excluded from the rest of the school).⁷¹⁷ The current focus on representation, as opposed to communication (Kress, 2010:71), as well as echoing the hubris alluded to by one of the Focus Group 2 participants above, suggests an increased awareness of the importance of branding in a sociopolitical context where consumerism dominates. Today, the landing page carousel deploys five motivated (Kress, 2010:67; Kress, 2011:334) images to devote attention to the school’s image. It could be argued that the shift emulates the demographic evolution of the student body in recent decades. That is, according to Faucher et al. (2015), in 1945-6, tradesmen, hoteliers and restaurateurs constituted the largest segment of parents, with bankers’ children being the second smallest group. By contrast, in 2014, bankers had risen to third position, representing 600 children (against only four in the 1940s), with stay-at-home parents being the largest segment (ibid.). This is a clear indication of the upward mobility of the socio-economic positioning of children attending the Lycée over time, which could in turn explain the focal reorientation, from the communicational to the representational, on the website landing pages, the branding designed to attract elite students whose profile matches that of the school. Indeed, a brief examination of the admission criteria of the LFCG’s website demonstrates the importance of social capital, since the first criterion gives priority to children of French civil servants in London, together with children of those teaching at the school, and the third criterion prioritises children coming from the AEFÉ (agency for French teaching abroad) *network* (Lycée Français Charles de Gaulle Londres, no date).⁷¹⁸ By contrast, in the UK, it is mandatory that the principal admission criterion in all State-sector schools be “children who are in care or being looked after” (Gov.UK, 2017), which supports

717 This corroborates evidence noted in the field that students attending the British and French sections do not mix, and even the physical lay-out of the school, according to participants in Focus Group 2, is such that both cohorts are separated.

718 Moreover, the significance of this network is emphasised multimodally on the website, as the AEFÉ logo appears in a prominent position on the top right-hand side of the screen, mirroring the logo of the school.

the interviewees' affirmation that State-run London schools offer a more supportive learning environment than their French counterparts. There is no mention of such a stipulation in all seven of the LFCG criteria, all of which are centred on previous schooling and inclusion in professional, familial (fraternal links being the second criterion) or educational networks, bar the last on the list, which is open to any other "Francophone". This helps explain the under-representation of minorities at the school, attested to by several students in Focus Group 2, as well as underscoring the transposition of social capital (i.e. influential networks) gained in the primary field to the diasporic space. It now remains to be seen whether such symbolic forces are evidenced multimodally in the website's landing page(s) and which additional meanings can be made from the other four images in the carousel.

The second (Fig. 8) and third (Fig. 9) "landing pages" which appear on the Lycée website are both student-focused, and again representational in function:



Fig. 8. LFCG landing page 2, live Web, 2015

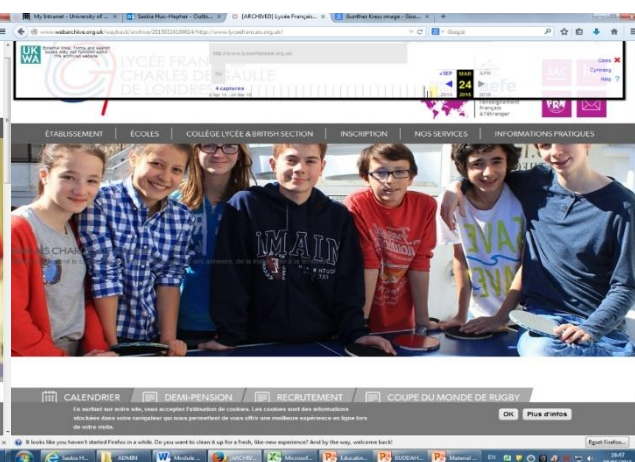


Fig. 9. LFCG landing page 3, live Web, 2015

At first sight, the image the school appears to be conveying is a positive one: students engaging in entertaining activities outside the classroom, notably table-tennis. This to some extent coheres with the interview data, in that respondents to Focus Group 2 described there being good interpersonal relationships among students at the Lycée ("there's quite a good atmosphere"), but eclipses the antagonism noted in the teacher-student rapport and the symbolic violence said to underpin the structures of the school. Fig. 8 is arguably more effective at portraying the desired image of the congenial extra-curricular student experience, for the facial expressions of the students appear spontaneous and unrehearsed. The gazes of all the individuals present in Fig. 8 are oriented towards other students or the table-tennis balls, indicating genuine immersion in the activity. Here, the facial expressions (mouths agape, targeted gaze, absence of smiles, etc.) are therefore indexical signs, physically and emotionally contiguous with the students' feelings and actions at the time of the photograph, and hence a more authentic representation of the students and, in turn, the school, than that

conveyed in the adjacent photograph. In Fig. 9, the students' table-tennis bats lie flat on the table, the authentic action halted, an artificial composition replacing it. Their gazes, oriented directly at the camera/photographer, and facial expressions – all smiling – appear to reflect a social convention or a direction from the photographer rather than a natural sentiment. The shot thus seems staged, the students lined up with regimented precision, countering the spontaneity of movement present in Fig. 8, and the smiles serving as icons of indices as opposed to indices of genuine emotions in their own right. That is, the facial expressions here signify an *implied* causal relationship between smiling and happiness, and the resulting intended signified is that the students are happy at the Lycée. This apparently cheerful atmosphere is accentuated intermodally by the natural sunlight cast over all their faces, visual light functioning as a mode to infer lightness of mood. However, the fact that the smiles are visibly affected suggests it is an image the students feel they ought to project, which undermines its credibility (and potentially its branding success).

Upon closer multimodal inspection of both images, further, perhaps unintended, meanings become apparent. For example, colour could arguably serve as a mode, with the dominance of red (in the foreground and background of Fig. 8 and present in five garments across the two images) having been shown to be associated with aggression and anger in the minds of the onlooker (Wiedemann et al., 2015). Similarly, beyond the social semiotic meanings of the students' attire as an indicator of the global influence of North American culture⁷¹⁹ and as a dispositional marker of habitus, or in less Bourdieusian terms, class, is its indexical relevance as a signifier of core Republican values. The fact that they are not wearing a school uniform in the context of the London migratory field demonstrates in material form that the LFCG supports and imparts the basic human right of freedom of expression, as set out in Article 11 of the 1789 Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen, and the absence of any religious symbols is suggestive of the Ecole de la République's secularist, egalitarian principles, which contrast the UK concept of school uniform being a social leveller, eradicating overt manifestations of cultural distinction, with freedom of expression meaning precisely that faith symbols *can* be worn. It seems that the notion of gender equality has been sought in relation to the composition of Fig. 9, as there is a ratio of four boys to three girls, and there is little gender distinction between the sartorial choices of the male and female students, almost all opting for the self-imposed uniform of jeans and T-shirt, as evidenced in the interviews.⁷²⁰ However, in terms of racial equality, the

719 The central figure of Fig.4 is wearing a “hoody” bearing the word “MIAMI” in large, upper-case script, and all the students whose lower bodies are in-shot are – typically – wearing denim jeans.

720 Significantly, Chantal describes there being more sartorial freedom at the French Lycée

images fall short. There are no visible ethnic minorities represented in any of the carousel images, which reflects the BAME under-representation identified in the student body during Focus Group 2 and, more broadly, the racially nuanced symbolic violence encountered in the French educational and professional fields.

The final two images (Figs. 10 and 11 below) on the LFCG landing page carousel appear to have been designed to relay the image of the school as a provider of the analytical expertise, academic rigour and mathematical superiority identified during a minority of interviews:



Fig. 10. LFCG landing page 4, live Web, 2015



Fig. 11. LFCG landing page 5, live Web, 2015

In Fig. 10, the gaze of the two students on the right is directed at their work, and the two on the left orientate it at each other, seemingly having erupted into spontaneous laughter at being the centre of attention, the boy's raised hand covering his mouth as a gestural signifier of embarrassment. As in Fig.7, this disconnection from the onlooker and interpersonal connection between the peers creates a sense of authenticity that arguably enhances the credibility of the entire shot and, by extension, that of the projection of the school's academic rigour, suggested by the academic objects occupying the foreground. This compositional centrality could be read as a motivated sign in itself, designed to reinforce the message that "the standard of our maths is generally higher",⁷²¹ as Sarah affirms, and that

in London than in lycées in the originary habitat, if "you go into the Paris equivalent of the Lycée Charles de Gaulle, they're all dressed the same [...]. Here, there's more freedom, everyone has the right to their own style". [Original: "on va dans un lycée, qui serait l'équivalent du Lycée Charles de Gaulle à Paris, et ils sont tous habillaient pareil [...]. Ici, on a plus de liberté, chacun a le droit d'avoir son style".] However, these images suggest that the same habitus dispositions of the primary social space have been transposed to the migratory field.

721 Original: "notre niveau mathématique est meilleur en général".

“the English are much less analytical than us”,⁷²² as reported by Laura above.

Likewise, the decision to include a photograph taken in the science laboratory (Fig. 11) is a motivated one, ostensibly showcasing the facilities provided by the school, the high teacher-student ratio, and its commitment to a broad range of subjects, including the “hard” sciences. As Bruno explains, in the London social field, “as soon as you say you’re French [...] people think you’ve had a good education.”⁷²³ This is largely due to the breadth of the curriculum, according to Moses, “in France, the foundations are more general; I saw that they specialise too early [in England].”⁷²⁴

However, a closer multimodal reading of Fig. 11 reveals less favourable meanings which add weight to the empirical evidence pertaining to symbolic violence discussed in Chapter 3 and Section 9.1. For instance, there is evidence to support the interviewees’ criticisms of the egalitarian pretences of the French model, with all students, irrespective of achievements or (suit)ability being placed in the same class, just as there is Bourdieu’s (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:52), Dubet’s (2004:29) and Hélène’s assertions that deep competitiveness underlies the practices and hidden structures of the system. That is, again taking gaze and facial expression (smiling/laughing) as modes, it appears that the students positioned in the front row of the class – and thus dominating the photograph – are included in a humorous exchange with the three staff members (standing – itself an embodiment of their authority over the students). By contrast, none of the students occupying the middle or back rows display any facial depictions of amusement, nor is their gaze met by those involved in the “exclusive” joke. This gives the indexical impression that the female student on the left of the image is on an equal footing with the teachers, in the privileged position of directly attracting the gaze of two of the three staff members.⁷²⁵ As a multimodal orchestration, this photograph could therefore be read as an indexical marker of the stratified status system evidenced in French education, with physical structures reflecting mentalities (Bourdieu et al., 1993:255-6): ostensibly high achievers are set in a spatially distinct area of the classroom (and photograph) from the other perceptibly low(er) achieving students, excluded from “insider” jokes and hence susceptible to becoming complicit in the symbolic

722 Original: “les Anglais sont beaucoup moins analytiques que nous”.

723 Original: “dès qu’on dit qu’on est français [...] les gens trouvent qu’on a une bonne éducation.”

724 Original: “en France, c’est plus général à la base; j’ai vu qu’ils se spécialisent trop tôt [en Angleterre].”

725 Symbolically, i.e. according to the traditional Western stereotype, spectacles are associated with wisdom or academic ability. The fact that the student in the “exclusive” position at the front of the class and sharing a joke with the staff is wearing glasses could, therefore, be read as a motivated sign choice.

violence tacitly manifest, potentially believing such positioning to be their lot, the inevitable corollary of their habitus (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964:109).

Furthermore, when decoding the image (Fig. 11) semiotically, its emphasis on the practical skills honed at the school – the inclusion of the substances/recipients iconically signifying a practical experiment – is undermined by it being only the teachers who are holding the scientific instruments; all the students are but passive onlookers. Similarly, although Fig. 11 challenges gender stereotypes, since the apparently highest-achieving science student is female, the same cannot be said of social and ethnic equality. In both Figs. 10 and 11, there is an obvious absence of BAME representation and, if hairstyle can be apprehended as mode, capable of imparting sociosemiotic meaning, it could be argued that the uniformly long, flowing, “natural” hairstyles among four of the five girls is an index of their bourgeois backgrounds, incorporated capital (Bourdieu, 1979a) serving as a sign of social distinction and exclusivity rather than uniformity, as well as being suggestive of their willingness to embody their femininity, and hence conform to the gendered stereotypes prevalent in the originary habitat, as discussed in Chapter 3 and evidenced in the interviews.

Having examined all five images in the landing page carousel of the LFCG, the tacit meanings uncovered are ones of a socially and ethnically exclusive environment in which to study. It appears egalitarian in its gender balance, and academically rigorous, yet the images undermine the founding principles of the Ecole de la République as being open to all, irrespective of background, and devoid of academic or social differentiation. Just as the demographic data published by Faucher et al. (2015) reveal an evolution in the student body from children of working-class backgrounds 70 years ago to the privileged sons and daughters of bankers today, so the Web images display that, despite the rhetoric, “the French do have a class system in relation to education”,⁷²⁶ as Robert claims. Moreover, in keeping with the interviews, there is no multimodal evidence to support a practice-based, student-led pedagogical model at the LFCG, traditional teacher-student power relations are conveyed compositionally, as are tacit forms of student stratification, liable to be experienced as symbolic violence among those in physically subordinate positions. Finally, although there appear to be genuine positive interpersonal relationships among students (Figs. 8 & 10), as confirmed in Focus Group 2 and by Chantal (“in terms of human relationships, the lycée here’s very pleasant”),⁷²⁷ there are no visual signs to suggest that individuals are valued for their personal (not necessarily academic) attributes, nor is there any representation of creative, artistic or non-recreational sporting pursuits being recognised as legitimate forms

726 Original: “les Français ont quand même un système de classe par rapport à l’éducation”.

727 Original: “Le lycée ici, en termes de relations humaines, c’est très agréable.”

of cultural and educational capital. Until now, therefore, the on-land findings appear to have been corroborated by the meanings inferred from the on-line LFCG data through a multimodal social semiotic reading. Below, attention shall be turned to Newham Sixth Form College's website landing page to ascertain whether the same pattern is transferable to another educational context, namely, whether the particular forms of capital associated with the UK State-sector in the on-land interviews are identifiable on-line.

9.2.2 SYMBOLIC CULTURAL CAPITAL DYNAMICS ON THE NewVic WEBSITE

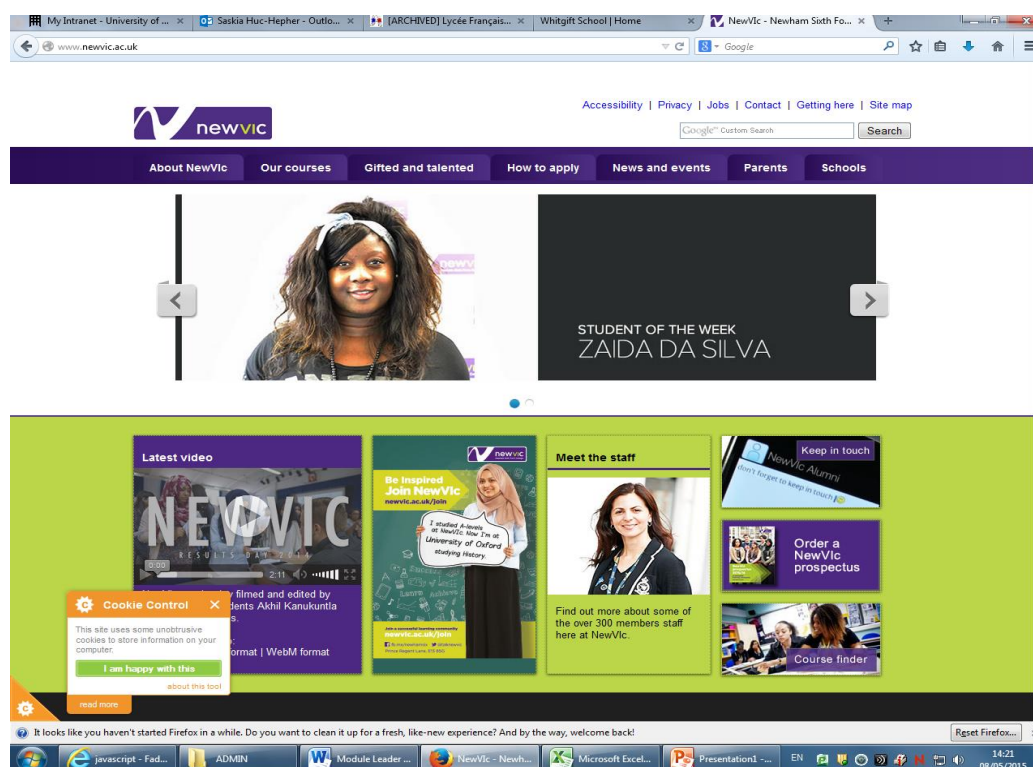


Fig. 12. Newham Sixth Form College landing page, live Web, 08/05/2015

As a multimodal ensemble, this landing page differs considerably from that of the LFCG. The (self-)representational image carousel filling the website visitor's screen has been replaced by a modular composition (Domingo et al., 2015), designed to frame meaning into allocated compartments on the screen, and thus compositionally give the visitor more obvious navigational choice, which in turn renders the landing page more functionally communicational. That is, its very layout, with different informational areas being framed by distinct modules – significantly of varying sizes – invites the visitor/reader to take part in the meaning making (Kress, 2010:62; Domingo et al., 2015), rather than projecting a self-

consciously constructed set of images. It is pertinent that the first tab,⁷²⁸ which lies outside the framed “page” proper, above the dark blue band running along the top of the screen, is “Accessibility”. This is an immediate indicator of inclusivity, a valuing of disabled visitors to the website and the importance of *communicational* effectiveness. Similarly, the use of the imperative tense, in the modules of the bottom right-hand quarter of the landing page, aims the text unambiguously at readers, “Keep in touch”, “Meet the staff”, “Order a NewVic prospectus”, “Be inspired” and “Join NewVic”, directing them to engage in a communicational act. Although it is communicational in focus, the strong reliance on modules and images distinguishes it from the text-heavy⁷²⁹ version of the 2014 version of the LFCG landing page, making the visual the dominant mode, but doing so in a less representational, more dynamic, interpersonal manner. Remaining with the overall layout of the “page”, a large photograph of a student dominates. At least twice the dimensions of the other photographs and a close-up, head-and-shoulders shot, the photograph also takes (almost) central position. In this way, the composition alone is an implicit reminder of the *student-centred* approach ostensibly favoured at the school and valued by my on-land research participants.⁷³⁰ This portrait of an individual student (changing each week) is testament to that, as is the large font size chosen to relay the *particular* student’s name. Rather than cloak inter-student competitiveness in a shroud of egalitarian rhetoric, embedded in the very structures of the system, while in practice openly classifying students when returning work, which rewards success but humiliates under-achievers, here, the accomplishments of individual students are celebrated publicly. Thus, the photograph – and the importance assigned to it through its size and centrality within the multimodal orchestration – corroborates the on-land assertion that the UK educational model motivates pupils through praise rather than chastisement, as Charles explains, “it’s less punitive [...], the positive is always foregrounded, so as to encourage rather than reprimand”.⁷³¹ Moreover, the fact that the “student of the week” is visibly a female of BAME heritage is an indexical sign of a lack of sexual and racial discrimination at the school. Like in the tab above the image, titled “Gifted and talented”, it is precisely by not treating all students equally that equality is achieved: equality through meritocratic distinction as opposed to uniformity.⁷³²

728 If reading from left to right, in accordance with Western convention.

729 Perhaps a reflection of the overly academic approach described by interviewees?

730 For example, Paulette, as seen in Section 9.1: “the English approach is to see the child more as an individual”. [Original: “l’approche anglaise est de voir plus l’enfant en tant qu’un individu.”]

731 Original: “c’est moins punitif [...], on part toujours du positif pour encourager plutôt que de réprimer.”

732 It is pertinent that Thatcher & Halvorsrud’s Polish research participants based in the UK

Manifesting the school's commitment to freedom of expression and openness to different faiths is the central figure in the bottom half of the Web page. The longer shot allows the student's hijab and full-length skirt to be captured, neither of which are allowed in French State-sector schools due to their proclaimed incompatibility with secular values, as "ostensible religious signs" (Beyer, 2015). Again, it is the student's achievements which are explicitly denoted, since she is holding a cut-out "speech bubble" containing the following text: "I studied A-levels at NewVic. Now I'm at University of Oxford studying History". On a more implicit level, however, the image serves to challenge the popular stereotype of the subjugated female hijab-wearer, connoting, on the contrary, the determination and ultimate success of an independent young woman, who in all likelihood may be from an underprivileged background,⁷³³ as well as reinforcing the school's image as a diverse and inclusive learning environment, apparently devoid of institutional symbolic violence.

Arguably displaying the teamwork praised by Sarah, is the small module in the bottom right-hand corner of the Web page. Students – again of visible BAME heritage – are photographed working collaboratively and actively in pairs on separate tables. Significantly, the teacher is out of shot and the non-linear layout of the classroom, as a physical incorporation of the field/habitus (Bourdieu, 1996), is suggestive of the pedagogical practices in place, namely, student-centred and collaborative. The photograph, albeit comparatively small, summarises visually the words of Sarah, that UK State-sector education is more participatory and student-led.⁷³⁴ Similarly, the adjacent "Meet the staff" module and staff-member photograph appears to express open and equitable staff-

declared the migratory context to be more meritocratic than the originary social space (2016:100); although the authors are keen to underline the potential for this assertion being the result of the migrants' lack of insight into genuine class barriers that exist. The authors' underlining of comparative class distinctions present in the UK and their challenging of the effective meritocratic practices of the migratory space could, however, be the result of a lack, on their part, of comparative experiential knowledge of the power of social/inherited capital in Poland. Such influence is rendered all the more potent through the hypocrisy of the political discursive context, according to which Polish society is "classless" (Thatcher & Halvorsrud, 2016:91) and thus akin to the purportedly supremely egalitarian French social space, where the underlying non-egalitarian practices noted in the on-land and on-line contexts discussed above, and in Chapter 3, are obscured by the mediated and politicised rhetoric.

733 Newham is the London borough with the second highest child poverty rate (at 41%), the highest rate of overcrowding (25%) and one of the highest unemployment rates (8.6%) (London's Poverty Profile, 2015).

734 In particular, she refers (in Section 9.1) to the UK education system being "a lot more participatory. [...] There's a lot more interaction, a lot of groups, it's not always the teacher explaining things. There's a lot of teamwork."

family/student relationships, while the module on the bottom left of the landing page encapsulates the interviewees' valuing of the task-based UK approach, together with the public-speaking and creative skills thought to be developed. It consists of an embedded, short video, "filmed and edited by A-level studies student...", thereby evidencing the practical approach which prepares students for the world of work, unlike "the French system [which] is extremely theoretical, and not at all practical; you can leave with a very good qualification but not having learnt how to work", according to Brice.⁷³⁵ Here, the benefits of the student's creative capital nurtured at the school are reaped in the professionalised context of marketing/film-making, via the school website. This not only demonstrates that the system "encourages creativity",⁷³⁶ as Marie observed, but that the school publicly values the contribution of the (named) student making the film *and* the voices of those being filmed. In contrast to the LFCG landing page(s), it confirms Antoine's statement that in the UK, "the objective of education is like teaching how to learn yourself. That's the ideal. I don't know if that's the ideal in France, I suppose there's a cultural side there too: you are within this Republican ideal that education is a way to create good citizens." The practical skills the film studies' student has acquired on his A-level course are preparing him for his future career as opposed to developing abstract competences in civil responsibility or duty, and by giving him the freedom and the trust to make a film for the outward-facing pages of the school's website, his teachers are effectively teaching him how to learn independently, learning from the experience of practice in a real-world setting. Thus, in one modular frame, employability, creative capital, task-based learning, public-speaking skills and student-centred, collaborative pedagogics are multimodally inferred. Once again, therefore, the on-line evidence has proven to validate the on-land observations, which perhaps explains the high numbers of "Francophone" students choosing NewVIC⁷³⁷ over the LFCG and why the majority of my research participants have opted for the English model for their own progeny.

735 Original: "le système français [qui] est extrêmement théorique, et pas du tout pratique; on peut sortir avec un très bon diplôme mais n'ayant pas appris à travailler."

736 Original: "incite à la créativité".

737 Although there is a high proportion of Francophone students at the school and the website appears to convey a positive image which tallies with the attributes singled out during my interviews, the school is not without its imperfections, as suggested on-land by the metal detectors present at the school entrance. However, the social challenges posed by the diverse student body and the location of the school in one of London's most under-privileged areas do not detract from the teaching methods deployed there and detectable on the website.

9.2.3 SYMBOLIC CULTURAL CAPITAL DYNAMICS ON THE WHITGIFT WEBSITE

The final school under scrutiny is Whitgift. In common with the 2015 LFCG website, representation appears to supersede communication, as the landing page consists of a carousel of five, large-scale images (Fig. 13) which sequentially fill the visitor's screen. Unlike the Lycée landing page(s), however, but in keeping with the NewVIC one, greens and blues dominate the images, symbolically serving to create a "mood" of calmness and serenity which contrasts the reds. of the Lycée site. Such an atmosphere, conveyed through the subtle mode of colour alone, echoes the calmness to which Laura attested regarding her daughter's UK-State-sector school, in contrast to the aggression noted by Marie in French education and associable with the colour red (Wiedemann et al., 2015). The principally representational function of the Whitgift landing pages below is evidenced both through the choice to dedicate the site to large-scale images and by the motivated choices of the images themselves, all of which are icons connected with the school and, which tellingly foreground the non-academic activities in which the students participate at the school.



Fig. 13. Whitgift School landing page image carousel, live Web, 2015

The representational function of the Whitgift carousel (Fig. 13) is reinforced intermodally by the words framing the images, for the tabs running along the top of the page read, from left to right: "Home", "About Whitgift", "Admissions", "Boarding", "Academic", "Sports", "Co-Curricular", "Facilities", "Events" and "Contacts and Directions". Whilst increasing the communicational value of the website in comparison to the Lycée landing page(s), providing the visitor with information and offering them the opportunity to interact with the site/school, it is significant that all the tabs, except "Admissions", are effectively projections of the school, emphasising its (self-) representational design and strengthening the image conveyed through the images. The order in which the tabs are placed is also significant, as information on boarding precedes the academic field, suggesting, as in the frontal placing of the admissions information, that the worldwide website is targeting a

global audience, with sufficient economic capital to invest in a traditional, public-school education for their progeny. The subsequent tabs are indicative of the advantages such an education purveys, namely, sports, co-curricular pursuits and state-of-the-art facilities. There was an absence of this type of information on both the NewVIc and the LFCG landing pages, and it is precisely this value-added that distinguishes the UK-private-sector model from its State-sector counterparts in the French and, arguably to a lesser degree, UK systems.

Creative capital is not only celebrated here, as displayed in the carousel photograph of the school orchestra, but constitutes an integral part of the education on offer. It is meaningful that the applicable tab is titled **co**-curricular, as opposed to **extra**-curricular, itself a connotation that music and the visual arts are not adjuncts to the academic curriculum, but essential components thereof. This is also the case for sports, assigned two of the five images from the carousel, and considered cultural capital worthy of £9 million economic investment in a new sports centre. In fact, despite being an academic institution, and contrasting both the NewVIc and the LFCG websites, the *academic* provision of the school is entirely absent from the visual resources that dominate the multimodal ensemble. As if Whitgift's first-class academic standards were a given, a self-evidence not warranting pictorial semiotic recognition, the school instead projects the image of the *holistic* education it provides. For, just as the Ancient Greeks considered athleticism to be on a par with intellectual virtue,⁷³⁸ so the UK's public schools are based on classical learning and the nurturing of the rounded, sporting individual. Indeed, it is this rounded education, investing in students' creative and sporting capital, that attracts many young, affluent London-French residents. The Whitgift website acts as multimodal evidence that the purveyors of a typically English education are indeed "more cultural, more sporty" and "more arty" in their approach, as Paulette claims, and that such a holistic offering proves irresistible for many young London-French residents, as Chantal has experienced: "English private schools, they really are mind-blowing. When the kids go to Open Days, they only want one thing: to go."⁷³⁹ (Chantal).

Significantly, it is not athletics or football that the website showcases, but fencing and cricket. Beyond the co-curricular symbolic value of these two sports is their indexical relevance as signs of sociocultural distinction, carrying the same semiotic weight as the comparison between tennis and football made by Bourdieu in *La Distinction* (1979b). Cricket being the quintessential English gentleman's game, this image situates the school geographically, culturally and socially, recalling the principles of the public-school tradition,

738 Plato himself took part in the Olympic Games.

739 Original: "les écoles privées anglaises, c'est quand même hallucinant. Quand les enfants vont aux Open Days, ils n'ont qu'une envie, c'est d'y aller".

namely to transform boys into gentleman fit for positions of power in professional and social fields. Similarly, fencing is a sport predominantly practised by the upper-middle classes and, like cricket, in a transnational cultural capital exchange, was initially introduced to the UK by former waves of French migrants. However, as discussed in Chapter 7, it was the French elite who brought such pastimes to London and beyond, and through a prolonged process of reproduction, it continues to be a UK elite who practise them.

Although an elite education is expressed multimodally on the Whitgift landing pages, chiefly through the value awarded to cultural capital, this *exclusivity* does not translate into the representation of ethnic minorities. On the contrary, the central figure in the fencing photograph is of visible BAME heritage, as are almost half the students featured in the final photograph of the carousel. Consequently, despite the school precluding many children who would not be financially or academically able enough to attend,⁷⁴⁰ as a set of indexical signs, the image carousel serves to project an image of minority *inclusivity* and equality, in keeping with the NewVIC landing page and in contrast to those of the LFCG. Laura's son is a case in point, since he represents a (French) minority community and benefits from a full bursary thanks to the language capital his French brings to the school's recently established bilingual section. It is precisely the heritage exemplified indexically through the peacock in the first photograph of the carousel that enables the school to fund a socioeconomically and ethnically diverse body of students. In addition to being an iconic image of a peacock, of abstract aesthetic quality in its own right (recalling the school's valuing of creative capital), the photograph is an index of the school's 45-acre parkland (populated by the birds) and of its considerable estate.

The final photograph in the carousel also depicts tradition. In this case, however, it is a question of habitus tradition as opposed to the inherited estate, namely, the dispositions traditionally associated with Englishness: a sense of humour and eccentricity. This sentiment is evoked through the unexpected composition of the photograph: staff and teachers are dispersed among the hedges of a maze, only their torsos and heads visible among the geometric shrubbery. Such composition epitomises the self-derision admired as a "national" trait by Charles in Chapter 5 and contrasts the humourlessness of the other two schools' landing pages. It is noteworthy that in 1954, France was referred to as "perhaps the only country where [...] it is still not only respectable but highly enviable to be an intellectual..."

740 Notwithstanding this exclusivity, it should be noted that Whitgift, like all English public schools, has a commitment to, and generous funds for, bursaries and scholarships for children from economically limited backgrounds or those demonstrating exceptional ability academically, and/or in art, music or sport.

(Faucher et al., 2015:100-101),⁷⁴¹ which resonates clearly with the words of my research participant, Séverine, regarding the *diametrically opposed* characteristic of eccentricity in the migratory context (“in London, eccentricity is still allowed and respected”).⁷⁴² In this sense, the Whitgift landing page(s) could be deemed the most “English” of the three schools; so confident in its ability to supply students with an exclusive education that it is able to prioritise the extra-curricular and project a somewhat absurd image of itself. It is precisely this cheerful atmosphere – alluded to previously by Laura, “all the teachers seem to be having a whale of a time, they’re super happy” – that the majority of my London-French participants appear to be seeking.

Irrespective of the light-heartedness conveyed by the composition of the final carousel photograph and the facial expressions of the students, the apparent equality expressed indexically through the sameness of the school uniform hides, under closer inspection, subtle symbolic meanings. Differences in the pupils’ ties are one example, where an additional stripe, a change in colour or another abstract, ostensibly decorative but implicitly meaningful, symbol can serve as a visual marker of division or merit. Academic or music scholars might wear a tie with a particular pattern as a symbolic sign of their achievements, which again supports the interviewees’ assertions that the UK educational model favours praise over reprimand, and acts as a more traditional equivalent to NewVic’s “Student of the week” feature of their landing page. Likewise, students from different boarding/day houses might sport a tie with a motif to symbolise their belonging to that particular house within the school and, by extension, division from others. Such material symbols of distinction directly contradict the purportedly egalitarian sartorial uniformlessness and pedagogic/conceptual uniformity of the French educational model, yet they do not undermine the social levelling instilled by the uniform *per se*. To some extent these discreet, yet meaningful for those with sufficient “insider” knowledge (Bourdieu, 1980b), vestimentary symbols serve as mechanisms to transcend the anonymity imposed by the uniform as a whole and instead represent the valuing of the student as an individual, with individual talents, as observed by Paulette above. Later in life, the symbolic value of the school or house tie carries additional weight as regards social capital, in that it can be tacitly operationalised for entry into “old boys’ networks”, thus facilitating employment opportunities and so forth. These various levels of iconic, indexical and symbolic meanings establish the semiotic complexity inherent in a superficially straightforward, if somewhat

741 Original: “peut-être le seul pays où [...] il est encore non seulement respectable mais hautement enviable d’être un intellectuel...”

742 Original: “à Londres, l’excentricité est encore admise et respectée.”

incongruous, photograph. Encapsulating this web of meaning and the dynamics between the Web representation and on-land implications, is the final observation that the shot is set against the school's performing arts centre, which indexically references the valuing of creative capital, together with preparing students for their subsequent professional and social trajectories.⁷⁴³

CONCLUSION

Fundamentally, the ethnosemiotic approach taken above, drawing on both on-land interview evidence and on-line multimodal data, has revealed a discrepancy between the egalitarian ideals of the French education system and the elitist image it portrays. This not only supports the accounts made by some of my participants, where such hypocrisy served as a mobility and settlement factor, but also helps explain the practices of those who choose the English education system. The on-line sociosemiotic comparison allowed hidden meanings to be teased out of the public-facing multimodal images, with the ostensibly positive Lycée landing pages concealing deeper, more negative messages, which coincided with the claims made by my on-land research participants regarding subtle forms of symbolic violence present at the school and in the French educational model more widely. It tacitly demonstrated that while academic standards may be high and sexual equality respected, there is a structural, epistemological and ontological lack of educational egalitarianism. Paulette's experiences of "non-verbal" discrimination were thus found to be corroborated on-line and, as she observed in her son's French school in London, "the French mentality is still there" and minorities are under-represented. Similarly, the Web pages confirmed the on-land interviewees' convictions regarding the French system's shortcomings in preparing students for the world of work, in valuing their personal attributes and prizing creative capital, especially in artistic, sporting and musical forms.

Conversely, the NewVIC landing page relayed an image of gender, religious and ethnic minority inclusion, with celebration of achievement and an ethos of encouragement dominating the page. Practical skills were seen to be valued, as was employability and student-centred learning. There was no evidence of structural hierarchy at the school and students' individual qualities were publicly recognised. All these pedagogical characteristics were identified favourably by my research participants and evidenced multimodally on-line. The final case in this study was the Whitgift landing pages. At first sight, compositionally

743 Since, in the words of Shakespeare, "All the world's a stage" (*As You Like It*, Act II, Scene VII).

and functionally they had more in common with the LFCG – arguably an indication of the latter’s increasingly socially elevated student body – but on closer examination, the messages were noticeably divergent. Whereas the Lycée projected an image of academic rigour and recreational activities, the Whitgift landing pages prioritised sport and the creative arts as integral components of the curriculum in their own right. So confident in the school’s heritage and well-rounded educational provision, the principal message of the landing page(s) was one devoid of any academic recognition, focusing on creative capital, English/cultural heritage and eccentricity. A finer-grained multimodal reading uncovered additional messages, such as the ethnic diversity of the student body and symbolic forms of distinction operationalised to demarcate individual achievement or collective identity. In both the UK State and independent on-line examples, through processes of deliberate distinction, they appear to achieve equality, whereas in the French model, through the practical application of top-down, theoretical equality, a state of inequality is perceived on-land and perceptible on-line.

The ethnosemiotic approach adopted in this chapter has therefore validated the comparative on-land/on-line method as an effective triangulation mechanism, the subjectively produced on-land data and the subjectively deduced on-line data both gaining greater objective credibility through the dynamics of their independent commensurateness. To add yet further objectivity to the analysis, an initial trial using internet links has also been conducted. Quantitative in form, the assay involved processing the link data associated with the LFCG website, collected from the historic UK Web Archive. By examining the variety of links to and from the Lycée website, together with the respective numbers and dates, multiple meanings were inferred which again corroborated the on-land findings. Although the innovativeness and triangulation value of this quantitative method are indisputable, as is its contiguousness with the Bourdieusian call for a holistic approach combining diverse qualitative and quantitative elements, the ethical implications and word-length limitations of this thesis prevent further discussion of the findings at this stage. Link analysis remains a promising area for future research, however, of relevance both to this case-study, where a subsequent analysis of the NewVIC and Whitgift links would be a valuable triangulation tool, and equally to the big data found in Web archives.

In recent years, socio-political developments in France have led to an educational phenomenon which also warrants further dedicated empirical research. Anti-Semitic hate crime and discrimination have contributed to a surge of French Jewish emigration (Malka & Malka, 2016; Steinfield, 2013), resulting in several Jewish faith schools in north-west London now containing high proportions of French nationals in their classes (Pollard, 2014;

Oliver, 2014). This is therefore a potential area for future research, but whose complexity relegates it from the scope of this thesis.

For the purposes of this doctoral undertaking, the above ethnosemiotic investigation into the on-land reflections on, and on-line projections of, three educational models open to the French community in London cannot but suffice. By means of the comparative approach, a deeper understanding of the interrelatedness of the virtual and the physical has been obtained, in the same way that the reasons for my research participants' majority favouring of English pedagogics has been explained.

CHAPTER 10

**MAKING MEANING MULTIMODALLY:
TWO ON-LINE HABITUS CASE-STUDIES**

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INTRODUCTION

This final chapter brings the ethnosemiotic paradigm into its own, taking on-line data as the analytical starting point and deploying on-land data for the purpose of triangulation. It also brings the thesis full circle, returning to the notion of habitus discussed in earlier chapters, but now apprehended through its representations in the London-French “diasberspace”. Given the intrinsic dynamics of on-line and on-land experience, the habitus meanings revealed through the prism of multimodality nevertheless extend to the everyday lives of those under scrutiny in the physical world.

The chapter is divided into two sections, 10.1 and 10.2, each of which is a discrete case-study based on London-French bloggers. The first of these considers precisely the potential of a single blog to offer hidden meanings about the habitus of the blogger – together with their audience – and the interplay between the material and immaterial spaces inhabited. The second, conducted within the framework of an external Big Data for the Arts and Humanities project, investigates habitus transformation over time and takes a comparative approach. By examining several London-French blogs captured in different Web archives at various points in time, it assesses how the blogs have evolved – or otherwise – in multimodal terms and the extent to which any changes reflect an evolving habitus. Furthermore, if such transformations are found to be present across the different resources, it could be argued that they are suggestive of an emergent London-French on-line/on-land habitus.

10.1 IMMATERIALITY OR MATERIALITY, TRANSPOSITION OR TRANSFORMATION? THE CASE OF THE APÉRO-LONDON BLOGGER

In an age where the digital has an ever-increasing presence in the quotidian activities of the world’s population (Hine, 2015), transcending national borders and physical boundaries, it comes as little surprise that there has been a (re)turn to the material in academic (e.g. Basu and Coleman, 2008; Miller, 2010, 2012; Pahl & Rowsell, 2010; Rowsell, 2011) and social spheres. As if in a desire to cling to a fading past, where people once felt secure in the grounded reality of their physical world, today, immersed in an almost nauseating sea of limitless yet intangible information, it is understandably the solidity of the everyday that is generating interest. There is a parallel assumption that the digital environments of societies, communities and individuals are steadfast through their omnipresence alone (which helps to validate the focus on materiality), but the current look towards the material might in fact be

overlooking the transiency and fragility of the digital. Based on the analysis of a blog archived in the London French Special Collection (LFSC), this section aims to ascertain, through multimodal means, the extent to which a single Web resource can provide ethnographically meaningful insights into on-land lived experience (Casilli, 2010; Miller, 2012), and ultimately the extent to which habitus is transposed or transformed (or “translated”, Basu and Coleman, 2008:326) within the broader diasporic field. A key premise is that it is fundamentally flawed to approach the digital and the material dichotomously (Hammersley, 2005; Hine, 2015), in just the same way that Bourdieu considered it impossible to distinguish deterministically between (internal) subject and (external) object, or (individual) agency and (social) structure (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]:279), since reality is relative (Bourdieu, 1994:17) and all lived experience intrinsically *dynamic*.

A French Londoner’s attire, for example, is at once an external statement of the wearer’s internal frame of mind and an outward display of internalised practices of both the homeland and the “host” population (Miller, 2012). It is at once self and other, material and affective, individual and collective, social and cultural, and if it is (re)presented in an on-line environment, it is all of the above, in addition to being digital *and* physical. For none of these features exist in sterile isolation, but play off and feed into each other organically. That is, on-line portrayals of the French community in London are an immaterial manifestation of the material world they inhabit, of their on-land presence. The Internet, as previously posited by some and discussed in Chapters 1 and 8 (Bräuchler, 2005; Hine, 2000; Kozinets, 2010), can no longer be conceived of as a virtual entity divorced from physical reality, rather, it is an extension of reality, in a dynamic relationship with the material world, given that our on-line activities are in constant dialogue with our corporeal presence in the physical environment, both in terms of the temporal and spatial materiality of the individual when “connecting” to the Internet (Casilli, 2010:122; Miller & Slater, 2000:21) and in terms of the influences the physical spaces we inhabit have on the cyberspaces we visit or construct (Casilli, 2010:59). The Internet is now an integral part of many people’s day-to-day activities, shaping their behaviour and dispositions; similarly, it is the people that use the Internet who shape and furnish it. Moreover, with the rise of hand-held devices providing access to the Internet on the move, the line between materiality and immateriality, or between the physical home and the digital habitat is becoming increasingly blurred (Casilli, 2010:117; Adami and Kress, 2010:186).

The focus of this case-study, therefore, is on hidden meanings relating to the material world of a London-French blogger in a community-targeted blog and the extent to which this digital medium displays the cultural hybridity, or transnationalism, of the repositioned

migrant habitus. Through the prism of habitus, therefore, and by means of a fine-grained, multimodal analysis and of the immaterial materiality presented in the blog, migrant constructions of identity, culture, community and belonging both on-line and on-land will be teased out, with the diasporic cyberspace, or “diasberspace”, providing a platform for both explicit, intentional (self-)representations – the notion of “design” in multimodal terms (Kress, 2010:6) – and unconscious, tacit expressions of Frenchness in the on-land diasporic context.

This leads onto another key dynamic construct, that of Anglo-French cultural dynamics, or the degree to which the cultures of emigration and immigration are mutually constructed, which can be likened to the dynamics of language, also present. Indeed, focusing on a blog captured and preserved in the UK Web Archive (UKWA), has paradoxically enabled, unlike in a material, on-land setting or on the intrinsically transient live Web (Gomes & Costa, 2014:107), the materialisation of words which would otherwise dematerialise and be lost to memory no sooner than they were uttered. Provided they are archived, words produced in on-line environments, irrespective of mode and medium (written, spoken, photographed, etc.) are immortalised in the “material” form and spatiotemporal context of their utterance for posterity. This digitally materialised trace of the linguistic here-and-now of a formerly ephemeral expression of a particular language community has been the focus of several recent studies, for example, Blackledge’s work (2013) on the on-line language use of youths, or Cheshire’s mapping of London’s “tweeted” languages (mentioned in Chapter 4) both of which demonstrate the implications of language as a reflection of the physical spaces and dispositions of minority groups in the UK today. Multimodality, however, necessarily looks beyond the linguistic, following the premise that “there is in principle equity between all modes” (Jewitt, 2011:13). In this case-study, therefore, the materiality of a blog, as expressed through the various modes deployed, will be examined. For in the same dynamic manner that “objects construct subjects” and provide insights “into the everyday understanding of what it means to be human” (Horst & Miller, 2012:11), so the artefacts and cultural “stuff” of London-French blogs, together with the photographs and videos embedded within them, reveal invisible meanings pertaining to identity and community.

10.1.1 ETHNOSEMIOTIC DYNAMICS IN PRACTICE

The theoretical framework constructed for the analysis of the London-French blog examined in this case-study is also dynamic, developed on the basis of the interplay between Bourdieusian ethnography and Kressian multimodal semiotics. As set out in Chapter 1 and

applied in Chapters 8 and 9, the ethnosemiotic approach involves both the Bourdieusian necessity to assess (internalised) habitus according to its dynamic relationship with the (external) social field (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]:263), and the infinite dynamics of meaning between the sign-maker and sign-recipient foregrounded by Kress (2010:93), as well as between differing modes themselves (2010:156). Cultural meanings regarding the lived experience of the contemporary London-French community will be hence inferred by means of this fine-grained multimodal evaluation of habitus (re)presentations contained within in a single blog. For the reasons defined in Chapters 1 and 4, the three-pronged conceptualisation of Bourdieusian habitus, comprising habitat, habits and habituation will again be deployed.

The analysis will also draw on the Hallidayan (1978) metafunctional triad, as redefined by Adami (2013) for the on-line environment: the *ideational* function, i.e. that which the sign or multimodal ensemble “represents and performs in the world” (Adami, 2013:8); the *interpersonal* function, i.e. that which the sign or multimodal ensemble communicates in terms of the “relations/identities [...] of author and user” (ibid.); and the *textual* function, of paramount importance here, as it “corresponds to how the other two are presented within the text” (ibid.). Embedded in the concept of textual function are the notions of coherence and cohesion, outlined in Chapter 1 (Domingo & Kress, 2013:2), which acknowledge blog design as being contingent upon audience constructions thereof, with the blog visitor playing an active role in the coherent meaning-making process (Domingo et al., 2015) in addition to the rhetor. Thus, the coherence of the multimodal ensembles in the blog to be analysed conveys far-reaching sociocultural messages, which are often inconspicuous, yet of considerable ethnographic significance. Finally, as a means of decoding *images* in the blog, Peirce’s icon-index-symbol triad (delineated in Chapter 1) will be applied.

10.1.2 THE BLOG: ANALYSING THE FRENCH “DIASBERSPACE”

The French-community blog scrutinised in this section has been selected from the London French Special Collection in the UKWA, for (as discussed in Chapter 2) it constitutes a stable, lasting platform (Pennock, 2007, 2013; Brügger, 2005) for repeated analytical consultation, and to some extent surmounts the ethical challenges posed by “netnography” (Kozinets, 2010:137-8), given that express authorisation to appear in the collection – and have their material framed in the scholarly context of the British Library – has been procured from each site owner. Putting into practice the theory set out in Chapter 8, a blog, as opposed to a commercial or institutional website in the collection, has been chosen for this habitus case-study, as it constitutes a more personal representation of the everyday lived experience of the individual, within the broader sociocultural and spatiotemporal context of the blog’s

creation (Yoon, 2013:175); it offers a considerably under-researched window onto the material worlds of migrants (Basu & Coleman, 2008:320), albeit in immaterial form; and in the case of this generically and functionally complex “meet-up” blog, its ethnographic, or community-practice, meaning potentiality is significant. Complementing this Web-based primary source, evidence from my on-land interviews is also drawn upon in an attempt to triangulate and substantiate the on-line multimodal findings, which otherwise run the risk of being deemed “impressionistic” (Jewitt, 2011:45).⁷⁴⁴

The chosen blog is generically heterogeneous: compounding the inherent public-private dichotome typical of the genre is its resistance to definition as a personal *log* per se (as its name, *Apéro-blog*, would suggest), since the primary function of this diasberspace is a social (networking), communicative one.



Fig. 14. Apéro-blog London landing page, in LFSC (UKWA), captured 10 Nov. 2012

With elements of representational value (for example, through the compositional and aesthetic affordances of the photograph), it is the communicational purpose that takes precedence here, in view of the site’s primary aim being to convey practical information to a specific audience; as such, the principal motivation behind this multimodal ensemble is altru-interest-focused, which contributes to its generic classification. The self-proclaimed function of the blog is an interpersonal one, namely to communicate on-line with members

744 Therewith confirming the validity of a combined, ethno(graphic)-semiotic approach.

of the London-French community in order to engage physically with them in on-land social contexts. However, as can be seen in Fig. 14, the seven rubrics at the top of the page, above the banner, reveal an underlying generic and functional complexity. The “C’est où” [Where is it?] “page” is something of a traditional logbook, providing a record, in informative, as opposed to representational, list form, of all the venues and dates of previous meet-ups, beginning with the most temporally proximate and extending down to the inaugural meeting, presumably reflecting its diminished significance to the present day. The “On en a parlé” [Talking points] and “Blogs du mois” [Blogs of the month] categories, however, expand the genre from the personal to the shared by opening the diasberspace to other members of the French community through recommendations made by various individuals on-land, in an attempt to give material permanence to their transient physical meet-up comments by means of their on-line publication “as you quickly forget and it’s not always convenient to take notes” (UK Web Archive, 2012).⁷⁴⁵

Similarly, the “Blogs du mois” rubric serves as a platform for links to other London-French blogs, as is the case with the blogroll, unravelling vertically down the right-hand side of the screen on every page of the blog. This augments its navigational potentiality, adding another layer to its generic complexity (Domingo et al., 2015), while simultaneously cultivating a sense of community, or a shared on-line habitat (a blogging one at least) (Casilli, 2010:58). The blogs of the month are also hyperlinked to interviews with the bloggers, offering insights into the motivations, desires and positioning of community members. Aurélie, for instance, the author of *Une Fille à Londres* blog, explains how she left France three years previously “par amour – English boyfriend” [for love] and because she was “fed up” with Paris, singling out as reasons for her contentment in London: the career opportunities, energy, open-mindedness, benevolence (as perceived through the abundance of charity shops, to which, as seen previously, another London-French blog, *Britishette* (UK Web Archive, 2014a), is entirely dedicated) and the tendency to take gap years.⁷⁴⁶ She also indicated her *geographical* home in the capital, thereby giving insights into her habitat and relieving the physical-void concerns expressed by Atkinson (2005:9), “SW4 – South Londoner baby!”, which is telling on several levels: in its distance from the South Kensington mythologised home of the French community; in its confirmation that a French sub-community has grown organically around the *Ecole de Wix*; and in its illustration of Aurélie experiencing a sense of belonging to and identification with the *South* London

745 Original: “comme on oublie vite et qu’il est parfois pas pratique de prendre des notes”.

746 This thereby *normalises* travel and discovery beyond the geographical confines of the British Isles, rendering it a habituated rite of the diasporic habitus; a phenomenon found in reverse in France, whose insularity is repeatedly bemoaned by interviewees.

community (perhaps in lieu of the *French* community), and as distinct from the geographically and conceptually divorced North-London population – itself suggestive of her integration into the adopted field, being a common and long-standing sentiment among “native” Londoners.

Finally, the “London Tips” and “Go London” spaces appear to address a different audience, and, as such, to have a different purpose. Still in the domain of communication rather than representation, and altru-interest-led, they offer guidance on where to stay, what to do and how to travel “for a weekend break”;⁷⁴⁷ the shift in coherence from insider-Londoner to outsider-French-non-mover is made explicit through the basic advice provided on London’s habits and habitat, which would only be of use to the uninitiated (such as recommended hotels and the advantages of using an Oyster card). This redefined target audience is demonstrated equally compellingly, though more implicitly, through the language and image choices made. The rubric headings above the banner mix French and English, but French dominates, suggesting that both the sign-maker and intended recipients are more comfortable in the linguistic habitus of origin. Moreover, the somewhat unidiomatic – from a coherence perspective – lexis⁷⁴⁸ is typical of the slightly misjudged borrowing of English terminology in the Franco-French habitus of origin, and therefore appropriate as a rhetorical and communicational device for an exchange with the French non-movers targeted in the “Go London” tab. The loan words favoured by French “stayers” do not, however, correspond to the English lexis typically borrowed by the French community in London, where instead more apposite English terms are used to fill semantic lacunae in the mother tongue, or where ease and frequency of utterance supersede the nuanced Anglicisms of France, as seen in Chapter 7. Multiple on-land participants bear witness to this, such as Robert, who reported frequently using “an expression which is quite fitting in terms of what I want to say, [when] there isn’t the exact equivalent in French [...], so [...] I mix English and French together.”⁷⁴⁹ It could be argued, therefore, that in the “Go London” and “London Tips” rubric headers, English is employed as a rhetorical device to present London (and the blog) in an appealing and somewhat exoticised manner to French readers most likely living in France, thus cohering intermodally with the stereotypical image presented in the “London Tips” banner below (Fig. 15) and distinguishing these rubrics from

747 Original: “pour un petit weekend”.

748 The “Go London” rubric contains information on travel options in the capital link which is not entirely clear through the lexis, as without a phrasal component, “go + proper noun” is generally indicative of encouragement rather than displacement.

749 Original: “une expression qui est assez adéquate par rapport à ce que j’ai envie de dire, [quand] on a pas tout à fait l’équivalent en français [...], alors [...] je fais un mélange d’anglais et français”.

those aimed at a London-French audience, habituated to French-English blending. Here (Fig. 15), instead of the atypical photograph and semiotically complex “hand-crafted” banner of the blog landing page (Fig. 14), there is a panoramic photographic image of the Capital that corresponds to the familiar stereotype of London as tourist destination:



Fig. 15. Apéro-blog London “London Tips” page banner, in LFSC (UKWA), captured 2012

The composition of this iconic image is meaningful. St Paul’s Cathedral takes up central position and serves as a symbolic reminder of the Capital’s (and the established Church’s) *historic* power and wealth, whilst the “Gherkin” stands equally tall as a symbol of development, *current* prosperity and of a willingness on the part of London as a society for (architectural and social) change, a feature found to be lacking in Paris in several conversations, as Antoine testifies, “London is more forward-thinking” (and as other participants demonstrated in Chapter 6). It is therefore symbolically representative of London as a place where there is scope for the habitus of origin to be transformed, where the inescapably reproductive states of many French people are thought to be remediable, where the dead-end future (im)posed by “impasse Cendrillon” (Senni, 2007:21) in a Southern-French “Cité” [housing estate] can be exchanged for the social mobility offered by the “City”. Colour acts as a mode in the photograph, too, with the vivid flecks of red cutting transversally across its centre constituting an indexical sign for London, iconically depicting its buses, but making a coherent indexical link to the scarlet letter-boxes and telephone booths scattered all over the London habitat, as well as making a symbolic allusion to the red of the Union Flag, and hence to the representation of London as the capital of “cool Britannia” that so appeals to the youth of France and further afield. Indeed, Favell explicitly refers to the “social habitus of London as ‘cool Britannia’” (2008a:143), while Bruno singles it out as a distinct pre-migration pull-factor, “I liked English music, pop, etc., British culture, the image it represents in France, the ‘bobbies’, the Union Jack flag and everything that goes with it: the cooler, in inverted commas, side than in France.”⁷⁵⁰ Similarly, the decision for

750 Original: “J’aimais bien la musique anglaise, pop, etc., la British culture, l’image qu’elle représente en France, les ‘bobbies’, le drapeau Union Jack et tout ce qui va autour: le côté plus cool, entre guillemets, qu’en France.”

the orientation of the photograph to be directed eastwards, towards the City, rather than the West End (the French tourist hub) or indeed South Kensington (the French diplomatic centre), has ideational implications, reminding the onlooker that one of London's major pull-factors as a longer-term destination for the highly-skilled French (Mulholland & Ryan, 2011; 2013a; 2013b) is the career opportunities presented in its global financial centre.⁷⁵¹ Finally, the waterway, whose course is obscured from view by the bridge, but suggested by the imagined paths of the vessels, reminds the onlooker of London's openness to the rest of the world: London as both a physical and symbolic gateway to an international community. Indeed, in the words of Séverine, "the advantage of living in London is having constant access to international horizons"⁷⁵² (a point also emphasised by Block, 2006; Favell, 2008a; and King et al., 2014). Through the evocation of its demographic cosmopolitanism and world status, this photograph epitomises London's attractiveness to short-term visitors and prospective migrants alike. The rubric lexis and imagery alone, therefore, demonstrate the blog's audience plurality, discussed in Chapter 8, and as such its generic classification defies simplicity and singularity, being simultaneously individual and collective, on-line and on-land, informative and promotional, prospective and retrospective, introspective and extrospective, and all the while representative of Tisseron's (2001) private/public "extimité". For now, therefore, the insufficient genre of "the blog" cannot but suffice.

10.1.3 COMPOSITIONAL MEANING-MAKING

In terms of the compositional principles of the blog, the order in which these tabs appear on the screen, if read from left to right, is revealing. Following the welcome page ("Welcome"), the tabs can be divided into three functionally coherent pairs, with primacy given to the venues and dates of forthcoming and past meet-ups ("Where is it?"), together with an explanation of what they are ("What is it?") in the first pair – hence confirming the principal ideational function of the blog – and the subsequent pair ("Talking points" and "Blogs of the month") disseminating information produced by and for members of the French community in London, as demonstrated above, and fulfilling an interpersonal purpose within this textual framework; the final pair ("London Tips" and "Go London"), aimed at French speakers outside London (as established above), is awarded the least prominent reading position on the far right of the page. This sequential hierarchy is logical from a cohesion and coherence perspective: since the title of the blog is Apéro-Blog London, it is the meet-ups themselves

751 And echoing the quarter of London inhabited historically by a former significant wave of French immigrants, the Huguenots, (Kelly & Cornick, 2013).

752 Original: "l'intérêt de vivre à Londres, c'est d'avoir continuellement accès à des horizons internationaux."

which are of primary communicational importance, whereas the deployment of the blog as a platform for publicising other community members' information is secondary, and the targeting of an audience outside the London community is given least compositional weight, as it fails to cohere with the function of the blog as a whole (and as such to some extent undermines its overall functional coherence). One explanation for including a space that targets an audience based in the originary, rather than the diasporic social field/habitus, is that it could allow the blogger (and blog visitors) a continued sense of belonging to the community of origin, or occupying a transnational space, a simultaneously here-and-there on-line habitat, as opposed to being exclusively embedded in that of adoption.

Running across the top of the blog landing page, in visual “headline” position, in fact exceeding the impact of the written title of the blog just above it, is the blog's landing-page banner:



Fig. 16. Apéro-blog London Blog banner (on every page except “London Tips”), in LFSC, (UKWA), captured 2012

Here, the bold primary colours of red, white and blue, featured so often in commercial French representations of London, act cohesively, again recalling the colours of the Union Flag, but contrast the “tasteful” pastel hues of the banner background and script. In a single framed space, the banner encapsulates both Englishness and Frenchness, doing so in a tacit, *habituated* manner, with the decision to use pale yellow and taupes to surround the superimposed images constituting a representational, aesthetic design choice in the mind of the blog-rhetor, rather than a calculated means of establishing interpersonal coherence. In other words, the banner could be seen to mirror both the hybridity of the blogger's identity and that of her⁷⁵³ principal audience: the iconic representations of London modes of transport relate ideationally to the physical environment of the migration habitat, and the garish colours which are used to portray them with iconic faithfulness could be likened to the bold colour-schemes that many of my interviewees have associated with London sartorial displays, such as Charles, who identifies “a touch [...] of colour that is very British and very

753 A comment made on the Lost in London blog disclosed the female identity of the Apéro-Blog creator: “Fabienne has created the Apéro-blog, a monthly meeting of joyful bloggers in a pub” [Original: “Fabienne a créé les Apéro-blog, une reunion mensuelle de joyeux blogueurs dans un pub”], (UK Web Archive, 2014b).

London, especially.”⁷⁵⁴ The subtle, inoffensive, neutral shades of the background, on the other hand, could be considered to represent the understated hues worn by the French Londoners themselves, like Séverine: “I wear colours: browns, blacks, which aren’t necessarily colours an English woman would wear”⁷⁵⁵ and favoured in the interior designs of London-French on-land homes, as demonstrated by Brun’s website:

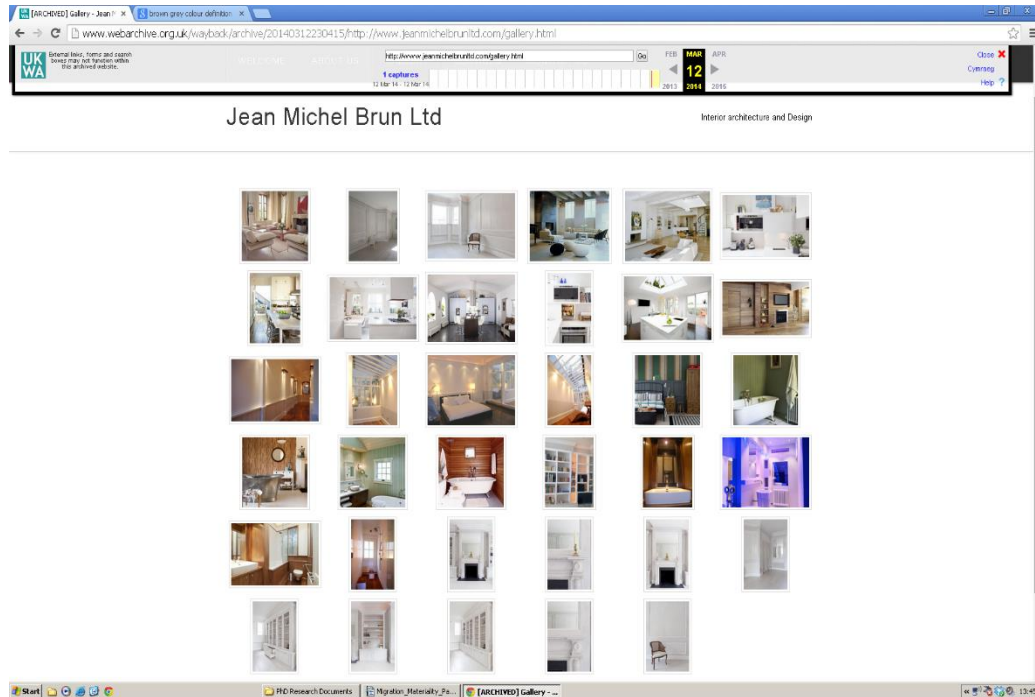


Fig. 17. London-French interior design website (LFSC, UKWA, captured 12 March 2014)

In this instance, it is the exception of the bright blue bathroom in the London-French habitat that proves the understated, “chic” pastel rule.⁷⁵⁶

The angular, modular framing of the main blog banner (Fig. 16) could illustrate the desire for clean lines and order among the French – akin to the formal French palatial gardens which differ from the wilder, pastoral ones favoured in English stately homes, or the geometric lines of Haussmann’s Parisian urban planning which contrasts the disorderly patchwork that is London’s urbanism – and offsets the soft, rounded lines of the London vehicles depicted within the banner frame. It is possible to interpret this juxtaposition as “opposites attracting”, insofar as it is precisely the messy, eccentric and eclectic mix of

754 Original: “une touche [...] de couleur qui reste très britannique et très londonienne, en particulier.”

755 Original: “Je mets des couleurs: du brun, du noir, qui ne sont pas forcément des couleurs qu’une anglaise mettrait.”

756 As alluded to in Chapter 3, Paulette explicitly refers to her superior dress “sense” in comparison to the poor standards generally found in the diasporic habitat/habitus (exemplifying Bourdieu’s “aesthetic racism”).

London and its inhabitants that appeals to the French, acting as a migratory pull-factor and perceived as a liberating force among French Londoners. The otherness and exoticism of the London mass, and its acceptance, even celebration, of difference allow my participants to embrace their own difference and express their identities in new ways, as evidenced by Laura in Chapter 5, where she is quoted saying: “there are things I’d never have done before, but now I say to myself, that’s how you live in London.”⁷⁵⁷ Symbolically, the gentle curves of the vehicles depicted could also constitute a tacit, *habituated* metaphor for London as a hospitable and non-threatening place, forming an ideational metafunctional link to both the material *habitat* of the blogger and her social positioning within it. As discussed in Chapter 5, all my respondents reported feeling welcome in London and safe on its streets, unlike in Paris. This is exemplified by Antoine, who recounts that “I feel safe in London. In Paris I wouldn’t go in some places at certain times.” The modes of transport – “hand-drafted” as opposed to photographed – and the “hand-written” script underscoring them, in addition to introducing a sense of physicality and personality to an essentially digitised, automated on-line environment, work intermodally, since the vehicles are the London equivalents of the French slogan beneath, both of which fulfil cultural, (stereo)typical target-audience expectations, and function as a coherent subset within the cohesion of the overall multimodal ensemble. Furthermore, on the level of extra- and inter-textual coherence, the “drawn” representations that could be deemed infantile to an English eye, recall, from the French-migrant perspective, the iconography of comic books and graphic novels deeply embedded in French culture, and by no means restricted to a non-adult readership.⁷⁵⁸ The modal and semiotic affordances of the banner are therefore meaningful in different ways for the French and English onlooker; although both would doubtless consider it to be light-hearted and entertaining, thus echoing the intentions of the meet-ups themselves, French onlookers alone are likely to approach the banner sign-complex as an implicit, habituated reference to them being *comfortable* in the migratory habitat, and as a *comforting* reminder of the visual culture and habitus of their childhood. The French viewer would therefore be a “fish in water” in the “material” context of this blog banner – and the “page” as a whole – as it is an expression of a dual habitus, combining elements of both the inherited habitus of origin *and* the acquired habitus of the migration setting.

10.1.4 THE MATERIALISATION OF AN ON-LAND DIASPORIC HABITAT

757 Original: “Il y a des choses que je n’aurais pas faites avant, mais maintenant je me dis, c’est comme ça qu’on vit à Londres”.

758 One in three French people read comics and 62% of readers are educated to at least BAC level, according to a 2011 BPI & DEPS survey (Groensteen, no date).

Having established that it is the physical location of the next meet-up that has supremacy on the screen, demonstrated both through its superordinate left-hand positioning along the written rubric titles and substantiated intermodally by means of the photograph of the venue (Fig. 18) – which fills half the screen in a single frame – I will now briefly analyse the photograph itself. The semiotic dominance of this iconic image within the multimodal ensemble is emphasised by its own composition, the unusual perspective of which places the onlooker in a subordinate position, belittled by the height of the building, yet intrigued to see what lies below, out of the photographic frame.



Fig. 18. Photograph of the venue for forthcoming *Apero-blog London* meet-up⁷⁵⁹

With respect to extra-textual coherence and material-digital dynamics, the photograph, as a distinct “Web element” (Brügger, 2014:5), therefore has a defined on-land objective – to encourage visitors of the digital site to meet in person at a specific London location – which coheres with its role in the textual ensemble of the blog “page” and “site” (ibid.). In this instance, 06 Chad’s Place is almost an inversion of Casilli’s notion of a “double habitat” (2010:62) which alludes to the “capacity humans have to project emotional, religious, political, etc., meanings onto physical spaces.”⁷⁶⁰ This anthropomorphism of the material world is just as pertinent – in reverse – to the physicalisation of the immaterial space

759 LFSC, UKWA, captured 10 Nov. 2012

760 Original: “capacité qu’ont les êtres humains de charger l’espace physique de significations affectives, religieuses, politiques, etc.”

of the Internet, which is often referred to in material, worldly terms (e.g. Web, Net, page, navigate, post, scroll, *inbox*, *digital*, etc.). Similarly, the material environment of the London French is mapped onto the blog, taking physical, albeit two-dimensional, shape with the inclusion of the photograph. Indexically, this photograph, unlike that topping the metafunctionally opposed (in terms of intended audience) “London Tips” (Fig. 15) page, represents London in non-stereotypical terms. The blue sky implicitly confirms that the interpersonal function of the blog is to engage with the community in London, cheerfully aware of its changeable weather (as evidenced in interviews 6, 9, 10, 11, 14 and 16), rather than present a hackneyed image of London in the fog or beneath dense, grey cloud, which would doubtless meet the expectations of Franco-French onlookers. Likewise, the pollution-tarnished London bricks embed the image in its historico-geographical context, their griminess bearing witness to the urban grittiness of the (non-South-Kensington) location and pointing to elements of the material habitat experienced by the London French on the ground. The focal point of the photograph is the central (physical) sign, which therefore also acts interpersonally and ideationally, giving clear instruction to the blog visitors on where to find and how to recognise the venue at the time of the physical encounter in the material environment, while the peculiar perpendicularity of the shot offers insights in terms of motivation/interest. That is, the angle suggests a spontaneity indicative of the photograph being taken by a pedestrian, an unofficial passer-by, as opposed to a commissioned photographer who might have staged the shot in a more conventional manner. From that conclusion, it is not unreasonable to proffer that the photographer – and by extension the blogger – is an “ordinary” member of the French community in London, possibly choosing the venue for the 29th meeting of the Apéro-blog community during her ambles through London’s streets, motivated by a physical interaction with the material London habitat. On-land buildings and spaces are thus furnishing the on-line habitat, which will in a subsequent dynamic turn have a physical impact on the world when the blog-visitors meet in person.

Furthermore, the on-land spaces chosen for this blog are telling in themselves, as they digitally map out the physical spaces frequented by the London French – or at least this blogging sub-community, and provide insights into their sociocultural positioning. The venue of the forthcoming meet-up, 06 Chad’s Place, is an informal bar-restaurant, housed in a high-ceilinged, heftily-beamed and internally bare-bricked former Victorian warehouse, suggesting the “shabby-chic”, vintage look that so appeals to the young French community when they begin their migratory journey (as evidenced in several interviews). It is not a French bar located in the (stereotypical) French quarter, and as such is testimony to the material existence of the “Oubliés de St Pancras” (the young migrants surveyed by Ledain,

2010), not least because Chad's Place is within short walking distance of St Pancras International station, that is, the gateway to – and *from* – Paris, Lille and the rest of France.

Navigating away from the blog landing page, and entering the “Where is it?” page, it is clear that choosing a venue which does not correspond to the South Kensington myth is the norm: among the 30 locations cited (dating back to the first meeting in May 2010), one alone is close to the area, in Hammersmith (W6), while all the others are found in central locations, predominantly EC, WC, W1 and NW1 postcodes. This is an informative set of physical locations, for although it does not provide evidence for the existence of a specific pocket of French Londoners in one area (South Kensington or elsewhere), it does suggest that central locations have been chosen with the precise intention of facilitating access for French Londoners living in diverse districts, all finding the central venues logistically feasible irrespective of their particular London-French habitat, which confirms the on-land geographical habitats discussed in Chapter 4.

10.1.5 UNPICKING THE LOGO: COMMON CULTURE, COMMON LANGUAGE, COMMON-UNITY

The final column on the right of the screenshot (Fig. 14) contains several more framed – by a set of black, geometric lines – thematic sections. Firstly, the “Award” rubric, which relates directly to the material lives of French Londoners in the migration setting and their contribution to the city and the community on-land, designating the “Most influential Londoner winner”, beneath which lies the Apéro-blog London “logo” rubric:



Fig. 19. Apéro-blog London logo (in LFSC, UKWA, captured 2012)

The semiotic affordances of the logo are manifold, not least as an illustration of the blogger's desire to have a greater visual presence in the on-line environment beyond the confines of this blog, and perhaps of a will to expand the presence of the Apéro-blog London community on-land. Additionally, the pictorial composition of the logo serves to compound the stereotypical representation of London through its iconic red bus, as in the main banner, but here the absurdity of the image is exaggerated further. Where in the banner the pint of beer is central and stands out exclusively through its scale and incongruousness in relation to the modes of transport flanking it – all of which cohere with the physical activity of taking

part in the “apéro” meet-ups on-land and with the French text beneath (which encourages visitors to attend the event whatever the means of transportation), in the logo, the pint glass is not only outlandishly disproportionate in relation to the “double-decker”, but the decision to depict it travelling on the roof of the bus increases the iconic implausibility, hence the absurdity, of the image. This in turn could be an indication of habitus transformation as regards the blogger’s internalised way of perceiving and representing the world, demonstrating a shift *away* from the credibility favoured by French stayers, and *towards* the eccentricity and humour considered more prevalent among the “host” population, as observed in the on-land habituation chapter and as made explicit by Séverine in the preceding chapter (“in London, eccentricity is still allowed and respected”). Furthermore, if the logo is to be effective in attracting interest from other members of the London-French community, as a “soft” marketing tool, it stands to reason that this attitudinal shift is also expected to have taken place among the London-French viewers it targets; from an extra-textual coherence standpoint, the interpersonal function of the logo would be unsuccessful if the internalised habitus of the sign recipient had not also undergone this cultural change. This is therefore illustrative of the habituated dimension of habitus: the taken-for-grantedness of absurdity as a means of promoting a brand within the cultural framework of the migration setting, now “naturally” adopted by members of the migrant community themselves.⁷⁶¹

Linguistically, electing the abbreviated form – “apéro” instead of “apéritif” – carries implications, suggesting a younger target audience than the non-abbreviated term, arguably with undertones of social class. This abbreviation alone contributes to the plausibility of the assumption that the bloggers involved in these meet-ups are not members of the South Kensington elite. Likewise, the choice of a pint of beer for the Apéro-blog logo (and banner) is pertinent, for an “apéro” is a quintessentially French phenomenon, whereas a pint of lager is a quintessentially British beverage (the imperial measurement and visual materialisation thereof place the glass in a non-French cultural context irrespective of its liquid content). Indeed, the visual depiction of the *pint* of lager and written “apéro” designation are almost an intermodal contradiction, and certainly implicative of a merging of home and host habits, with the epitome of 21st-century socialising practices in *France* framing the *English* beverage par excellence.⁷⁶² Therefore, like Bourdieu’s assertions that different drinks (1979:206-7) are an external, material representation of distinct internalised habituses (and social class), so the on-line allusion to a pint at an “apéro” is representative of the London-French blended

761 Antoine also mentions greater creativity and humour on the part of advertisers in the diasporic field in comparison to France.

762 In two dozen years of French “apéro” experience, never has a pint of beer been offered to me as an apéritif in France, except by a return *London* migrant.

habitus: a cultural exchange rather than a confrontation, perhaps (as evidenced in Chapter 4 by Mata Codesal, 2008). Thus, all three dimensions of the habitus triad are brought to bear indexically through the logo alone, since the first inference is that these London-French bloggers are now taking on the drinking *habits* of the host culture; secondly, they appear *habituated* with respect to both home and host practices, in that they are undoubtedly unaware of the incongruousness of the scripted, pictorial and practical juxtaposition between the “apéro” with the pint of lager, their collocation appearing quite “natural” and certainly representative of the third *habitat* dimension, illustrated through the pint of lager as a material component of the migration setting, more specifically the physical community meet-ups taking place within that setting, or Rowsell’s notion of “fractal habitus” (2011:333).

However, despite this cultural blending, there is evidence to suggest that the transformation of the original habitus and subsequent integration into London culture is not complete, as it remains an “apéro”, i.e. a drink that you have *before* a meal, not instead of a meal, as lamented in the on-land accounts of host habits in Chapter 6. The venue itself, described as a “Bar & Restaurant”,⁷⁶³ substantiates the prospect of food as a choice in line with the habits of the originary habitus and bears witness to on-land Anglo-French cultural dynamics, in keeping with the transnational flows of eating practices and foods observed on-land, with the French now taking beer and pub-culture back to France (Kelly, 2016) and London adopting the “apéro” culture of the French, as displayed materially through this venue and the growing number of wine bars, pavement terraces and gastro-pubs in the “host” habitat.

Habitus transformation is also evoked by the overall composition of the logo. Its circular shape is reminiscent of a badge, in turn recalling the sartorial markers of 1970s’ punk,⁷⁶⁴ or possibly a beer-glass mat, both of which are material, fractal features of the host habitat and cohere with the habituated constructions of “Londonishness” among the French population, as Chantal demonstrates, “It’s true, you see punks, you see people with blue hair.”⁷⁶⁵ Similarly, the distortion of the bus depicted in the logo could be suggestive of it driving around in endless circles, in the same way that Suzanne refers to London itself, comparing it to the London Eye: “London in one word: the big wheel [...], it turns, London

763 Source: <http://www.6stchadsplace.com/> [accessed 25 February 2015].

764 Indeed, an article in *Marie Claire* magazine tracing the history of punk fashion refers to “rips, zips, studs, *badges* and armbands [...] being used as a political statement on the street” (Lister, 2015; my italics).

765 Original: “c’est vrai, on voit des punks, on voit des gens avec des cheveux bleus.”

evolves.”⁷⁶⁶

As a counterpoint to this, however, is the written text in French which frames the central pictorial image, both the font and colour of which are modally revealing. Designing the script in the same colour as the lager coheres with the material beverage, as well enhancing the visual cohesion of this multimodal sign-complex. Such colour coherence reinforces the lettering’s positioning within the migration setting, but the font remains fundamentally French, as it is the same as that found extensively in French children’s literature and cursive handwriting books. This highly stylised and aestheticised script is an entirely habituated representation of Frenchness, tacitly throwing the French viewers back to their primary habitus and serving as a reminder of the rigid visual, expressive codes to which people are expected to conform. In French schools, there is a single “correct” way of writing, deviation from which is discouraged by figures of authority (teachers), just as deviation from the unwritten dress codes of French society is often derided. Chantal voices this explicitly when recounting the sarcastic response⁷⁶⁷ of members of her originary habitus to her children’s perceived non-conformist attire: “when [my children] go back to France dressed in a certain way, my sisters say ‘oh my, you’re fashionable!’”⁷⁶⁸ As a result, many French do conform to these subtle, yet culturally-engrained, assertions of authoritative power and subsequently write in this stylised manner. Thus, by making a motivated font choice for the logo script, the blog-rhetor evokes the primary French habitus (as regards *habitat* and *habits*), and as such connects with the principal target readership in a manner with which they will implicitly identify (*habitation*). In addition to offsetting the “Londonishness” of the pictorial dimension of the logo intermodally, and therefore visually reproducing the London-French hybrid habitus, the script provides further clues about the identity of the blogger and by extension the French community in London. This identity, as expressed through the font, seems somewhat paradoxical, for the on-land narrative of the French migrants often revolves around a desire to be free from the rigidity of the French system (as discussed in Chapters 3 and 9), materialised by their very migratory act, but through their habits, they appear to reproduce and transfer it to subsequent generations (hence the success of French Saturday schools, where French language and script are transmitted as intrinsic components of French culture). There is, therefore, again (Oliver & O’Reilly, 2010) a contradiction between the narratives and the practices of the London French, and to some

766 Original: “Londres en un mot: la grande roue [...], elle tourne, Londres elle évolue.”

767 This again serves to substantiate Charles’s claim, referred to in Chapter 5, that French humour is typically at the expense of others.

768 Original: “quand [mes enfants] rentrent en France habillés d’une certaine façon, mes sœurs disent ‘eh ben dis donc, vous êtes à la mode!’”

extent a contradiction in terms of identity, although *not* one with any semiotically perceivable tension. The London-French blogger, as conveyed multimodally through the logo, is simultaneously rebelling (the agentive act of migrating and embracing the habitat and habits of the “Other”, as represented ideationally and indexically through the central image, could be seen as a form of dissent, of breaking away from the status quo and of seeking change elsewhere if impossible to accomplish in the habitus of origin, given its intrinsic reproduction) and conforming (as exemplified by the unwitting reproductive endorsement of the textual codes of the originary habitus).

Finally, with reference to the hybridity of the logo, in terms of its interpersonal and ideational cultural duality, it is necessary to underline the iterative role played by the language. With “London” mirroring the “apéro-blog” written above it, the rhetor of the sign-complex gives the reader/audience no choice but to code-switch and give linguistic articulation to both the French and English dimensions of the blog, the meet-ups and the community. The sign-maker could just as well have written “Londres” at the base of the framing circle, thus remaining within a single culturo-linguistic context, yet, because this audience is not expected to be composed of outsiders looking in, but of insiders, or Londoners in their own right (the most common form of self-identification cited in the on-land interviews), it stands to reason that “London” should be more apt a term than “Londres” – the voice of the French in France. By framing the logo with an oppositional placement of both languages, the rhetor is to a certain degree compelling the French reader to embody their Englishness (and vice versa).

10.1.6 CASE-STUDY CONCLUSION

In Chapter 1, Rowsell was quoted as stating that both ethnographic and multimodal social semiotic traditions “should be braided to lift out how materialities exist within modes” (2011:332). This first case-study of the final chapter has combined both such traditions in its fine-grained examination of the dynamics at play between modes and between the on-line and on-land environments of a London-French blogger, in turn revealing material facets of the cultural dynamics present in the habitus of the migrant population. The “thick” multimodal description of a single blog has begun to shed light on the hybrid habitus that members of London’s French community inhabit and that inhabits them. In a transitional state between the habitus of origin and a transformed migrant habitus, the blogger has revealed herself to be at once comfortable in the migration habitat, taking on local habits in a taken-for-granted, habituated fashion, and yet fundamentally rooted in her primary habitus and intent on replicating it in the migration context. A concrete sense of the diasporic space

has also emerged from the “materiality of digital content” (Horst & Miller, 2012:25) in the blog, itself somewhat of a functional hybrid, containing elements of communication and representation, and therewith giving insights into the blog-rhetor and her target audience. Studying the interpersonal dynamics of the multimodal text and its envisaged recipients has laid the foundations for an understanding of belonging and cultural positioning among this sub-community of the wider French community in London that penetrates deeper than that gleaned from the narratives of on-land interviews and conversations alone.⁷⁶⁹

Thus, by means of the ethnosemiotic approach taken, Jewitt’s concerns over the “impressionistic” pitfalls sometimes associated with multimodality have been allayed, in the same reciprocal way that the ethnographic validity of the investigation has been enhanced by the semiotic triangulation of the empirical interview and observational data. The convergence of the findings from the on-land and on-line multimodal data once again serves as confirmation of the statement that “life lived offline is directly connected to online life” (Adami & Kress, 2010:189) and that by observing a component of the digital diasberspace of the French in London, internal and external facets of their lived experience, of which they themselves may be unaware, begin to materialise.

10.2 SEARCHING FOR HOME IN THE HISTORIC WEB: A MULTIARCHIVAL CASE-STUDY OF LONDON-FRENCH BLOGS OVER TIME

10.2.1 FROM BIG DATA TO THICK DATA

The ethnosemiotic case-study presented in this section lies within the broader context of a collaborative project, Big UK Data for the Arts and the Humanities (BUDDAH), led by the British Library, the Institute of Historical Research, the University of London, the Oxford Internet Institute and Aarhus University. The aim of the collective project was for a small group of arts and humanities researchers to work independently on their varied case-studies, using the big Web data contained in the 1996-2010 JISC UK Domain Dataset, with their findings leading to the overarching objective of developing a suite of Web archive user tools modelled on the researchers’ methodological and theoretical requirements.⁷⁷⁰ In many ways, the objectives of my case-study were defined by its precursor, the Analytical Access to the

769 Thereby abating the misgivings expressed by Atkinson (2005) and Hammersley (2005).

770 After a competitive process, ten researchers were each awarded a bursary of £2,000 to conduct their case-studies over a period of one year (from April 2014 to March 2015), meeting regularly with each other, with project leaders and with Web archive technical developers to discuss their progress and/or any set-backs.

Domain Dark Archive (AADDA) project,⁷⁷¹ in which I was involved the preceding year, and learnt, through a series of somewhat naïvely over-ambitious geo-indexing and image-tag trials using the 1996-2010 data in its nascent, incomplete form, that for my qualitative investigations “thinking *small*” was the key to handling *big data*.

The focus of this case-study is therefore, necessarily, on the “thick description” (Geertz, 1973:7) of ethnographic “thick data” (Wang, 2013:1), as opposed to an arguably more fitting but inherently “thinner” quantitative approach, the particular object of analysis again being London-French *blogs* and the extent to which, through an immaterial manifestation of the material lives and culture of the French migrants, they provide evidence of habitus transformation, in its three-fold dimensions established in Chapter 1, over the time-span of the historic archive (1996 to 2010). As discussed in Chapters 2 and 8, Crawford (2013:1) draws attention to the dangers of “data fundamentalism”, namely the fallacy “that massive data sets and predictive analytics always reflect objective truth”, a misconception Wang would undoubtedly endorse given her emphasis on the incontestable value of ethnography as a means to “bridge and/or reveal knowledge gaps” (2013:1) resulting from the surfeit of information supplied by Big Data. Thus, the ethnosemiotic paradigm posited throughout this thesis, which reintroduces the subjective human to the ostensibly objective numbers, and seeks thick description and sub-surface meanings in the vastness of the data, attempts to overcome such “fundamentalism” and inject new, deeper meanings into Big Data through its very concentration on a small set of first-person, French-language primary sources and in its call for ethnographic smallness, with the storytelling of individual lives serving as a guiding light to negotiate the largeness of the Web dataset(s).

10.2.2 À LA RECHERCHE DE BLOGS PERDUS: METHODOLOGICAL STEPS

The primary methodological objective of this case-study was to identify sufficient Web resources within the historic JISC dataset to construct a small corpus of London-French blog instances archived in different years. However, in order to build such a corpus, the challenge remained of how to locate the blogs in the vast expanse of data. The Shine (Version 1.0) prototype interface presents three search routes: a basic search in the sample mode, a basic search in the full mode and an Advanced Search. Within these routes, searches can be tackled from two diametrically opposed conceptual standpoints, referred to here as “bottom-up” and “top-down” searches. In the bottom-up case, the search functions – advanced or basic –

771 A collaborative, JISC-funded, 18-month project, also led by the British Library and the IHR, with additional leading partners from the University of Cambridge and King’s College London.

identify and propose Web resources, whose presence in the archive is previously unknown to the researcher, on the basis of a search term or terms. The researcher approaches the data cold in the hope of unearthing a valuable hoard, but realistic in the knowledge that one or two gems, if any, are more likely finds – after much painstaking and time-consuming searching. The top-down search, however, requires a cognisant understanding of the terrain. Here, the dataset is approached with predetermined points of reference, for example, a specific URL (Ben-David & Huurdeman, 2014:98) or host, the researcher hoping to discover if it has been captured and is easily identifiable in the mass of data. In this model, it is a matter of finding a particular needle in a field full of haystacks, rather than entering a potentially empty terrain whose possible – but unlikely – treasures lie hidden deep beneath the surface.

To increase the chance of finding previously unknown blogs, due to their extinction on the live Web, but possibly lying dormant in the dataset, and/or recognised blogs identified on the active Internet and systematically recorded, a trialling of both search pathways was required: bottom-up and top-down. Having obtained almost no useful results in the AADDA search trials applying a bottom-up approach, a concrete, top-down one was considered the more promising option initially. In the knowledge that the LFSC contained a series of London-French blogs, it was therefore consulted as a starting point in the top-down search, on the basis of which a list was compiled of the relevant URLs, the language (French, English or both) of the blogs and the inaugural post dates, as identified in the *internal archive* of the blog itself. While this systematic process boded well in principle, in practice, the resultant spreadsheet revealed that the majority of blogs were created *post-2009* and, as such, would not be found in the historic (1996-2010) JISC UK Domain Dataset. Furthermore, it became immediately apparent that most were either from the <.com> or <.fr> domain, which again would automatically preclude them from the <.uk> dataset under exploration, despite them being *London*-based in all but domain.

In order to overcome the ensuing and inevitable lacunae, which were indeed confirmed in subsequent top-down trials, two strategies were devised: 1) to compare the London-French blogs from the LFSC “micro archive” (Brügger, 2005:10) with earlier versions of the same blogs found in the US Internet Archive (IA), again taking a top-down approach using the IA’s search tools; or 2) to take a bottom-up approach with the pre-2010 JISC dataset, as the absence of pre-2009 blogs from my collection was by no means proof of the non-existence of London-French blogs prior to that time, rather, of the Google search engine failing to locate them on the live Web, or of them having since become obsolete, a fact which would increase the historical value of the case-study and in turn the research value

of the dataset.

Both search options, at different times, using different Web archives and different datasets, were therefore put to the test:

- Top-down in July-August 2014 for recent instances of the blogs via the public UKWA search pathway or, if unsuccessful, the LFSC sub-archive route; in addition to the Internet Archive for earlier (or the earliest) instances of the same blogs, both in conjunction with the internal archive of the blog itself. This was a fruitful exercise and provided sufficient data for analysis, but was frustrating in its neglect of the JISC UK Domain Dataset.
- Bottom-up in September-December 2014 via the prototype Shine (Version 1.0) interface of the JISC UK Domain Dataset (1996-2010), with its new Search and Save functions, and increasingly complete set of resources. This series of trials was far more productive than previous bottom-up AADDA attempts and culminated in the compilation of an initial corpus of over 30 resources. The Corpus-building potential of the dataset proved to be a time-efficient, analytically-friendly and historically-enlightening resource, even at the most superficial of levels, as the first resource added to the corpus illustrates (entitled “A Year in the Shit”:⁷⁷² a decidedly more negative tone than that found in today’s London-French blogs).

At this point, it should be added that both search approaches were significantly improved by the necessarily restrictive use of the French language in the search terms. The language alone served as a formidable filtering mechanism for UK-domain websites, hence the results often being far more manageable than those of their English-language equivalents.

10.2.3 METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES AND CONSIDERATIONS

Whilst both search approaches outlined above were fruitful, enabling the customisation of two (evolving) corpora within the JISC dataset and a useful inter-archival comparison, several pragmatic challenges remain when dealing with archived Web material. The first of these is the visually/multimodally “deficient” (Brügger, 2014:20) archived version available to the researcher. Images are sporadically present and absent – sometimes in the same blog post – layouts, even fonts can be misrepresented in relation to the live version, and videos

⁷⁷² Purportedly as an intertextual retort to Stephen Clarke’s *A Year in the Merde* (2004), itself a witty take on Peter Mayle’s 1989 best-seller, *A Year in Provence*.

are sometimes playable, sometimes not, seemingly arbitrarily. It is conceded that incomplete and/or damaged objects of analysis are a typical and accepted reality of the historian's challenges in the physical world, but when conducting a multimodal analysis, these apparently *minor* deficiencies and inconsistencies present *major* challenges, ultimately jeopardising the very validity of the multimodal semiotic approach. For notions of design, interest, composition, modal affordance, intermodal relationships, metafunctions and the cohesion of the multimodal ensemble are all undermined, or at least difficult to assess with any accuracy, if the original semiotic affordances of the Web resource are compromised.

An additional challenge is the difficulty in ascertaining the geographical positioning of the blogger, which although often deducible, cannot be inferred consistently with any precision or certainty. For instance, a comment posted by a blog visitor, “te voici de nouveau en Angleterre” [Translation: “so you’re back in England”] (Nenesse, 2010), confirms that the blogger is indeed based in the UK, but does not specify *London* as the ultimate destination or place of abode, which naturally casts doubt on its reliability as a primary source for a study of the French community in London. Furthermore, while the Shine (Version 1.0) interface provides researchers with a useful post-code identification tool, it is of little help in clarifying this form of geographical nebulosity given that the post-code provided is one associated with the *host* as opposed to the blogger or even his/her technological “home”. That is, since blogs, unlike websites proper, are presented to the World Wide Web on external platforms, the post-code linked to the platform bears no relation to the physical location of the physical blogger. Furthermore, and reinforcing the aforementioned challenge posed by version deficiency, this difficulty in reliably gleaned a sense of place is accentuated considerably when visual parameters are absent.

Another genre-specific and fundamental consideration when *blogs* are the object of analysis is whether there is a genuine need for them to be stored in a Web archive at all, since blogs are intrinsically archival, equipped with their own integrated archive. This raises the question of what a macro archive can provide that a blog's integral archive cannot. With respect to live blogs, the advantages of the institutionally archived snapshots may *a priori* be deemed minimal for the researcher. However, in the case of obsolete blogs, a historic archived version is ordinarily the only resource available. Furthermore, and as the following inter-archival analysis will reveal, the integrated blog archive is, in fact, not as integral as it may first appear.

Also warranting reflection is generic definition and cataloguing. As discussed in Chapter 8, the basic generic boundaries between distinct on-line resources are far less clear-cut than in physical environments (Domingo et al., 2014) where texts are confined and

defined by their very materiality. This haziness not only complicates the application of specific, well-defined metadata to ill-suited, generically ambiguous archived resources, but also serves as justification for including captures of Discussion Board threads or Reader Comments in a corpus originally assigned to blogs. Clearly, these two examples cannot be referred to as blogs *per se*, because they do not conform to the structural, functional or technological characteristics of the blog genre. However, they do “provide heterogeneous and original first-person testimonies” (Gomes & Costa, 2014: 110) of London-French experience, perhaps with increased “sincerity” and validity, as they are often blunt expressions of genuine concerns or queries, devoid of the “design” motivations (Kress, 2010:133) and “l’intérêt” [the interest] (Bourdieu, 1994:149) of the blogger who is producing the Web object for an “intended audience” (Yoon, 2013:181) and they are too valuable a form of evidence to be relegated from the analytical corpus simply because they do not squarely map onto the generic label. Whilst not constituting an insurmountable obstacle to the successful creation of corpora for this case-study, given its manageable size, when scaling up this kind of categorisation exercise at an institutional level and attempting to restrict the unwieldy, organic assortment of Web material housed in a macro archive to distinct classes and types of information, the difficulty and inappropriateness of the task (if attempted in the first place) would be compounded.

This leads to the challenge of defining the analytical object itself. A blog roll, in form, is akin to a never-ending scroll (hence the phonetic proximity of the terms), which poses no challenge when navigating the material on-line, in its born-digital environment on the live Web, or even in its reborn-digital context in the archive. It does, however, present difficulties when attempting to *analyse* and *re-present* the blog data within the body of a critical text. It raises questions over the boundaries that should be set to frame them for analytical scrutiny and the terminology to be used, for example, whether it is apposite to refer to the analytical object as a Web “page” when, in its born-digital form, it is not self-contained on a single page or screen. It would be more accurate, though less succinct, instead to refer to “screenshots of sections of Web pages”, or more precisely, of “digital blog scrolls”. Reducing the object of analysis to a spatially and temporally suspended screenshot is analytically possible and easier to manage from a presentational – especially if a physical copy is produced – and audit-trail-validity perspective, but is unfaithful both to the born-digital live Web object and re-born-digital archived Web object, which aims, as Brügger points out, to maintain the “‘Internet’ dynamics [...] and to some extent the recipient-specific dynamics” (2005:33) of the original resource. In terms, therefore, of semiotic “authenticity” (Lyman, 2002:3) in relation to the initial blog design, as well as to its intrinsic visual and navigational

affordances, the doubly-reborn-digital object, i.e. the once reborn archival version re-reborn within the constraints of a single screenshot for the sake of analytical convenience, offers the viewer a substantially altered, if not inferior, experience.⁷⁷³

A supplementary methodological limitation, or at least risk, worth acknowledging is that whilst this case-study attempts to evaluate evolution over time in the bloggers' habituses, through the changes noted in the various archived versions of their blogs, it is entirely plausible that the said bloggers might not be responsible for modifications, having perhaps recruited the services of an external Web designer to refurbish their blogs (Domingo et al., 2015). If this were the case, it would inevitably cast doubt over the validity of the findings as reliable indicators of habitus transformation. However, in view of the fact that the bloggers would have needed to approve such design changes, the legitimacy of the conclusions drawn is deemed sufficiently compelling.

A final consideration worthy of mention is the notion of curator subjectivity and the unforeseen objective power generated in bottom-up search results. While the apparent arbitrariness of the finds may sit uncomfortably with the rigorous researcher, ever striving for scientific credibility and an irrefutably robust methodology, it could be regarded as a refreshing objectivising tool by the curator of a Web corpus, seeking a means of making the final collection less a reflection of him/herself, as a result of the necessarily subjective selection choices made (discussed in Chapters 2 and 8), and more about the material itself. In the bottom-up search model, however serendipitous the results may seem, the resources have the advantage of "speaking for themselves", countering Kitchin's scepticism over the attractiveness of Big Data's "empiricist epistemology" (2014:4), and arguably giving the curator *and* researcher greater scientific objectivity.

10.2.4 ANALYSING THE BLOG DATA

- **A Hybrid Habitus: Tea Time in Wonderland & Lost and Found in London**

Taking a comparative inter-archival, multimodal analytical approach revealed several unexpected changes in the resources over time, as well as shedding light on more predictable developments in their technical affordances. Indeed, by examining the blogs multimodally, not only were multiple ethnographic conclusions drawn regarding the increasingly hybrid habitus of the French Londoners, but it was also possible to ascertain which archives provided the most "complete" representation of the original Web resource. Tea Time in

⁷⁷³ See Bezemer & Mavers (2011) for a detailed investigation into the implications of transcribing, or reconstructing, multimodal data for subsequent analysis.

Wonderland was one of the few <.co.uk> domain blogs identified and as such lent itself to a top-down search in the JISC UK Domain Dataset. The contrast between the earliest version of the blog (Fig. 20) now permanently archived in the customised French Community Blogs Corpus (FCBC), and the most recent archived version (Fig. 21), from the LFSC in the UKWA are flagrant; and in both instances there appears to be a high degree of authenticity in relation to the born-digital resource.



Fig. 20. Tea Time in Wonderland blog, captured 09/07/2009, archived in JISC Dataset

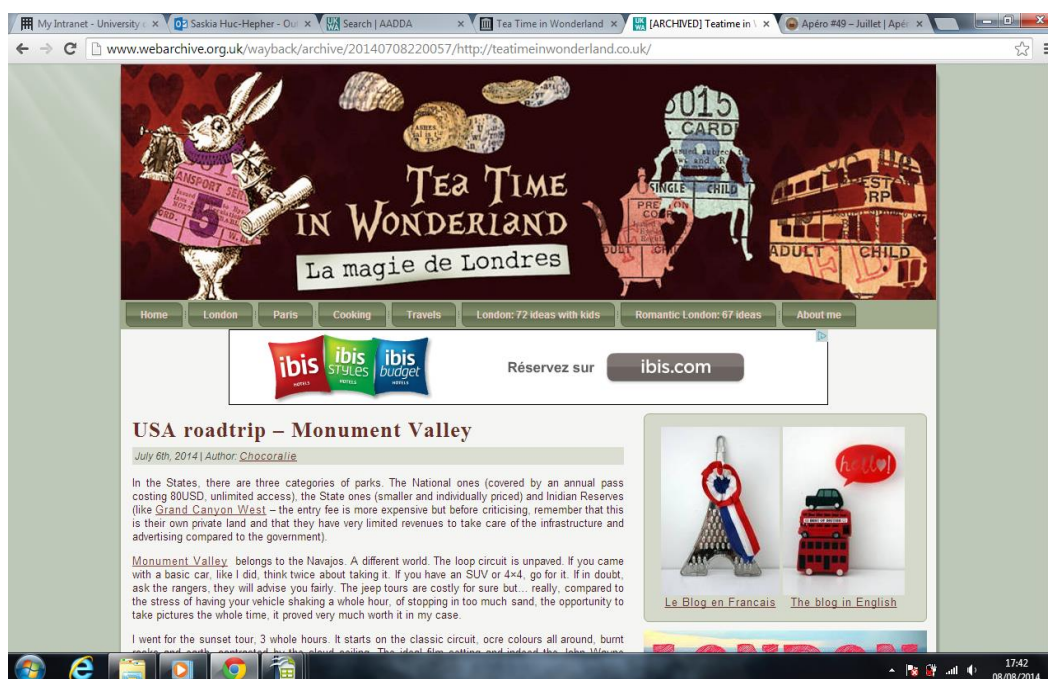


Fig. 21. Tea Time in Wonderland blog, captured 08/07/2014, archived in LFSC (UKWA)

Whilst the soft colour palette remains analogous in both, there has been a significant change to the blog design. The banner has undergone the most substantial renewal, evolving from an essentially iconic “London Tourist” representation (reminiscent of that found in the previous case-study) to a “French Londoner” one, which arguably reflects the transformed habitus and increased sense of belonging of the blogger. The images in the updated banner improve intratextual and extratextual coherence between the blog name – “Tea Time in Wonderland” – and the visual experience of its landing page. That is, there is a dynamic modal interplay between the banner words and images: the White Rabbit from Lewis Carroll’s classic *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) is at once an indexical sign, forming an intertextual relationship with the well-known (on both sides of the Channel) literary work, and a symbolic sign, evoking London as a *wonderland* in its own right, which also coheres with the sub-title of the banner “*La magie de Londres*” (the magic of London – my italics). This bears witness to London as a place of mysterious allure, enchanting many French young people through its candid eccentricity and celebration of otherness, also observed in the previous case-study and repeatedly confirmed in the interviews and other blogs, such as, *Lost and Found in London*, where the city is referred to as “this eccentric, dynamic town that is so lovable.”⁷⁷⁴ Indeed, the recent design implies a development in the habituated element of the blogger’s habitus, as if Coralie⁷⁷⁵ has embodied an air of Londoners’ eccentricity herself, becoming unwittingly habituated to it and explicitly embracing it through the motivated signs of the banner. Although the reference to “teatime” in the blog name reinforces the intertextual link to Carroll’s work – particularly, and befittingly, to the *Mad Hatter’s* tea party – and in so doing adds to the coherence of the blog landing page as a multimodal text, “le teatime” speaks more vociferously of its clichéd Franco-French association with “les British”. This reliance on stereotypical evocations of London(ers) can perhaps be explained by the choice of name pre-dating the redesign of the banner, probably corresponding to Coralie’s recent migration to the city, when still very much embedded in, and perceiving the world from the perspective of, the habitus of origin.

Nevertheless, a comparison between the initial banner contained in the JISC dataset and the updated one housed in the LFSC brings to light a clear shift from the stereotypical to the typical. London’s physical habitat is suggested *indexically* – in contrast to the *iconic* image dominating the earlier version of the banner – through the “double-decker” bus (the stereotypicality of which is emphasised by its emblematic intertextuality, in that it was also

774 Original: “cette ville excentrique, dynamique et si attachante.”

775 It seems there is a predominance of London-French blogs owned by *female* migrants, which confirms the on-land Consulate figures cited by Bellion (2005), referred to in Chapter 6.

a prominent feature of the Apéro Blog examined the previous case-study), but as a whole the current banner is a *tacit* articulation of the nonconformity that could be said to epitomise London in the eyes of many participants, who find it a liberating and appealing quality comparatively rarely encountered in France. This sentiment is vindicated by Chantal: “you have more freedom here; everyone has the right to have their own style. In France you are judged straight away.”⁷⁷⁶ The blogger’s self-appropriation of the idiosyncrasy that is permitted in London and her cultural sensitivity more generally are made manifest again in the subtle intertextual referencing of the hearts in the background of the banner, the indexical allusion being to the Queen of Hearts from the children’s story; while the playful inversion of the hearts on the right-hand-side of the banner, in apposite topsy-turviness, is equally suggestive of playing cards, and perhaps a further multimodally cohesive sign of London’s “magie” (magic). Likewise, on a symbolic level, the hearts function as a subtle depiction of the blogger’s fondness of the city, echoing the words of French-Canadian, Jacqueline, when I asked her to send me a photograph of “her” London: “I’d like to send you a photo of a heart: London’s where my family is, where my love is, where my interests and passions are.”⁷⁷⁷ Several days later, Jacqueline did indeed send me an image of a heart.⁷⁷⁸

Despite the clear transformative process that took place between the pre-2010 blog instances collected in the historic JISC dataset and the 2014-15 ones housed in the LFSC, the blog, as a multimodal semiotic ensemble, is not entirely “Anglicised”, being instead a London-French hybrid, which arguably reflects the current identity of the sign-making blogger. This is exemplified through the attempt made to portray the quintessentially British habit of physically having tea (also mentioned in Chapter 4), depicted “materially” here as fractal elements of the diasporic habitat through the pot and the chair – but, significantly, the former, in its shape, is more reminiscent of a *French coffee* pot than a British *teapot*, just as the latter is not a representation of a typically English wheelback or Chesterfield, but a traditional Louis XV-styled armchair. It could be argued, therefore, that this blog subtly expresses a transnational migratory space, straddling the cultural habitat and habits of both France and London, and demonstrating internalised habituation to embedded originary habitus practices (i.e. drinking coffee, as Suzanne and Sprio’s (2013) Italian participants demonstrated in Chapter 4), while simultaneously embodying habituation vis-à-vis the

776 Original: “ici on a plus de liberté; chacun a le droit d’avoir son style. En France on est tout de suite jugé.”

777 Original: “j’aurais envie de vous envoyer une photo d’un coeur: c’est là qu’il y a ma famille, c’est là qu’il y a mon amour, c’est là qu’il y a mes intérêts et mes passions.”

778 I had intended to conduct a semiotic analysis of all the photographs provided by respondents, to add a supplementary layer of empirical evidence to the doctoral project as a whole, but Jacqueline was regrettably the only participant to respond to my request.

quirkiness of the “host” city and its inhabitants.

In the 2014 instance of the Lost and Found in London blog (Fig. 22), the banner has also undergone significant alteration since the 2010 capture (Fig. 23), this time identified through a top-down IA search, given that it is hosted by the <.com> domain.



Fig. 22. The Lost in London blog banner, captured 14/03/2014, archived in LFSC (UKWA)

It has, in keeping with the Apéro Blog London and Tea Time in Wonderland banner, undergone a transformation from a fundamentally iconic photographic representation of famous London landmarks to an intricate spatial dialogue which merges indexical signs for physical London places in a bird’s-eye-view map of the city with simultaneously iconic and indexical, through their social implications, superimposed childlike images.

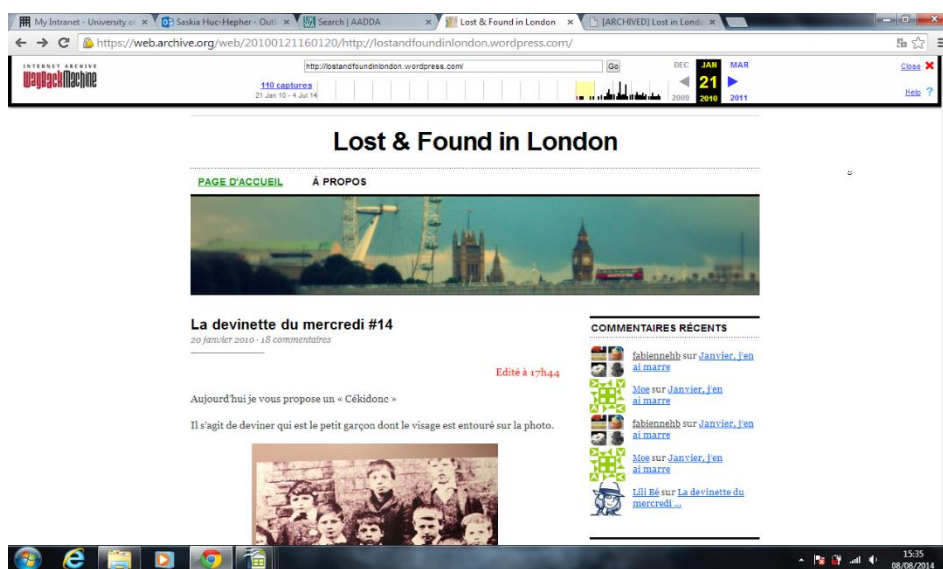


Fig. 23. The Lost in London blog banner, captured 21/01/2010, archived in IA

The crude, green “sketches” in the foreground of the 2014 banner (Fig. 22) signify, in primarily iconic terms, trees. On an indexical level, and in the context of this multimodal ensemble, they relate more broadly to London’s green spaces, back-gardens and acres of parkland, suggesting the French appreciation of such verdure, particularly in comparison to the comparative lack in Paris, as frequently recounted by my on-land participants. Marie defines the diasporic habitat in these very terms: “London *is* squares with little gardens and

parks”.⁷⁷⁹ While Sarah describes her London habitat as being preferable to Paris for the following reasons: “I don’t live in a concrete suburb [like in Paris]; I live in a suburb where there are lots of little two-storey houses, with a park, with trees.”⁷⁸⁰ Whilst semiotically complex compared to the earlier banner, this multimodal ensemble functions effectively as a coherent and cohesive whole. As regards its compositional principles, the directionality of the images is geographically coherent in relation to their physical spatial positioning from east to west, and each icon portrayed in the sequence is also cohesively meaningful, reinforcing the social-semiotic affordance of the banner as a multimodal ensemble. At first glance, the suburban terraced houses to the left of this “Web element” (Brügger, 2014:5) appear to correspond to the entrenched conception of London streets among the French, where “les maisons se ressemblent toutes” [Translation: “all the houses look alike”];⁷⁸¹ field-notes, 05 July 2014) and possibly to the geographical residential positioning of the blogger within the broader diasporic habitat, West London being one of the community preferences (as displayed by O’Brien’s Tube Tongues map, illustrated in Chapter 4, and inferred in many London-French blogs, who reference, in visual and written form, regular weekend visits to Kew Gardens and Richmond Park).⁷⁸² Under closer scrutiny, however, the naively sketched houses show differences in their architectural features which could, if interpreted in relation to their left/west positioning, indexically allude to the Tudor edifices of the Hampton Court district, notably the home of Hampton Court House School (an independent Anglo-French bilingual school accredited by several French bodies and popular among the more affluent ranks of the French community, hence the symbolic potential of the image). Likewise, moving right/east and more central (geographically and compositionally), the iconic quality of the representation of the house differs from the others, the simplicity of its symmetrical, rectangular lines perhaps acting as an indexical signifier of a Georgian terraced house, quite possibly one found in Kensington, given the geographical coherence of the banner’s composition, and therefore carrying symbolic weight given Kensington’s reputation as the established “home” of a certain – affluent – French community in London (as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 with reference to on-land data). These architectural details demonstrate an

779 Original: “Londres: c’est les squares avec des petits jardins, des parcs.”

780 Original: “Je n’habite pas dans une banlieue en béton; j’habite dans une banlieue où il y a plein de petites maisons à deux étages, avec un parc, avec des arbres.” (Mulholland & Ryan (2011) also allude to this veneration: “London offers a generally higher quality of life than Paris, with more green space”).

781 A recent observation which resonates with one made by Flora Tristan 174 years previously, who alluded to “ces longues files de maisons uniformes” [Translation: “those long rows of uniform houses”] (Tristan, 1840[2008]:28).

782 See, for instance, a post on the From the Riviera to the Smog blog, entitled *Fin d’automne à Richmond Park* (Delphine, 2014).

in-depth knowledge of the West London habitat that appears to form part of the material habitus of this blogger, (a former lawyer, whose blog makes repeated visual and written allusions to her own visits to Richmond Park, Ealing, etc.) and is indeed inhabited by many members of the socio-economically comfortable sub-community of the London-French population as a whole (a point made by Miranda, alluded to in Chapter 4, who refers to “les Français posh” in South Kensington).

While the photograph in the 2011 version of the banner is equally evocative of London, its negation of the presence of the West London habitat of the blogger and of London’s financial centre, the City – depicted indexically in the 2014 instance by St Paul’s Cathedral, the Swiss Re Tower (habitually known as the “Gherkin” in the London social field) and Tower Bridge – is significant, for not only does it deny the blog visitor/sign-recipient the insight into the habitus of the blogger that was provided in the later instance through its habituated referencing to Coralie’s habitat and, by extension, her likely habits, its exclusive focus on central London’s West End (as was the case with Tea Time in Wonderland), places the blogger in the position of tourist as opposed to inhabitant, suggesting greater attachment to, and positioning in, the habitus of origin than that of adoption. Whereas the inclusion of iconic edifices, whose collective presence forms an indexical link to the City in the updated version of the banner, implicitly sheds light on the professional habitat of many highly-skilled French migrants (Mulholland & Ryan, 2011; Favell, 2006, 2008a), and as such indicates a growing embeddedness in the habitat and working practices of the migration setting. Indeed, evidence from an article titled “The French Phenomenon” archived in the French Community Blogs Corpus in the JISC UK Domain Dataset (1996-2010) triangulates this semiotic reading: “BNP Paribas alone employs more than 400 French people in its Harewood Avenue office. [...] French talent is underpinning London’s leading position in the OTC derivatives markets. [...] Another recruiter alleges that 80% of quants [quantitative analysts] at Goldman are French” (eFinancial Careers, 2007). The representation of the City, therefore, in the updated Web element, is an accurate reflection of the professional habitat and habits of a segment of the highly-skilled London-French population.

Tate Modern is another introduction to the recent version of the banner. Placed in a coherent position relative to the map and the semi-iconic representation of waves depicted through a “hand-drafted” set of blue, unfurling conical forms, indexically referencing the River Thames running along the bottom right-hand-side of the banner, the minimalist depiction of the gallery serves to echo the habits of my on-land participants and their appreciation for free-entry to London’s cultural institutions, a point articulated repeatedly in

other blogs and verbal accounts, such as Brice who exclaimed how “museums are free, so it’s great”⁷⁸³ and Antoine, who mentioned the “culture of free things which is strange in a way” for the French, habituated to the entry fees of cultural institutions in the originary habitat.

The various examples above, by means of comparative, multi-archival, multimodal analysis, have enabled the identification of an evolving on-line habitus in the blogs themselves and, by extension, in the on-land habitus of the bloggers. The archived versions reveal the move from the literal and the iconic outsider’s representation of the city, to a more personal and symbolic insider’s representation of *their* city, which, in turn, substantiates further the theory of habitus transformation among my London-French participants, and an increasing sense of London being “home”.

- **Interpersonal Meaning in Fine-grained Reading: Londres Calling & Good Morning London**

Among all the blogs housed in the LFSC, only four were from the UK domain, one of which was Tea Time in Wonderland, analysed above, the others being from the <.com> domain, or, to a considerably lesser extent, the <.fr> domain (telling associations in themselves, in terms of a lack of allegiance to the country of origin). Furthermore, the remaining three were created post-2010, hence their absence from the JISC UK Domain Dataset (1996-2010). For this reason, the following blog analyses are consistently based on inter-archival comparison between captures identified in the UK Web Archive, its sub-collection, the LFSC, the US Internet Archive (IA) and/or the integrated blog archives.

As has been evidenced above, with respect to the hybridisation of London-French habitus, far from keeping an authentic record of past posts, the in-built blog archive is open to manipulation according to the changing identity, positioning and interpersonal intentions of the blogger. This has an effect on the blog design, its semiotic affordances and its textual function. The shift in cultural reference points that accompanies the refurbished blogs, and in turn narrows the accessibility of the multimodal text among blog-visitors unfamiliar with the London-French hybrid habitus, is exemplified compellingly through the 2010 (Fig. 24) and 2014 (Fig. 25) versions of the Londres Calling blog, supported by the <canalblog.com> platform, and is indicative of a new audience being targeted.

783 Original: “les musées, c’est gratuit, donc j’adore.”



Fig. 24. Londres Calling blog landing page, captured 25/03/2010, archived in IA

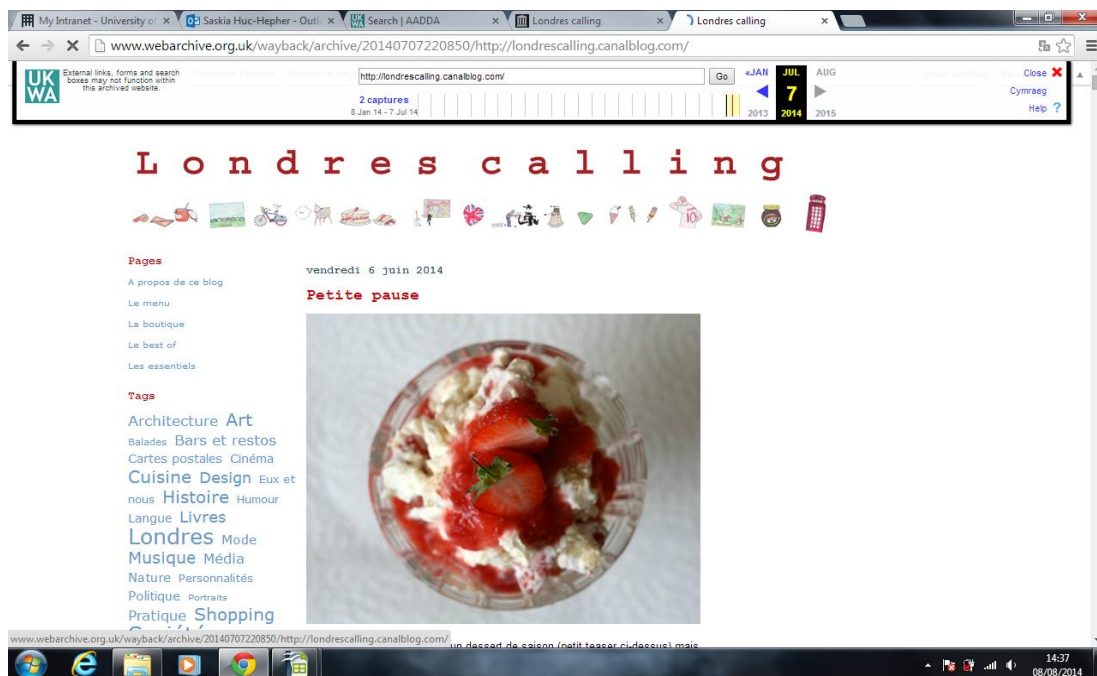


Fig. 25. Londres Calling blog landing page, captured 07/07/2014, archived in LFSC (UKWA)

Once again, the most noticeable change relates to the banner. London is no longer depicted indexically through the iconic representation of a red telephone box alone, but by far more subtle, “hand-drawn images” (as is often the case in the London-French blog habitus, recalling France’s long “bande dessinée” tradition noted in the previous case-study), which assume greater knowledge of, and integration into, London/British culture. In the 2014 version, there is a depiction of a Dalek, the indexical significance of which would no doubt be lost on a Franco-French audience, generally unacquainted with the half-century-

old science-fiction BBC television series, and would suggest a change in the television-watching habits of the blogger. The inclusion of this make-believe “character” from a famously unconventional series, whose protagonist plays on the (English) eccentricity of the “mad scientist” figure, resonates with the White Rabbit depicted in the Tea Time in Wonderland blog as regards its ideational function within the multimodal text, but differs in terms of its interpersonal function, as its culturo-symbolic insignificance in France would make it meaningless to a Franco-French audience, unlike the widely-known Carroll character. The narrowing of the audience in the 2014 version is emphasised by the other “fractal habitus” artefacts extracted from the blogger’s on-land habitat, for inclusion in the on-line banner, such as several quintessentially English ice-creams (99 Flake, Twister, etc.), which, ideationally, are meaningful for a British audience but not a Franco-French one, giving a sense of deep, even childlike, and therefore well-rooted, belonging and integration. An indexical sign pointing to an art gallery is another addition, echoing the inclusion of Tate Modern in the updated Lost and Found in London blog and, in so doing, suggesting a degree of on-line community cohesion through the shared appreciation of London’s cultural institutions experienced on-land. Other culturally meaningful, as well as culturally exclusive, features of the banner indicative of the blogger’s evolving gustatory dispositions are the Victoria sponge cake⁷⁸⁴ and the jar of Marmite,⁷⁸⁵ which, owing to the seeping of advertising into the mores of the British social field, acts as a symbolic signifier of a love-hate relationship, applicable perhaps to London culture as a whole given the blogger’s decision to include it in the Londres Calling banner, and presumably expressing a love of both condiment and culture. Reflecting another dimension of the culture, and as such the “collective habitus” of the migratory field is the England footballer, which may well indicate a change in the habits of the blogger, with several on-land participants commenting on their support of a particular London team and the sense of belonging it gave them to the *local* community. Taking central position, however, is a sign that necessitates no in-depth knowledge of London culture to be meaningful, yet is doubly-symbolic: a Union-flag-clad heart, the heart being a conventionalised symbol for love, just as the red, white and blue flag is for the UK. The standardised coding of the message conveyed through the combination of

784 Recalling the on-land evidence pertaining to the adoption of local eating habits examined in Chapter 6.

785 “Marmite” is itself a linguistic materialisation of Anglo-French dynamics, with the archetypal English comestible bearing a French brand name (“une marmite” denoting a stockpot or cauldron, as the packaging suggests). It is also a material feature of the “host” habitat depicted in the video pastiche *Shit French People in London Say* (Meard Street Productions, 2012), thus reinforcing the notion of a habituated – “invisible” (King et al., 2008) and “negated” (Berthomière, 2012) – common-unity of London-French practice.

both is culturally exportable in this case and ensures that the fundamental purpose of the blog is immediately accessible to London-French, Franco-French and Francophile audiences.

All these images sequentially combine to form a multimodal ensemble that shows a considerable shift in the habitus of the blogger, as well as in the interpersonal function of the multimodal text, evolving from a somewhat simplistic (Fig. 24), stereotypical and predominantly semiotically indexical representation of London through an iconic depiction of a telephone booth (intermodally successful as a cohesive device in relation to the blog name – “Londres *calling*” – but signifying little beyond the stereotypical), to a semiotically complex and culturally sophisticated set of resources, tacitly and exclusively targeting a (French) audience based in London, or at least sensitive to the subtle materialities constitutive of British culture and London habituses. However, as observed in the previous case-study, the Britishness of the objects acts in semiotic duality with the stylistic Frenchness through which they are depicted. The pastel colour-palette, their hand-drafted quality and the equal hierarchical standing awarded to the culinary as to objects of “high” culture are all typically French features.⁷⁸⁶ This semiotic hybridisation could be interpreted, therefore, as indicative of a distinct London-French habitus and, by extension, a specifically London-French audience and interpersonal function.

Similarly, the Good Morning London blog, hosted by the <.fr> domain, bears witness to metafunctional transformation. There are repeated indications in the blog posts and related comments that the blogger, Aurélie, reaches a Franco-French audience in addition to the London-French community. However, under closer examination of the earliest (via the IA) and most recent captures of the blog (via the LFSC in the UKWA), subtle alterations to the content of the Web resources suggest a shift away from the habitus and audience of origin. When placing a screenshot of the first instance (Fig. 26) of the inaugural blogpost captured in 2011 and identified top-down (by inputting the live URL to the IA “Browse History” field) alongside the first instance of the “same” blogpost found in the (micro) internal blog archive (via the (meso) LFSC of the (macro) UKWA), captured three years later in 2014 (Fig. 27), ethnosemiotically meaningful modifications are detectable. Irrespective of the font change in the post title, in the 2014 instance, a blending of French and English typographical norms are evident: the space before the colon is typical of French standards, and found in both instances, whereas the reliance on the exclamation mark – used far more liberally in French texts than their English counterparts – has been reduced, as its absence from the updated

786 As demonstrated in the self-governed focus on food among the participants, together with the UNESCO registration, referred to in Chapter 6.

article title confirms. Likewise, the incongruous placing, by British standards, of the sterling symbol (between the pounds and the pence) in the 2011 instance, has been “corrected” in the 2014 version, thus corresponding to English cultural norms (and to the expectations of readers who have been exposed to them for sufficient time). This suggests that the blogger herself has become more accustomed to British typographical practices over time and could be making a greater effort to “assimilate” or self-appropriate local customs.

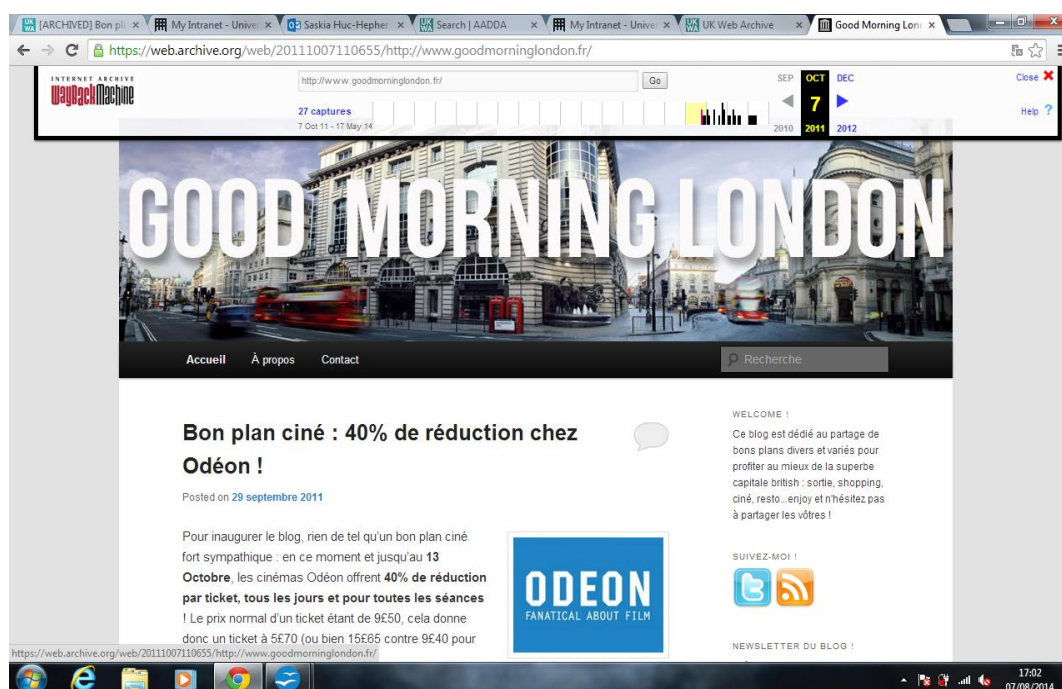


Fig. 26. First Good Morning London blogpost, captured 07/10/2011, archived in IA

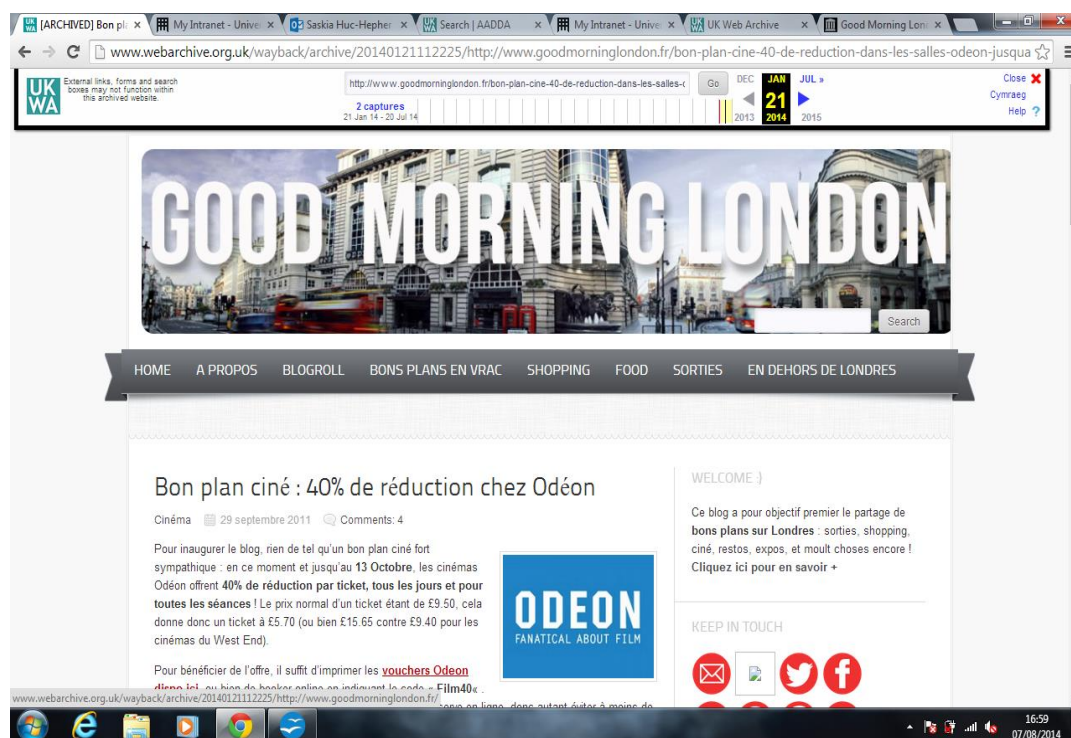


Fig. 27. First Good Morning London blogpost, captured 21/01/2014, in LFSC (UKWA)

In this example, therefore, by comparing the institutionally archived version of the blog to its in-built “archive”, punctuation has been seen to act as a *mode*, that is, a form of expressing meaning, both wittingly and implicitly, and provides an indication of the evolving habits and audience of the blogger.

The Welcome module on the right of the screen also attests to a more targeted London-French audience through typographical amendment and lexical economy. The punctuation is again illustrative: the 2011 exclamation mark after “Welcome !” has this time been replaced by a punctuated “smiley face” “ :) ”, reiterating the blogger’s diminished reliance on the typically French exclamation mark, choosing instead to use an intrinsically more “light-hearted” form of engaging the reader. The *mode* of punctuation could be said to reflect a habituated embodiment of the English sense of humour to which, as observed in the on-land habitus chapters, many interview respondents alluded positively, such as Brigitte, with “I like English humour, when I get it,”⁷⁸⁷ or Charles’s comment that “the English have a sense of self-deprecation which the French don’t have at all”.⁷⁸⁸ Moreover, the 2014 welcoming paragraph, or Web element, is a considerably abbreviated iteration of its former self, again more in keeping with English rhetorical norms – which could in itself be deemed a habitus of writing – than French. Gone is the redundant use of synonym and adjectival description whose sole purpose is to add stylistic weight to the sentence. “This blog is dedicated to sharing diverse and varied top tips to make the most of the superb British capital”⁷⁸⁹ is condensed down to “the main aim of this blog is to share top tips about London”,⁷⁹⁰ followed by several concrete examples. This discursive shift from the ornate and superlative to the streamlined and concrete is in keeping with the types of changes made when translating and/or adapting⁷⁹¹ information from French into English, and as such reflects both habitus transformation – in particular regarding writing *habits* – on the part of the blogger, as well as metafunctional alteration. That is to say, although the text has not been translated into the official language of the migration setting, the stylistic adaptation towards English writing conventions is indicative of an interpersonal and ideational function now geared towards a London-French audience to a greater extent than in the previous version of the blog archived in the IA.

787 Original: “J’aime bien l’humour anglais, quand le saisis.”

788 Original: “les Anglais ont un sens de l’autodérision qui n’est pas du tout quelque chose qu’ont les Français”.

789 Original: “Ce blog est dédié au partage de bons plans divers et variés pour profiter au mieux de la superbe capitale british”.

790 Original: “Ce blog a pour objectif premier le partage de bons plans sur Londres”.

791 Or “transduction” in the words of Kress (2010).

Gone also is the exaggerated Anglo-French linguistic hybridisation of the text, brought about by the liberal code-switching between French and English. While this might on the surface indicate *less* blending into the “host” culture over time, a more convincing argument is, on the contrary, that the scattering of English lexical items found in the earlier, 2011 version of the Welcome text is a self-conscious act to portray a fashionable and “connected” blogger, who is *au fait* with the latest English terms being used *in the originary field*, reinforcing the hypothesis of a Franco-French audience being prioritised initially. Therein lies the paradox, for as observed in the previous case-study, the almost involuntary, habituated code-switching that occurs among long-standing French Londoners for the sake of efficiency or non-equivalence, when, in the words of Sadia, “the English word actually comes first, and then the equivalent ends up not coming at all,”⁷⁹² is not the same as the code-switching practised by French “non-movers”, either in terms of the lexical items substituted or the contexts in which the transposition takes place, with the latter making – entirely voluntary – use of English terms for effect.⁷⁹³ It can be seen in the earlier capture of the Web element, where “british” [sic] and “enjoy” appear within the French sentences – both of which have easily accessible alternatives in French – and imply a self-conscious effort to evoke “cool Britannia”. Conversely, in the more recent version, “shopping” is the only English word used in the module, relied upon here principally for efficiency on the part of the sign-maker rather than the connoted, symbolic effect it may have on the sign-recipient (regardless of the term’s entry into standardised Franco-French vocabulary), as its French translation would be one of several *three-word* phrases. Thus the affected linguistic “style” found in the 2011 instance has been replaced by sparser, British substance in the integrated – and updated – blog “archive”, illustrating an interpersonal refocusing from a Franco-French to a London-French audience, as well as a sense of the blogger being more culturally aware and socio-linguistically “at home”.

- **Technological Scope and Limitations: Good Morning London - About & Home Sweet London**

Developments in the technical and navigational affordances of the Good Morning London blog as a multimodal ensemble are also noteworthy. In the 2011 version of the About page (Fig. 28), the intratextual navigational options are limited to three: “Accueil” [Welcome]; “A Propos” [About]; and “Contact”. By 2014 (Fig. 29), these options had more than doubled,

792 Original: “le mot anglais vient d’abord, en fait, et finalement l’équivalent ne vient pas.”

793 This explains why on-land participants were perceived to be “snobbish” and contrived when pre-reflexively peppering French sentences with English words on return visits to the originary field, as discussed in Chapter 7.

with eight tabs leading to other spaces deeper within the blog and, accordingly, the habitus of the blogger, such as “Shopping”, “Food”, “Sorties” [Going Out], “En dehors de Londres” [Outside London] and a “Blogroll”.



Fig. 28. The “About” page, Good Morning London blog, captured 07/10/2011, archived in IA

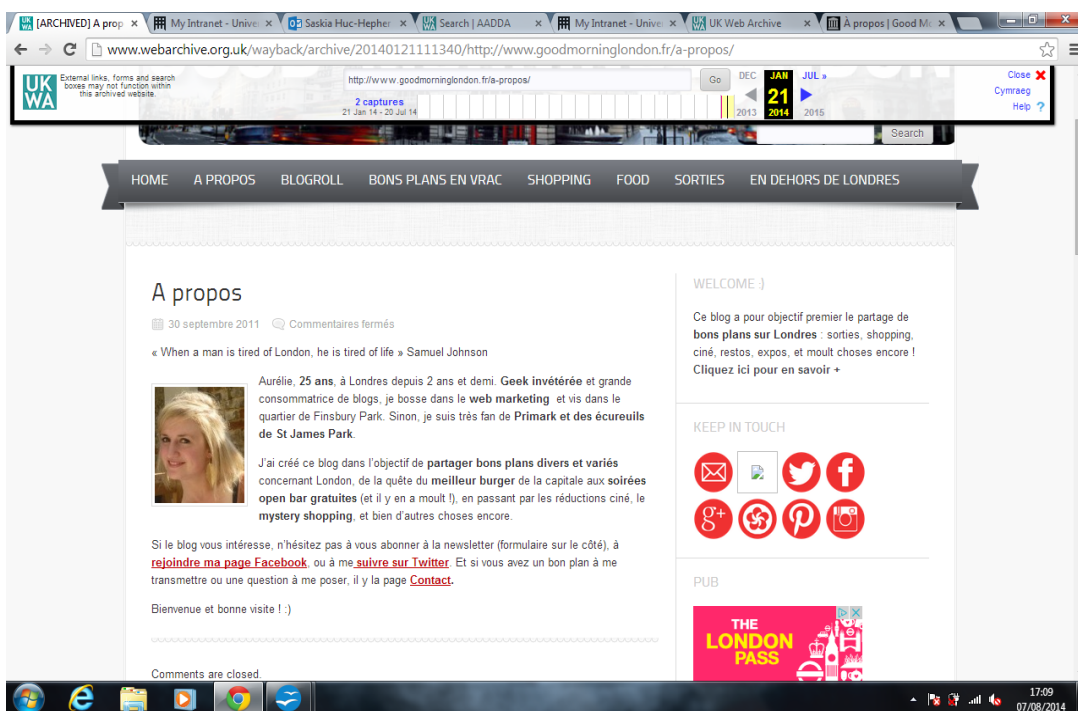


Fig. 29. The “About” page, Good Morning London blog, captured 21/01/2014, archived in LFSC (UKWA)

The greater scope of the 2014 version bears witness both to the increased technical possibilities available to Aurélie within the framework of the platform and to transformation in all three of the habitus dimensions posited here. Regarding *habits*, the tabs would suggest that she is now in a position to share her London-French shopping and eating practices; in terms of *habitat*, the material recommendations and excursions evidence a greater sense of ownership of, and belonging to, London and its environs as a physical space, within which conclusions can be drawn about the *genuine* on-land geographical positioning and movements of the diasporic population, as opposed to the mythologised spaces, most notably South Kensington, often considered to be the exclusive realm of the French community. The *habituation* dimension is also represented through the tabular titling alone: the “naturalised” London-French linguistic hybridisation, which assumes a high degree of bi-cultural knowledge, juxtaposing Franco-French Anglicisms, such as “Shopping”, with a decidedly London-French use of the word “Food” (phonetically shorter and semantically broader than its French-language counterpart “nourriture”, and, unlike “le shopping”, not a standardised feature of the French language).⁷⁹⁴ Moreover, compositionally, the order is significant here, since the English “Shopping” and “Food” are placed in an arguably subordinate position to “Bons plans en vrac” [Loads of top tips], itself a highly colloquial and idiomatic Franco-French utterance which would arguably exclude most non-native speakers of French through its semantic inaccessibility, and is therefore indicative of both a continued attachment to the culture and habitus of origin, and of a sense of the defined London-French community referred to above. Developments in the technological affordances of the blog consequently impact on its textual function, with the 2014 version not only targeting a London-French, rather than the initial more Franco-French, audience, resulting from the increase in navigational scope, but concurrently transforming the text ideationally, bearing in mind that the material *habit* and *habitat* recommendations made are designed to have an effect on blog visitors’ practices in the physical world, in a dynamic on-line/on-land relationship.

Further alterations to the multimodal affordances of the recent capture (Fig.29) are noticeable in the more explicitly modular layout of the Web object, in which the written information is framed by means of visible lines, and which is, in turn, an additional departure from a traditional, physical book or diary page (Domingo et al., 2015). The most immediately patent difference is the semiotically iconic image, placed in “prime” reading position on the left of the text, which now gives the blogger a physical identity denied in the earlier version, either through former technological limitations or blogger design, or perhaps

794 Although publications such as the *Fooding* guide and lefooding.com website (Kelly, 2016) are in the process of introducing the Anglicism to the Franco-French idiom.

because of her increasingly settled identity within the diasporic field. The extratextual (hyper)links to social media are also noteworthy in their greater number (a manifestation of their growing interpersonal and ideational roles in on-land and on-line environments), their heading, which has moved from the French “Suivez-moi” [Follow me] to a more inclusive, less dogmatic, English “Keep in Touch”, and finally their unfaithfulness to the born-digital object, since one of the icons is missing in this recently reborn-digital version. The implications of this “deficiency” (Spaniol et al., 2009; Brügger, 2014), whilst not overly detrimental here, are nevertheless of import when conducting a multimodal analysis, where every detail has the potential to carry meaning.

The impact of such visual deficiency is demonstrated unequivocally, however, in the first post on the Home Sweet London blog. In the IA instance (Fig. 30), captured in May 2011, the modally and compositionally dominant set of five photographs of the Carter Steam Fair has been preserved, providing the multimodal sign-recipient with a tangible sense of the physical reality of the funfair, tinged with an air of nostalgia through the blogger’s decision to present the images in black-and-white.

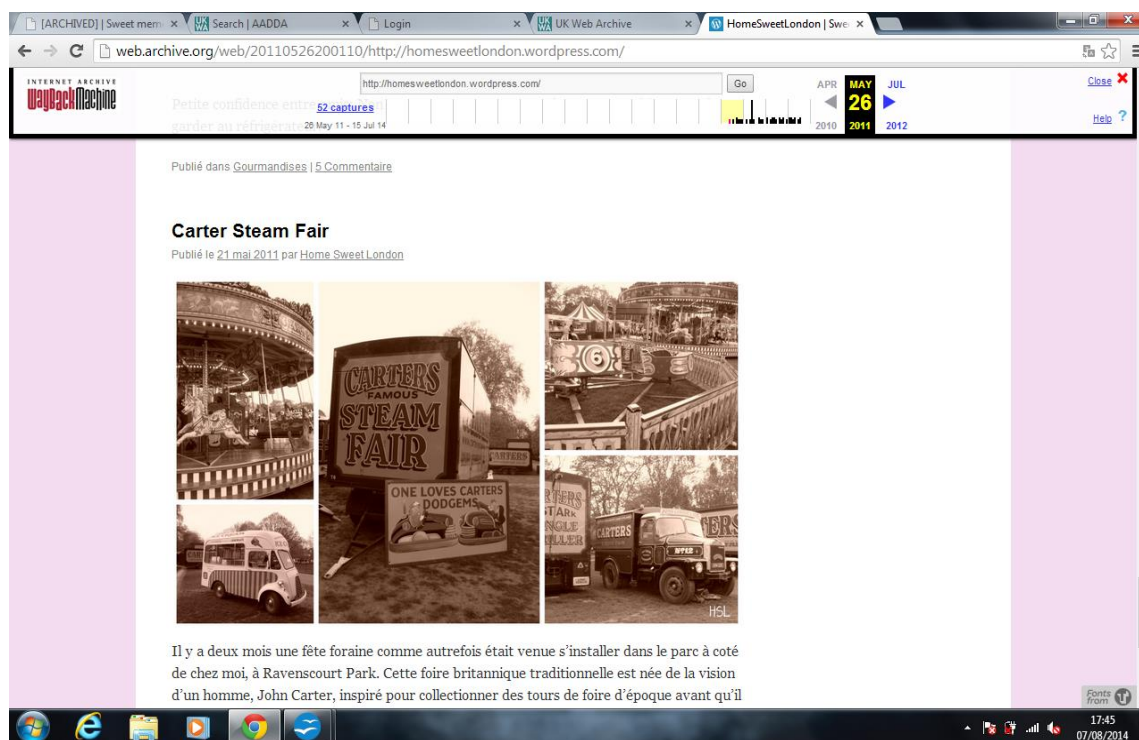


Fig. 30. Inaugural Home Sweet London blogpost, captured 26/05/2011, archived in IA

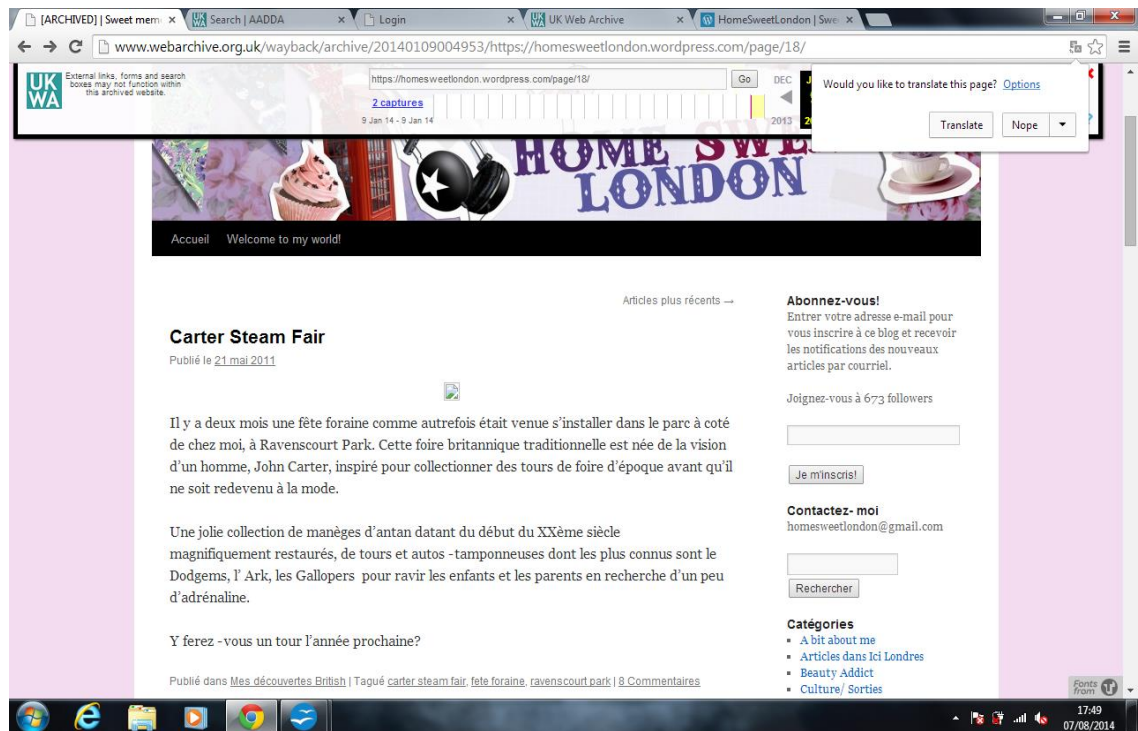


Fig. 31. Inaugural Home Sweet London blogpost, captured 09/01/2014, archived in LFSC (UKWA)

This choice appears to be a deliberate attempt to accentuate the antiquity of the funfair (John Carter was, according to the blogpost, a collector of early fairground trappings). Here, therefore, the monochrome hues function as a mode in tandem with the written mode, in which the semantic field is predominantly “old”, with the following lexical items included in the brief, seven-line text: “yesteryear”; “traditional”; “vintage”; “of old”; “dating from”; “early 20th century”; “restored”.⁷⁹⁵ The intermodal relationship between the historic lexis of the text and the black-and-white images serves to communicate more powerfully both the quaintness of the bygone fairground and, perhaps more importantly, the nostalgia of the blogger for now remote childhood experiences, often felt with greater intensity among migrants, in their dislocated state from the homeland and home-family (“family” being the prevailing response to an interview question on the most-missed aspect of France, as Brice reflects: “What do I miss most? Not a lot [...]. Friends, family... but on the whole, it’s fine.”⁷⁹⁶ The absence, therefore, of the photographic ensemble in the “same” post preserved in the UK Web Archive in 2014 (Fig. 31), is significant. All that remains of this telling, intermodally meaningful, set of images in the UKWA version is a tantalising

795 Originals: “autrefois”, “traditionnelle”, “d’époque”, “d’antan”, “datant du”, “début du XXème siècle” and “restauré”.

796 Original: “Qu’est-ce qui me manque le plus? Pas grand-chose [...]. Amis, famille... mais dans l’ensemble, ça va.”

acknowledgement of its original born-digital presence through an automated “image icon”. A geographical sense of place is specified through the reference to the fairground being set up “in the park near where I live in Ravenscourt Park”.⁷⁹⁷ Yet, this useful clarification as to the (non-South-Kensington, but West London again) external habitat of the blogger lacks the underlying meanings relating to her internalised habitus conveyed through the images, hence the importance of a macro archiving system that can preserve the micro modal detail of the born-digital Web resources.

10.2.5 CASE-STUDY CONCLUSION

The bottom-up search enabled the identification and thematic preservation of previously unknown – and now obsolete – material. Although relatively undeveloped in this case-study, it brought to light evidence unencountered elsewhere in the London-French blogs, for instance, the unusually critical content of the aptly named blog, *A Year in the Shit*, captured two years after Clarke’s English account of his year in Paris (2005), where the detritus observed in the London habitat is photographed and denigrated, alongside the “inappropriateness” of several of its native inhabitants’ habits, such as wearing flip-flops to the workplace (a criticism also identified in the on-land field) or routinely consuming excessive quantities of alcohol (practices repeatedly disparaged in interview and field-note evidence, as examined in Chapter 6). This historic blog data is of added value in that it contrasts fundamentally the idealised picture of London in every other London-French blog identified, as well as in the on-land narratives, instead echoing the sentiments of those whom one migrant referred to as the French “cliques” (field-notes, 2009), who appear to take pleasure in collectively bemoaning the shortcomings of the city (and whom she, like many others, attempted to avoid, as François explains, “going abroad to withdraw into my own ethnic group isn’t my thing”).⁷⁹⁸ The bottom-up searches also provided access to, and preservation of, material unharvestable in the LFSC due to permission not having been granted by the host owner, as opposed to the blogger herself, namely posts written by historian and social commentator, Agnès Poirier, for *The Guardian’s* Comment is Free blog, offering scope for analysis at a later date.⁷⁹⁹ Finally, the bottom-up search provided alternative forms of empirical evidence, such as on-line fora and comment threads, useful for the purpose of triangulation within this doctoral project, for example, comments on the <sofeminine.co.uk> “Having a Baby and Parenting” Discussion Board thread on women’s

797 Original: “dans le parc à côté de chez moi à Ravenscourt Park”.

798 Original: “aller à l’étranger pour se replier sur son groupe ethnique, c’est pas mon truc.”

799 An intermittent French Londoner herself, whose books were briefly reviewed in Chapter 1.

unexpectedly positive experience of the National Health Service, as observed in the on-land interviews discussed in Chapter 6: “you have to trust the English system. Things don’t happen like in France but I actually feel less stressed here, and everything’s going pretty well” (Estelle, 2005).⁸⁰⁰ This counters the habituated preconceptions of the originary habitus that the NHS is an outdated, inefficient and inferior system to its French counterpart, and again demonstrates the evolving opinions and dispositions of the London French (which confirms the on-land evidence explored in Chapter 6). It also illustrates an emerging sense of community through the empathetic comments exchanged among the group of French women simultaneously experiencing pregnancy for the first time in the diasporic field.

When practicable, the top-down search pathway demonstrated the historic inauthenticity of in-built blog archives, that is, the non-equivalence or incompleteness of captures of the “same” material, together with the impact of technological advances on blog design, digital habitus and, in turn, self-representation. However, owing to the domains and dates of all but one of the London-French blogs identified for this case-study, the top-down approach was almost impossible within the JISC dataset. As a result, a multi-archival, multimodal, cross-temporal analysis of habitus was conducted, which succeeded in confirming the transformation from Franco-French outsider to London-French insider, in the space of relatively few years, and the progressive targeting of a like-minded audience, capable of tapping into the same unsaid, habituated, cultural references as themselves, and therefore connoting the reality of a particular London-French community identity.

More time is needed to study the commonalities between the blogs analysed in this case-study and the more recent additions to the ever-growing historic corpus constructed in the JISC UK Domain Dataset, which would serve to test further the existence of an on-line/on-land “community” *per se*. At present, the most striking inter-blog patterns emerging are that, without exception, they appear to belong to women, which corroborates the demographic distribution of the community on-land (Bellion, 2005); evidence also suggests that the bloggers correspond to a more affluent sub-category of the London-French community (and tend to live in West London, rather than the “hip”, to recall Miranda’s wording, East End), which could be related to them having more time at their disposal, for instance, than French Londoners working as employees in the hospitality sector, or could be explained by the relatively large proportion of bloggers freelancing in the media industry who use blogs as a self-promotional tool; there is a predilection for “hand-drafted” imagery

800 Original: “il faut faire confiance au système [sic] anglais. Les choses ne se font pas comme en France mais finalement je me sens moins stressée [sic], tout ce [sic] passe pas trop mal”.

in a number of London-French blogs, reflecting the status and embeddedness of the “bande dessinée” (comic book) in French culture and blogger habitus; finally, food recurs as a leitmotif running coherently through the blogs, which again speaks typically of the centrality of the culinary in French culture, in the originary field and habitus, but is equally illustrative of the cultural dynamics taking place within the diasporic field, for the majority of the blogs are a celebration of *English* rather than French comestibles, evocative of a habituated adoption of London habits and the materialisation of a hybrid habitus.

To conclude, “thinking small”, by means of a fine-grained analysis of a modest corpus of resources, has indeed bridged some of the “knowledge gaps” (Wang, 2013:1) between Big Data and sociocultural meaning. The inter-archival examination of the blogs was effective in revealing, through a text-based alternative to numeric “Data fundamentalism” (Crawford, 2013:1), the interplay between internalised and externalised lived experience, with the London-French bloggers becoming increasingly “at home” in London, yet with habitus transformation proving incomplete. In this distinct(ive)ly hybrid habitus common among the bloggers, they were not seen to be torn between two cultures, but over time embodied both through a mutual merging of French and British habits, habitats and attitudes, giving rise to a sense of community and personal growth. As Catherine epitomises, “I don’t feel torn between the two countries, I have integrated both now, I’ve found a good balance.”⁸⁰¹

801 Original: “Je me sens pas tirillée entre les deux pays, maintenant j’ai intégré les deux, j’ai trouvé un bon équilibre.”

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Over the course of this thesis, the mobility of my London-French research participants has not only been treated as the continuum prescribed by Kelly & Lusia (2006), but as the complex sociocultural whole set out in the General Introduction. Being a phenomenon occupying the transnational space that straddles originary and diasporic fields, and the ambivalent space between on-land and on-line experience, it is logical that my study should have revealed aspects of these four areas and, as such, provide sociocultural insights that have until now gone unseen elsewhere in London-French migration literature.

On the basis of a holistic methodology, involving in-depth discussions and immersion in the community on-land and on-line, I have traced informants' trajectories from primary habitat to adopted London home. Further, by setting the research participants' current situation within the *comparative* context of the originary field and the *historic* backdrop of the diasporic space, I have illustrated why London is an attractive city for migrants and how it is a place of both *change* and *preservation*. In a physical materialisation of this two-fold social reality (Bourdieu, 1996), made manifest by its eclectic mix of old and new architecture and culturally diverse population, London has emerged from my on-land and on-line data as a city where the originary habitus, in terms of habitat and habits, can be freely *maintained*, but where, through a subtle process of habituation, the influences of local mentalities imperceptibly bring about *transformation*. Contrasting the institutionalised, racialised and gendered symbolic violence identified in France's educational, professional and social fields, which served as an insidious migration driver for some, the perceived equality and increased prospects presented by London have been revealed as powerful forces for settlement.

Once settled, research participants' physical London habitats served to dispel the myth that the French community belongs in South Kensington alone and revealed that an increasingly diverse community now inhabits equally diverse areas of the Capital. Moreover, the considerable commonality of their interior habitats – as represented on-land and on-line – regularly replenished with fractal elements of the homeland, revealed a profound identification with a localised home, or “micro-region” (Demossier, 2001), in the originary field, compounded by mediated connectivity, *together with* a strong sense of being “at home” in the diasporic field. The inbetweenness engendered by re-enacting originary rituals and preserving inherited tastes, while simultaneously embracing values and characteristics prevalent in the diasporic space, was perceived by most – and represented in the Web archive – in a positive light: a transnational transformation which could be seen as representative of

a certain conception of today's globalised world. Indeed, the majority of my participants reported identifying with the label of "Londoner" or "European" rather than reductionist national designations, and almost all rejected self-association with a single French community traditionally associated with South Kensington. Nevertheless, the "community" of primary habitus practices, exemplified on-line as well as on-land, was seen to contribute to a genuine collective cultural identity, irrespective of participants' agentic dissociation from it. Their shared preservation of certain rituals and attitudes from the originary field, blended with a growing habituation to local practices, beliefs and expectations, resulted in a particular form of "French Londonishness", with participants embodying – and representing in their Web resources – an emergent hybrid habitus.

For some, this hybridity, or rather the incomplete embodiment of "Londonishness", like the perpetual French accent or inability to tap into local humoristic codes, was uncomfortable, proving Bourdieu's hypothesis that the originary habitus is fundamentally engrained. For many, however, the disquieting hysteresis effect occurred on return to the "home"land, where the hybrid habitus served to distinguish participants from those they had left behind, often being misinterpreted as an intentional manifestation of superiority but experienced as a disconcerting loss on the part of the migrants. While globalisation has given rise to an increasingly culturally dynamic relationship between the originary and diasporic spaces, operationalised through physical, mediated and virtual exchanges, the confrontation between an evolving – yet inherently reproductive – habitus and the divergent fields navigated by my London-French participants remained significant.

Although the agentic migration act was seen to interrupt, even subvert the originary habitus, with migrants carving out trajectories not pre-destined for them in France, which thus arguably transforms habitus from a phenomenon of *reproduction* to *production*, the thesis also demonstrated the extent to which participants were following precisely the same paths as historical waves of London-French migrants, meaning the reproductive essence of habitus was substantiated. Similarly, the manner in which the various cultural capitals associated with today's French migrant community replicate exactly those valued in the collective "host" consciousness in centuries past demonstrated the reproductive power in both "host" and migrant habituses. History has indeed been "made nature" (Bourdieu, 1972[2000]:263) in terms of the distinctive position reserved for the French community in London, setting them apart from other minorities through the social distinction associated with their Frenchness over generations of migration and cultural exchange.

An undeniably new form of cultural capital, however, is the community's contribution to the on-line world and, in turn, my preservation of it in the form of the London

French Special Collection. Moving from the retrospectively historic to the prospectively historic, my curation work and conceptualisation of a selective Web archiving methodology, as well as the analytical paradigms developed through my on-line case-studies, demonstrated both the reach and applicability of the habitus concept and the ethnosemiotic framework designed for the thesis. The on-land/on-line ethnosemiotic approach succeeded in uncovering certain hidden truths which would otherwise have gone unnoticed, like the immutability of the primary habitus materialised through typographical representation and communication or evolving interpersonal relationships with home and “host” populations. It also served as a triangulation mechanism for others, such as the migrants’ habituation to, and embodiment of, local dispositions, eccentricity and a sense of the ironic being recurrent examples. My ethnosemiotic theory of culturally themed Web curation thus objectivated, in digital and theoretical form, the points of convergence between Bourdieusian and Kressian thought, and as such makes a valuable and potentially scalable contribution to the under-theorised field of Internet archiving. The fundamental contribution of the London French Special Collection, however, is the unique and multifaceted record it provides of a particular migrant community at a particular point in time, for the benefit of a wide spectrum of present and future users. In that sense, my research has not only evidenced “history made nature”, but also “history made future”, preserving today’s digital manifestations of London-Frenchness for tomorrow’s social and cultural historians.

Having looked back over the major findings of this thesis and assessed its key impact on academic and on-line worlds, it is now necessary to look forward from a scholarly perspective. This doctoral project has organically paved the way for several future lines of enquiry, beginning with a return to the phenomenon of symbolic violence. Since, for the sake of coherence and concision, a sub-section on anti-French symbolic violence *in London* required editing out of the thesis, a logical step would be to re-evaluate these findings in the light of the 2016 EU referendum. The seriousness, perniciousness and relative obscurity of the phenomenon serves as validation for a short-term study to assess the potential impact of the vote on return migration levels and its possible effect on participants’ sense of belonging, of feeling safe and of feeling welcome in a city they once called home. Secondly, my research on the hysteresis effect and returnee “destablized habitus” (Ingram & Abrahams, 2016:148) could be developed. Redeploying the ethnosemiotic methodology successfully used here, the research could examine the on-line and on-land spaces of *France*, with field positioning and adjustments being assessed *in situ*. The formal confines of this thesis prevented the inclusion of link analysis findings,⁸⁰² so a third avenue of investigation could be to apply

802 Link analysis, as briefly defined in Chapter 9, is a big data technique involving the

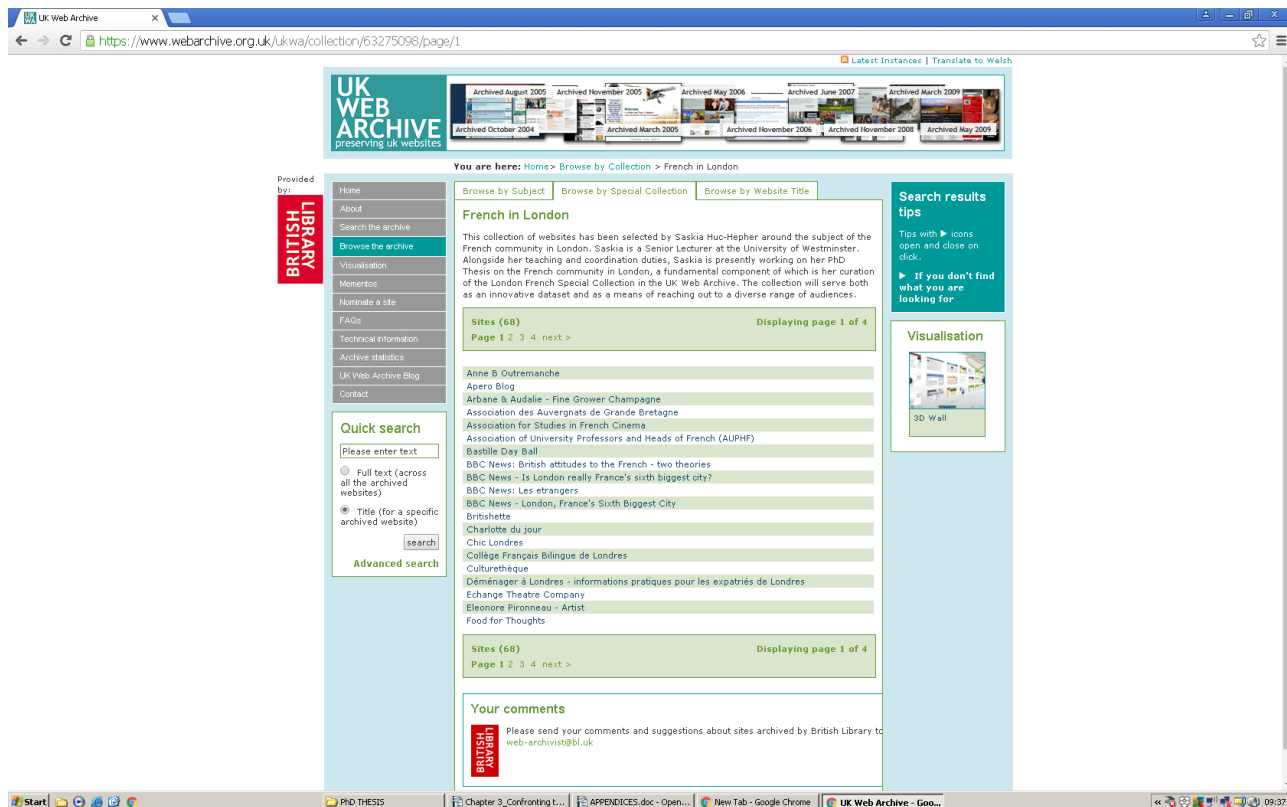
these innovative quantitative methods to all three school websites examined in Chapter 9 and potentially to other London-French community resources. Alternative link analysis ideas include an appraisal of the inward and outward links connected to French-domain and UK-domain food blogs, for example, or a comparison of London-French Catholic and Protestant church websites, to ascertain which has more links, and hence closer ties, with the originary/diasporic space. A fourth and final extension of the ethnosemiotic work presented here would be to target sub-communities *within* London's French community, such as Jewish, black or queer groups, whose presence became apparent during the course of my fieldwork, but who each warrant more dedicated scholarly attention.

With these future projects in mind and the satisfaction of having now provided analysis of the rich data supplied by all my research participants, be they on-line bloggers, on-land school pupils or interviewees, it is now necessary to bring this doctoral thesis to a close. To that end, it is fitting to recall a statement by Bourdieu and posit that the study has been successful in conveying “an empirical reality, historically [and culturally] located and dated” (Bourdieu, 1996:8), and one that transcends the reductionist prisms through which migrant communities are so often apprehended (Mazzara, 2015). Rather than end with a sentence that condenses this culturally nuanced and multifaceted London community to “an anonymous mass of people” (Mazzara, 2015:449), I therefore return to the concluding words of my research participants themselves. For them,⁸⁰³ London is ultimately an “exciting”, “dynamic”, “diverse” and “free” city, where you can be yourself and do so with the “solidarity” of the community at large.

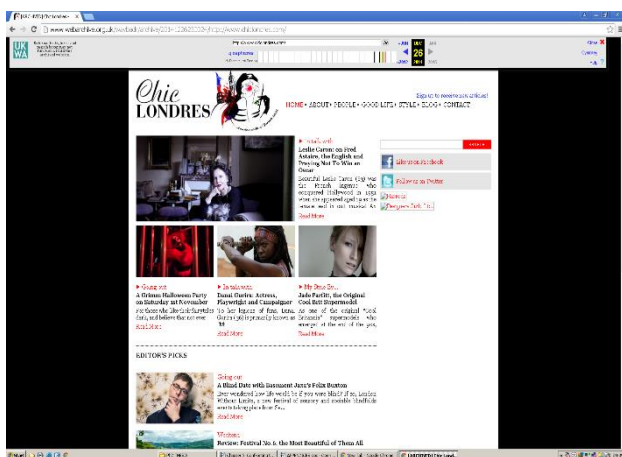
processing of the Web resources across an archive to identify all links to and from a given URL, and therefore reveal hidden networks.

803 See Appendix B for further details.

APPENDIX A – SELECTION OF SCREENSHOTS FROM LONDON-FRENCH SPECIAL COLLECTION IN UK WEB ARCHIVE

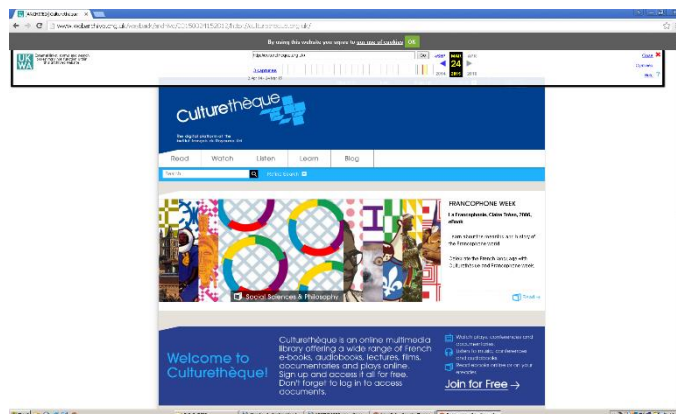


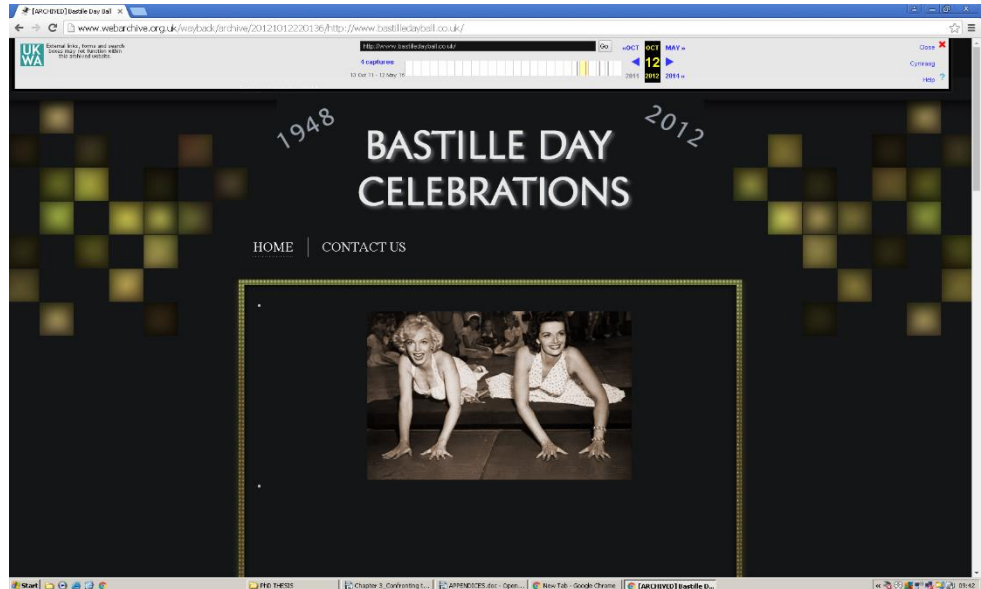
LFSC landing page



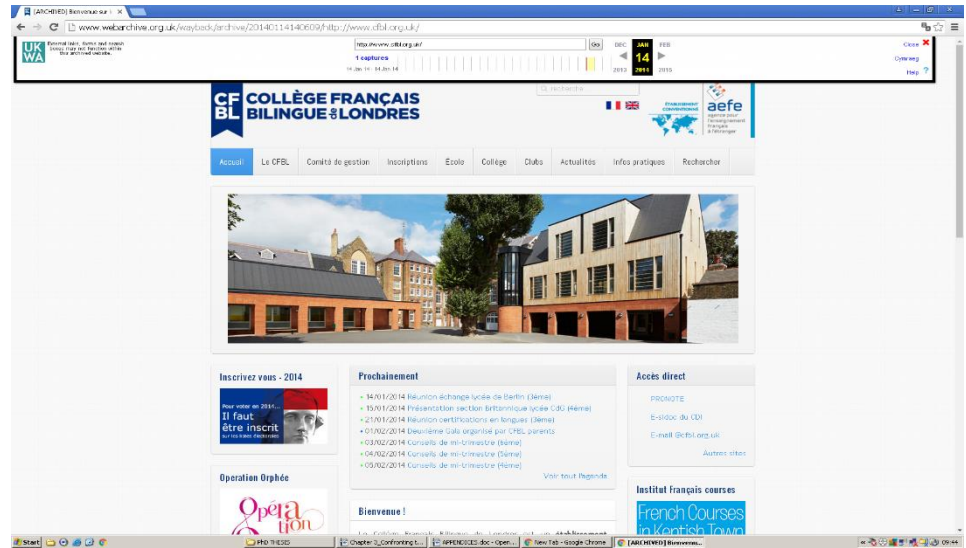
Chic Londres website, archived December 2014

French Institute's Culturethèque website, archived 2015

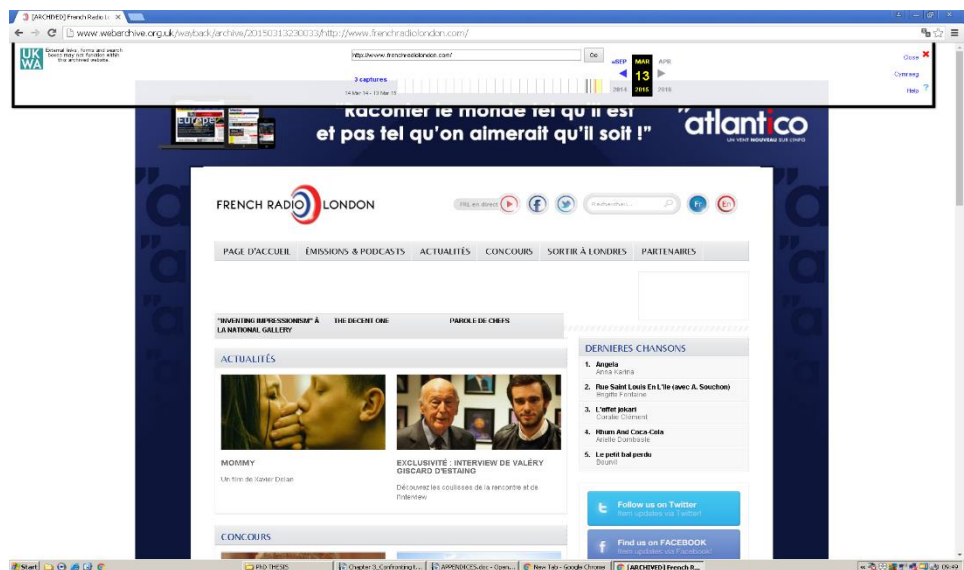




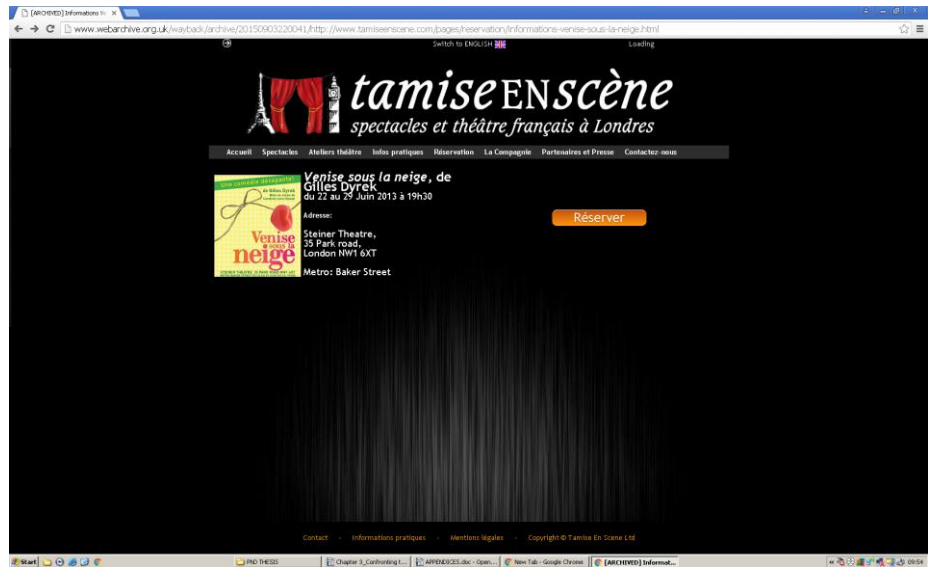
Bastille Day website, archived 2012



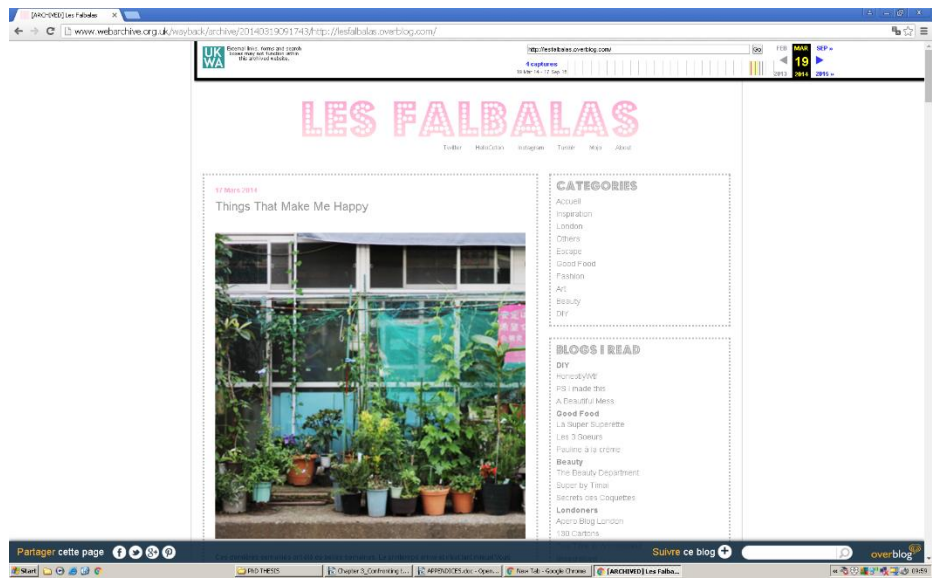
New French school in Kentish Town, archived in 2014



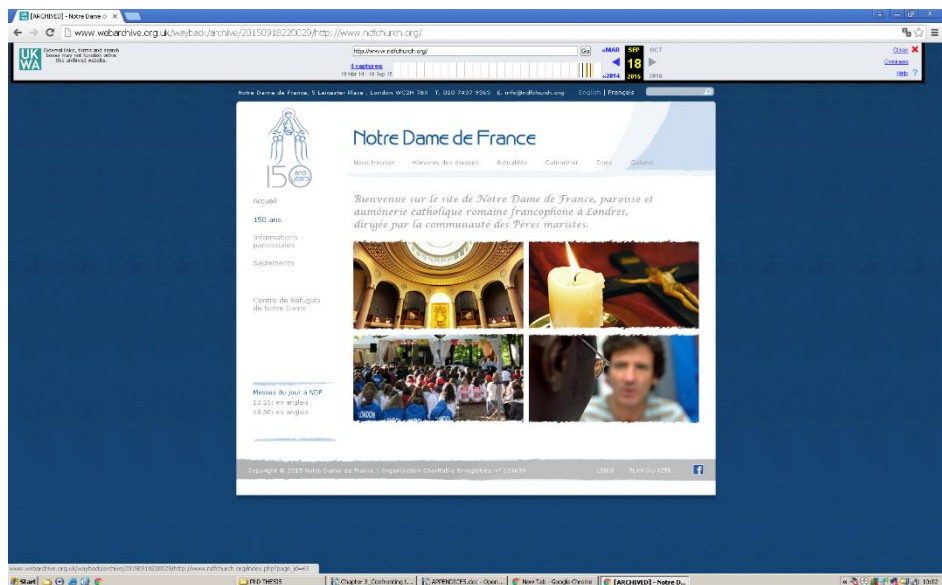
French Radio London website, archived 2015



Tamise en Scène Theatre Company website, archived 2015



Les Falbalas blog, archived 2014



Notre Dame French Roman Catholic Church website, archived 2015

**APPENDIX B – LONDON “IN A NUTSHELL”, ACCORDING TO
INTERVIEWEES**

(based on final interview question):

cosmopolitisme / ouverture [cosmopolitanism / openness]
les parcs [parks]
la fête [partying]
cosmopolite [cosmopolitanism]
la grande roue [the big wheel / London Eye]
“crowded” / multiculturelle
vivant [lively]
une maison à Chelsea [a house in Chelsea]
la liberté [freedom]
aller boire un coup *directement* après le travail [going for a drink *straight* after work]
le Royal Albert Hall / les concerts de “promenades” [Royal Albert Hall / the Proms]
when things break down, a social kind of friendliness / solidarity
ça bouge / c’est cosmopolite / des habits très variés / pas de stéréotypes [dynamism /
cosmopolitanism / very varied attire / no stereotypes]
les squares avec des petits jardins, des parcs [squares with little gardens and parks]
Glastonbury sous la pluie [Glastonbury in the rain]
la diversité (un vieil homme en costume à côté de quelqu’un qui fait du graffiti ou d’un Sikh)
/ “quirkiness” [diversity (an old man in a suit next to someone doing graffiti or a Sikh)]
des îlots de bien-être dans un océan de civilisation urbaine [little islands of well-being in an
ocean of urban civilisation]
la mixité / le pub / l’humour anglais [the mix / the pub / English humour]
chez moi [home]
“exciting”

Focus Group 1 students (attending NewVic) summed London up as:

la maison [home]
“home”
belle [beautiful]
la mixité [ethnically diverse]
culturelle
“cultural”

Focus Group 2 students (attending the French Lycée) as:

“home”
“perfect”
le mouvement
à couper le souffle [breathtaking]
Vie – plaisir de vivre, “le fun” [life – pleasure of living, fun]

APPENDIX C – INTERVIEWEE PROFILES

- 1) Interview 1: Head Chef in central London; 37-year-old white male, originally from Bordeaux, now in South-East London, SE27. Lived in London for 19 years [alias Bruno]
- 2) Interview 2: Human Resources, EC3; 42-year-old white female; Franco-Canadian; lives in Bromley. Lived in London for 19 years [alias Jacqueline]
- 3) Interview 3: Head of Investment Risk Framework, EC2; 37-year-old white female; originally from Lyon, now lives in Greenwich. Lived in London for 10 years [alias Sarah]
- 4) Interview 4: Hotel Food & Beverage Manager; 34-year-old non-white male, originally from La Réunion, now lives in Docklands. Lived in London for 11 years [alias Arthur]
- 5) Interview 5: UK Foreign Correspondent; 34-year-old white male, originally from Brittany, now lives in Crystal Palace & Oxford. Lived in London for 11 years [alias Charles]
- 6) Interview 6: Urban Designer / Architecture Lecturer; 52-year-old white male, originally from Marseilles, now in Archway. Lived in London for 22 years [alias Antoine]
- 7) Interview 7: Retired import-export administrator; 63-year-old white female; now based in Aix en Provence but lived in Wandsworth 40 years ago [alias Marie]
- 8) Interview 8: French Graduate / PGCE student; 32-year-old female; Franco-Algerian; originally from Paris, now in Beckenham. Lived in London for 12 years [alias Sadia]
- 9) Interview 9: Financial / IT consultant & amateur actor; 33-year-old white male, originally from Carcassonne, now in Tower Hamlets. Lived in London for 14 years [alias Brice]
- 10) Interview 10: Surgeon in inner-city NHS Hospital; 52 -year-old white male, originally from Eastern France, now in Richmond. Lived in London for 5 years [alias François]
- 11) Interview 11: Post-doctoral molecular neuroscientist; 35-year-old white female, originally from Lyon, now in Bethnal Green. Lived in London for 3 years [alias Brigitte]
- 12) Interview 12: Commercial Exports Representative; 24-year-old black male (Senegalese heritage); now lives in Paris suburbs where originally from, but lived in London (Dartford / Abbey Wood, South London; Leyton, East London; then Arsenal, North London) for two years [alias Moses]
- 13) Interview 13: English as a Foreign Language Teacher; 53-year-old white female, now based in Bordeaux but lived in London (South Woodford, North East London for 3 years, then Acton for 2 years) for 5 years in the 1980s [alias Catherine]

- 14) Interview 14: French as a Foreign Language Lecturer; 40-year-old white homosexual male, originally from the North of France, now in East Dulwich. Lived in London for 17 years. [alias Robert]
- 15) Interview 15: Retired teacher from Lycée Français Charles de Gaulle and writer; 80-year-old white female; originally from Dijon, now in Holland Park. Lived in London for 47 years (first school exchange visit in 1948) [alias Suzanne Smith]
- 16) Interview 16: Singer-songwriter; 41-year-old white female; originally from Paris, now in Clapham. Lived in London for 5 years [alias Laura]
- 17) Interview 17: Housewife, formerly in marketing; 48-year-old white female; originally from Paris, now in Kensington. Lived in London for 22 years [alias Chantal]
- 18) Interview 18: International Logistics Manager; 35-year-old black female; originally from Normandy, now in Chiswick. Lived in London for 8 years [alias Paulette]
- 19) Interview 19: Doctoral linguistics student; 28-year-old white female; originally from a small village in the Aube region (North East France), now in Brick Lane. Lived in London for 10 years [alias Miranda]
- 20) Interview 20: Lawyer; 50-year-old non-white female; originally from Paris, now in Nunhead. Lived in London for 26 years [alias Séverine]

FOCUS GROUP 1: 7 students from Newham Sixth Form College (NewVIc), London, E13:

Age	Gender	Heritage	Time in London
18	Female	Martinique + Ivory Coast	18 years
16	Female	Ivory Coast	7 months
18	Female	African / French	3 years
17	Female	Sri Lanka	2 ½ years
17	Male	Mauritius	5 ½ years
16	Male	Rwanda	5 ½ years
18	Male	Pakistan	3 years
(26 - teacher	Female	France	4 years)

FOCUS GROUP 2: 6 students from Lycée Français Charles de Gaulle, South Kensington:

Age	Gender	Heritage	Time in London
16	Male	French	13 years
16	Male	French	18 years (born in London)
16	Male	French	11 years
17	Male	Italian/French	1 year
17	Male	French	10 years
17	Female	French (but grew up in Morocco)	6 years

APPENDIX D – FORMAL INTERVIEW REQUEST

Monsieur / Madame / Cher *****

Je vous écris en tant que Français(e) de Londres pour savoir si vous seriez prêt(e) à m'accorder un entretien dans le cadre d'une étude universitaire sur la présence française à Londres. Le projet a pour but initial la contribution d'un chapitre à un ouvrage collectif, dirigé par le Professeur Debra Kelly, Chevalier de l'ordre des Palmes Académiques (Department of Modern and Applied Languages, University of Westminster) et le Professeur Martyn Cornick (Department of French, University of Birmingham), qui sera consacré à l'histoire des Français à Londres dans ses dimensions historiques et contemporaines. Prof. Kelly et moi-même – chercheuse du projet – nous concentrerons sur la dimension actuelle, à partir d'analyses de documentation, de sondages, de groupes cibles et d'entretiens, entre autres.

A cet effet, nous mènerons une série d'interviews auprès d'un échantillon diversifié de Français(es) vivant dans la capitale britannique, afin de comprendre pourquoi et comment ils ont pris la décision de quitter leur pays natal pour venir s'implanter à Londres, dorénavant la sixième ville de France. Nous nous intéresserons à l'histoire personnelle de chacun des interviewés dans la visée d'une analyse de leurs motivations, de leurs sentiments et de leurs opinions en ce qui concerne la vie Londonienne dans tous ces aspects.

Dans un premier temps, une partie des données parvenant des entretiens sera utilisée pour l'ouvrage décrit ci-dessus. Cependant, il est possible que les résultats de ces recherches s'approprient également à ma thèse de doctorat sur le même sujet. L'ouvrage collectif se situe dans le cadre du travail du réseau de chercheurs "Culture F-B" (www.culturefb.org) qui bénéficie du soutien de The Arts and Humanities Research Council Seminar Series Funding, et qui organise des séminaires et des colloques en France et en Grande Bretagne. Nous espérons, par ailleurs, bénéficier du financement de la British Academy pour l'élément contemporain de l'étude. La publication du livre vise la date de 2012 pour coïncider avec les Jeux Olympiques à Londres.

Si vous voulez vous exprimer sur votre quotidien londonien et porter soutien à notre étude en acceptant d'assister à un entretien, veuillez me le faire part par retour de courriel. L'interview ne devrait pas vous prendre trop de temps (une heure au plus), et pourra se faire soit par téléphone, soit en personne, selon vos préférences. Une fois publié, nous serons heureux de partager avec vous les conclusions de l'étude ainsi que de vous offrir un exemplaire dédié du livre.

Je compte procéder aux entretiens dans les semaines qui viennent, idéalement au mois de mai, ou au plus tard en juin, et vous serais donc reconnaissante d'une réponse plutôt empressée. Si vous voudriez avoir des précisions quant au contenu des entretiens, ce serait un plaisir de vous fournir une liste des questions ou de thèmes à prévoir.

Dans l'attente de vous lire prochainement, et restant à votre disposition pour tout renseignement complémentaire

Cordialement

Saskia Huc-Hepher

APPENDIX E – INTERVIEW GUIDE

Detailed Interview Schedule (English Version)

Below is a comprehensive list of questions and sub-questions for use in a series of semi-structured interviews to be conducted amongst a diverse, targeted sample of the French population currently living in London. The interviews are to be carried out in the French language, then transcribed and translated into English. The respondents can elect for the interviews to be anonymous. They will be sent the 14 general themes (in bold type) prior to the interviews, but not the specific questions. A pertinent, and possibly provocative, quotation may also be included next to each of the headings in order to spark off a reaction and encourage reflection on the issues before answering.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION (ORIGINES & ANTECEDANTS)

- 1) Ice breakers + age / gender / sexuality / ethnic origin / education / profession (in France and in London) / marital status (spouse / partner French / English / other) / are you registered at the French Embassy?
- 2) Where did you live in France before coming to London?
- 3) When (in what year) did you *first* come to London to live here (not on holiday)?
- 4) When (in what year) did your *current spell* of living in London begin? How long did you *intend* to stay in London?
- 5) What was your main reason for coming to live in London? Work / education / youth culture / liberalism (in behaviour/attitudes and commerce) / economic lure / other? Do you think the recession has or will impact on numbers coming/staying/returning?
- 6) Did you try living in other countries/cities outside France before deciding on London? If so, why did you choose London?
- 7) Have you worked in or travelled to other areas of the UK? If yes, what were the reasons and what comparisons would you make with London? (e.g. Better for business? Quality of life?)

YOUR LONDON (VOTRE QUOTIDIEN LONDONIEN)

- 8) Where do you live in London? Are there any specific reasons why you live there rather than elsewhere in London?
- 9) Do you find London to be an exciting place to live? Why / why not?
- 10) Do you feel free in London? Why / why not?
- 11) Do you feel safe in London? Why / why not?
- 12) Do Londoners confirm the French stereotype of the British? If so, can you describe

it? If not, how do they differ? Has your opinion changed in this respect since you first arrived in London? If so, why do you think that is?

- 13) What do you like most about living in London compared to where you used to live in France?
- 14) What annoys you most about London life (e.g. cost living esp housing / transport /)?
- 15) What do you miss most about France?
- 16) What do you understand by the term “mes années London” (rites of passage/gap year fun, not a permanent place to put down new roots)?
- 17) How do you interpret the phrase “le French touch” (do you think Londoners have certain expectations of you as a Frenchman/woman)?

TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION (LA TECHNOLOGIE ET L'INNOVATION)

- 18) Has technological progress (e.g. Internet; cheap phone services; Eurostar; cheap flights) increased your desire to come to and *stay on* in London? How often do you use low cost airlines / Eurostar to return to France (what are your reasons for returning and how long do you stay)? Do you have an international phone package and/or do you use Skype/videoconferencing? How often do you contact family and friends in France? Are there certain periods when your need to establish links with them is greater? If so when and why do you think that is?
- 19) Virtual space vs. real location – Do you think that your reality in London is the same as your British neighbour's? Do you immerse yourself in all things French via virtual media (e.g. radio, internet, satellite TV)? If so, why (a conscious decision to make the home a French oasis, or more of a practical choice to keep up to date with events in France)? Do you regularly shop online for French produce from French websites or French companies based in UK? To what extent has the virtual French world made living physically in London a more appetising long-term prospect?
- 20) Do you consider yourself to be an active member of the French online community (if so, which: websites/forums/blogs/chat-rooms/twitter/face-book, how often and why)? Do you communicate mainly with a French-in-London community or a French-in-France community?
- 21) In your experience, is the French online (or physical) expat community generally over-critical or over-supportive of London and Londoners or France and the French? Are stronger feelings stirred up when in a French-only group dynamic / when in an anonymous virtual environment?

LANGUAGE (PARLER A LONDRES)

- 22) Was English acquisition the main London attraction? What are your thoughts on bilingualism (do you work in English or French or both? To what extent do you wish to hide your French accent? Have you studied English formally in London? Did you teach yourself the language, if so, how? Was language a “barrier” when

you first arrived? Is it now? Do you believe that the better your English becomes, the more English you feel? Has your mastery of and/or relationship to French changed since you have been living London? Which language do you find it easier to speak in now? Do you find it easier to speak on *certain subjects* in one or other of the languages or does it make no difference (if so which?). Are you ever frustrated by language shortfalls/mental blocks in either language? Has that changed since you have been living here? If you have children, do you wish them to be bilingual? Are you making a conscious effort to ensure this? Which language are they more proficient in? If they were to become monolingual English speakers, would you still consider them to be French? Do you believe that French people living in London use a different type of French than French people living in France (emerging *Franglais*)? Do you feel like a “different person” when you speak in French / English? Do you think you would have responded differently to this interview had it been conducted in English?

FOOD (MANGER A LONDRES)

23) Did Britain’s previously bad reputation prevent you / the French from coming in the past? and has its culinary revival increased its appeal as a long-/short-term destination? Has your perception of British, French or other cuisine changed since living in London? Do you cook only or mainly French cuisine at home? Do you ever cook typically British dishes? What is your favourite London restaurant? In the April edition of *Ici Londres*, statistical findings state that more English people than French prepare food at home every night, and that they spend more time doing so – in your experience, is this the case? What are your thoughts on the statement? Is home-cooking and are mealtimes an important part of your day? Where do you typically eat lunch, what does it consist of and how long does it last? Do you generally eat your evening meal at home, and if you have a family do you eat together + at what time?

SPORT (LE SPORT)

24) Are you a sports fan? Do you support any teams? If so, are they French or local teams? Are you a member of any sports clubs / teams? Do you think sport plays an important role in London life? Is it perceived differently than in France? Have you become more or less patriotic (*vis-à-vis* France) when watching France play since you have been living in London? What are your thoughts on the 2012 Olympics?

HEALTH (LA SANTE)

25) How does the French / UK system compare (ideologically and in practice: free healthcare vs semi-private; organisation; quality of care; beds/ide manner; equipment; efficiency...)? If you were to fall ill, where would / do you go for care (why)? What can each system learn from the other?

EDUCATION (L’EDUCATION)

26) How does the French / UK system differ/compare (ideologically and in practice: state vs private; secularism; academic vs practical; class streaming according to

ability vs “redoublage”; creative thinking vs knowledge acquisition; quality of teaching; place for extra-curricular activities...)? Do your children attend a British, French or bilingual school? Why? In your opinion, which system / teaching approach is the best – why? What can each system learn from the other? Any thoughts on higher education / adult learning in London / France (the real value of qualifications + attitudes to tuition fees)?

WORK (TRAVAILLER A LONDRES)

- 27) How does the English workplace / work ethic differ from that of France? Hierarchical / relational differences? Equality (sexual / racial / physical)? Standards? Are you happier at work in London than in France – why (not)? Any thoughts on trade legislation / policy (e.g. taxation / childcare) in London / France? Unemployment?

POLITICS (LA POLITIQUE)

- 28) Are you more interested in French or British politics now that you are a London resident? Do you take an active role in local politics? Do you still vote for the Presidentials? Why? Have you taken up British citizenship so that you can vote in the UK General Elections? If not, do you resent not being able to vote in national elections, despite being an EU resident? Do you think policy should change in that respect? Do you think that Londoners are generally as politically engaged as people in France? Why is this; should they be? What are your thoughts on the recent general elections?

MEDIA (LES MEDIAS)

- 29) Do you subscribe to / read any French or British magazines/ newspapers? Do you watch British TV? How do you think that the French are portrayed in the media / in society? Do you ever feel unjustly ridiculed/targeted/praised as a French person by the English media? What are your thoughts on the role of the media here in comparison to in France?

CULTURE (LA CULTURE LONDONIENNE)

- 30) What are the things you appreciate most about London culture? Do regularly visit / take part in cultural events in London (e.g. theatre / concerts / exhibitions / museums)? How does the London arts and culture scene compare to that of Paris (other major French cities)? London has free museums, France has a highly subsidised cinematographic industry – both systems differ – in your opinion, which is best, why?

IDENTITY (L'IDENTITE)

- 31) Assimilation – generally, do you think that it is important for migrant communities to integrate into the host culture? With respect to yourself, to what extent do you wish to assimilate and to what extent do you wish to hold onto and pass on your

French identity (to progeny and host culture)?

- 32) Did you take part in France's recent National Debate on l'Identité nationale? Why / why not? What do you think of France's openness regarding sensitive issues such as national identity or the Islamic veil? How does it compare to society and policy here in London?
- 33) Have you ever felt unwelcome in London?
- 34) When you go back to France, do you feel at home there? More or less than in London? Do you feel that you are perceived differently by friends, family or acquaintances now that you live in London? If so, in what way (positive / negative)?
- 35) Do you feel that there is a "French community" in London? If yes, why and does it have a single specific location or are there pockets? Would you say that all French people living here are part of that "community" or only some of them? If "only some" which ones and why?
- 36) Do you consider yourself to be an active member of the French community here (do you go to French Wednesday nightclubs/French Institute café debates/are you a member of a French library/do you regularly go to see French films at Ciné Lumière/are you a member of any French churches, doctors' surgeries or associations, e.g. ...)? Why / why not?
- 37) Whom do you tend to socialise with in London? (Mainly other French people? British people? About equally with both? Or mainly with other nationalities? Why?)?
- 38) Do you feel you are a "migrant", an "immigrant" or an "expat"? What do you understand by these three terms?
- 39) If you have lived in London for a long time, do you feel you are a "Londoner"? How would you describe yourself as a Frenchman/Frenchwoman living in London?

LONDON IN A NUTSHELL (LONDRES EN UN MOT)

- 40) As a French person living in London, what contribution do you feel you have personally made to the host city's society / culture / arts / industry / business / education? What contribution has the French community made as a whole?
- 41) Describe your most memorable London experience or event.
- 42) Can you think of an object which epitomises London culture?
- 43) Could you take and send me a photograph that represents "your London"?
- 46) Who and where will you be ten years from now?

APPENDIX F – FOCUS GROUP WRITTEN QUESTIONNAIRE

LES FRANCAIS DE LONDRES
FOCUS GROUP
TUESDAY 30 NOVEMBER
16:50 – 18:10



1) Votre profil :

ÂGE _____

FILLE ou GARÇON _____

NOMBRE D'ANNÉES À LONDRES _____

ORIGINES _____

RAISON PRINCIPALE DE VOUS INSTALLER ICI _____

2) Donnez trois avantages et trois inconvénients de la vie à Londres :

AVANTAGES	INCONVÉNIENTS

3) Qu'est-ce que ces croissants / pâtisseries / baguettes évoquent pour vous ?

- _____
- _____
- _____

4) En allant de 1 à 10, jusqu'à quel point les définitions suivantes correspondent-elles à vos sentiments identitaires ? 1 = pas du tout, 10 = complètement

Je suis un(e) londonien(ne)

Je suis un(e) français(e) de/à Londres

Je suis un(e) migrant(e)

Je suis un(e) immigré(e)

Je suis un(e) Parisien(nne)
/ toulousain(e)/etc.

Je suis un expat

Je suis un(e) Africain(e)
/Antillais(e)/etc.

5)



“Home”, c'est à Londres ou ailleurs...?

6) Avez-vous un sentiment d'appartenance, si oui, à qui ou à quoi ?

7) « A Londres, il y a moins de mixité qu'à Paris » [entretien de recherche avec S. Huc-Hepher]

Vrai ou Faux ?

8) Entourez les moyens de communication dont vous vous servez pour rester en contact avec la famille ou les ami(e)s en France:



8a) Le(s)quel(s) utilisez-vous le plus souvent?

9) Combien de fois par an rentrez-vous en France, et par quel moyen (cochez les images ci-dessous) ? Nombre de fois : _____



10) « La langue est essentielle [pour l'identité], mais elle ne suffit pas. Les Québécois sont francophones mais ce ne sont pas des Français. Ce qui définit une nation c'est une culture. » [http://www.agoravox.fr/tribune-libre/article/1-identite-nationale-le-vrai-66446]

Je suis d'accord

Je ne suis pas d'accord

Je ne sais pas

11) Etes-vous supporter de France ou d'Angleterre lors de matchs de foot internationaux (entourez) ?



12) Etes-vous plutôt amateur de rap français ou de pop anglaise (notez les artistes ci-dessous de 1 à 20) ?



13) Etes-vous abonné(e) à un magazine, ou lisez-vous un magazine ou un journal de temps en temps, si oui le(s)quel(s) ? _____

14) L'enseignement : préférez-vous le système anglais ou français (entourez) ?



15) D'ici dix ans, je serai (complète la phrase) _____

16) Londres en un mot : _____

APPENDIX G – INITIAL PAPER SURVEY

Le projet :

Ce projet a pour but un **ouvrage collectif**, dirigé par Professor Debra Kelly, avec l'assistance de la chercheuse Saskia Huc-Hepher, (Department of Modern and Applied Languages, University of Westminster) et Professor Martyn Cornick (Department of French, University of Birmingham), qui sera consacré à une histoire continue de la présence française à Londres dans ses **dimensions historiques** (à titre d'exemple - l'arrivée des Huguenots; les exilés de la Commune et du Second Empire; les contributions multiples à la vie artistique, littéraire et culturelle au cours des siècles; les artisans français et le commerce; les multiples aspects de la France Libre,) **et contemporaines** (la période de l'après-guerre, post-Mai '68, contributions à la vie économique, sociale, culturelle des années 80, 90 et jusqu'à l'époque actuelle).

L'ouvrage se situera dans le cadre du travail du réseau de chercheurs "Culture F-B" (www.culturefb.org; le travail du groupe vise des aspects divers des rapports culturels franco-britanniques depuis le 19^{ème} siècle). Ce réseau a bénéficié du soutien de The Arts and Humanities Research Council Seminar Series Funding et a organisé plusieurs séminaires et colloques en France et en Grande Bretagne (par exemple, autour les centennaires de l'Entente Cordiale, et de L'Exposition franco-britannique à Londres ; sur les échanges culturels pendant les deux guerres mondiales et dans l'entre-deux-guerres).

La publication de cet ouvrage vise la date de 2012 pour coïncider avec les Jeux Olympiques à Londres.

Si vous avez quelques minutes de libre et vous voulez partager vos sentiments sur la vie londonienne, nous vous prions de remplir le questionnaire ci-dessous. Vous pouvez le faire de façon anonyme, mais si vous voulez en savoir plus, ou voudriez contribuer à la prochaine étape du projet (c'est à dire aux entretiens), veuillez laisser votre nom / courriel.

Nous vous prions de nous envoyer le questionnaire rempli par retour de courriel (S.V.Huc-Hepher@wmin.ac.uk ou saskiahepher@hotmail.com) **avant le 15 juin**. En vous remerciant d'avance !

Questionnaire

- 1) Quel âge avez-vous ?

- 2) Etes-vous un homme ou une femme ?

- 3) Depuis combien de temps vivez-vous à Londres ?

- 4) Pourquoi avez-vous choisi de venir à Londres ?

- 5) Avez-vous travaillé / voyagé dans d'autres régions de la Grande Bretagne (si oui, comment les avez-vous trouvés par rapport à Londres) ?

- 6) Où viviez-vous en France (ou ailleurs) avant de venir à Londres ?
- 7) Que faisiez-vous en France avant de venir à Londres ?
- 8) Combien de temps comptiez-vous et comptez-vous rester ici ?
- 9) Combien de temps êtes-vous réellement resté(e) ?
- 10) Avec quelle fréquence rentrez-vous en France ? Quelles sont vos raisons pour rentrer ?
- 11) Où habitez-vous à Londres et pourquoi ?
- 12) Quel est votre diplôme le plus élevé ?
- 13) Dans quel secteur travaillez-vous ? Est-ce le même domaine que lorsque vous habitiez en France ?
- 14) Maintenez-vous des rapports sociaux / amicaux avec d'autres Français/Britanniques/d'autres nationalités à Londres ? Si oui, pourquoi ? Dans le cas contraire, quelles sont vos raisons ? (pour chacune des nationalités)
- 15) De quelle nationalité est votre partenaire (si vous en avez un/e) ?
- 16) Avez-vous des enfants ici à Londres ? Si oui, à quelle sorte d'école sont-ils inscrits ? Quelle est la raison de ce choix ?
- 17) Tentez-vous de transmettre une identité française à vos enfants ? Si oui, comment et pourquoi ? Si non, pour quelles raisons ?
- 18) Avez-vous le sentiment qu'il existe une « communauté » française à Londres ? Si oui, pourquoi, et où se trouve-t-elle ?
- 19) Existe-t-il des endroits que vous considérez comme « français » à Londres ? Si oui, où se trouvent-ils, et que sont-ils ?
- 20) Utilisez-vous des « services » français à Londres, (magasins, églises, l'Institut Français...) ? Si oui, où se trouvent-ils, et que sont-ils ?

21) Si vous habitez à Londres depuis longtemps, avez-vous le sentiment d'être londonien(ne) ?

22) Avez-vous le sentiment d'être un(e) migrant(e) ou un(e) immigré(e) ? (Qu'est-ce que vous comprenez par ces deux termes ?)

23) Comment vous décririez-vous en tant qu'individu français habitant à Londres ?

24) Avez-vous d'autres commentaires ou témoignages à rajouter ? Si oui, lesquels ?

APPENDIX H – LFSC PRE-PERMISSION EMAIL TO WEBSITE OWNERS

SUJET : Site sélectionné pour une archive des Français de Londres

Bonjour,

Je suis enseignante-chercheuse à l'Université de Westminster, et actuellement je réalise une enquête sur la présence française à Londres. Dans le cadre de ce projet, et avec la collaboration de la British Library, nous avons sélectionné votre site Internet pour faire partie d'une archive virtuelle : the UK Web Archive.

Si vous acceptez de figurer dans cette archive numérisée, vous aurez un classement durable et régulièrement renouvelé de votre site au sein d'une des institutions les plus prestigieuses du Royaume Uni, la British Library. Votre présence éphémère en ligne, sera de la sorte concrétisée pour les générations à venir, pour la postérité des Français de Londres.

La British Library vous contactera d'ici peu pour vous demander la permission de façon plus officielle. Si vous souhaitez voir votre site sur la liste des sites "London French", il est impératif de donner votre accord. Il faudrait noter également que cet accord donnerait la possibilité aux chercheurs d'étudier votre site dans le contexte de leur travail de recherche.

En attendant le mail officiel qui demande votre permission, je vous prie de bien vouloir considérer cette proposition qui est entièrement gratuite et sans démarche à faire de votre part, hormis l'accord. Je vous remercie par avance.

Bien cordialement,

Saskia Huc-Hepher

PS – Pour une meilleure idée de ce dont il s'agit, cliquez sur ce lien :
<http://www.webarchive.org.uk/ukwa/collection/>

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Email: S.V.Huc-Hepher@westminster.ac.uk

APPENDIX I – FOCUS GROUP PARENTAL INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENTS



RESEARCH PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET

The London French: A Temporal and Spatial Mapping of the French Presence in the British Capital from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day

Researcher: Saskia Huc-Hepher BA, MA, AIL

Project Leader: Professor Debra Kelly & Professor Martyn Cornick

Your child is being invited to take part in a research study on the French and Francophone community currently living in London. The findings from the study are to be published in a chapter of a collective book mapping out and analysing the French presence in London from both a historical and contemporary perspective. This study will focus on the contemporary population and will therefore involve interviewing and examining the responses of different groups of the French-speaking population here at present. As London is now regarded as France's sixth largest city in terms of population, the aim of the research is to have a better understanding of the participants' impressions of London life in relation to where they come from originally, to see if living in London has had an effect on their own identity, to ascertain the contribution this population has made to the capital and to discover why so many French-speakers are choosing London as their home. We are interested in the personal (hi)stories of the participants, as well as their opinions and feelings on various themes including:

- Heritage/past
- Everyday life
- Technology and innovation
- Language
- Food
- Sport
- Work
- Politics
- Media
- Culture
- Identity

The study will involve:

- 1) You and your child reading and signing the consent form (attached)
- 2) Your child participating anonymously in a focus group led by me. This will take place on Tuesday 30th November at 16:50 on school premises. It will last about 1 hour 20 minutes and will be recorded (audio only). It may be conducted in French and/or English.

Please note:

- Participation is entirely voluntary.
- You have the right to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

- You have the right to ask for your data to be withdrawn as long as this is practical, and for personal information to be destroyed.
- You do not have to answer particular questions during the focus group if you do not wish to.
- Your responses will be confidential. No individuals will be identifiable from any collated data, written report of the research, or any publications arising from it.
- All personal data will be anonymous and kept in a locked cupboard on University premises.
- If you wish you can receive information on the results of the research.
- The researcher can be contacted after participation by email (S.V.Huc-Hepher@wmin.ac.uk) or by telephone (0207 911 5000 ext 2049).
- Si vous souhaitez recevoir une version française de ce document, veuillez vous adresser à la chercheuse via le mail ci-dessus.

CONSENT FORM

Title of Study:

Investigation into the current French and Francophone community living in London in the framework of the projected publication entitled *The London French: A Temporal and Spatial Mapping of the French Presence in the British Capital from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*

Project Leaders: Professor Debra Kelly (University of Westminster) & Professor Martyn Cornick (University of Birmingham)

Project Researcher: Saskia Huc-Hepher BA, MA, AIL (University of Westminster)

I have read the information in the Research Participation Information Sheet, and I am willing for my child to act as a participant in the above research study.

Name of Parent/Guardian: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I have read the information in the Research Participation Information Sheet, and I am willing to act as a participant in the above research study.

Name of Student: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

This consent form will be stored separately from any data you provide so that your responses remain anonymous.

I have provided an appropriate explanation of the study to the participant

Researcher Signature _____

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