Parachuted into the Périgord: Media representations of British migrants in south-west France

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Abstract

This paper forms part of a wider study of migrant identity within the context of British lifestyle migration to south-west France. The aim is to situate the research within its wider social context by examining media representations of British migration to France. Extracts from selected media discourse are analysed using elements from the Appraisal framework and from van Leeuwen's Social Actor framework.

Results show a pattern of negative assumptions, with clear demarcation between in- and out-group as newer arrivals are constructed linguistically as a vague mass entity that is a threat to the established residents. These results suggest that lifestyle migration to France has undergone recontextualisation in the promotion of particular ideologies based on social differentiation, with some types of migrant behaviour presented as more acceptable than others. These generalised perspectives will be taken into account when exploring how identity is constructed within local migrant discourse. Bourdieu's concept of habitus is discussed as a way of understanding these distinctions.

1. Introduction

This paper forms part of a doctoral study of British lifestyle migration to south-west France. The main objective of the study is to investigate the "alternative identity" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009) offered by migration to British settlers in the Ariège département of the Midi-Pyrénées; how they not only self-identify as individuals and claim their position within society, but also how they attempt to position themselves and others within the British community. The study develops the existing sociological

research on lifestyle migration as well as extending current literature on migrant identity as its main focus is upon intra-group identity rather than cross-cultural adaptation. Data has been gathered from interviews and from a former online forum for English-speaking migrants in the Ariège. However, since the local context does not exist in isolation, it is necessary to situate the study within its wider social context. This paper examines a third dataset of media discourse, in order to take a perspective beyond the local/interactional. By broadening the focus to the wider practice of lifestyle migration, we may speculate on the nature of the interactions between local and global discourse (van Dijk, 1997). Other studies of online migrant discourse have shown a reflection of global arguments (Del-Teso-Craviotto, 2009) and it is pertinent to seek insights into how such groups are represented in the media before searching for how such representations are produced locally.

2. Background to the study

The phenomenon of 'lifestyle migration' is conceptualised as a deliberate and often escapist route towards a better or more fulfilling life (O'Reilly & Benson, 2009). Although there is often a need to generate an income in the new life, this is not the impetus behind the decision to migrate, which makes it distinct from economic or labour migration. With a variety of destinations and influencing push/pull factors, it is clear that the concept evades generalisation apart from an underlying "common narrative" of a search for a better quality of life (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). There are associated material advantages, such as lower property prices and warmer climate, as well as less easily measurable benefits such as a less stressful pace of life and a safer environment (Torkington, 2010). Among the common themes emerging from recent studies of British lifestyle migration to France is that of a rural orientation in the search for an idealised lifestyle that is nevertheless more concerned with "consuming the countryside, rather than earning a living from it" (Buller & Hoggart, 1994, p.200). According to Benson (2011: 37), such consumption is guided by "middle class aesthetic and ecological considerations" when seeking the traditional properties, locally produced food and wine and the slower pace of life that are associated with rural France.

For what reasons did you move to this part of France?
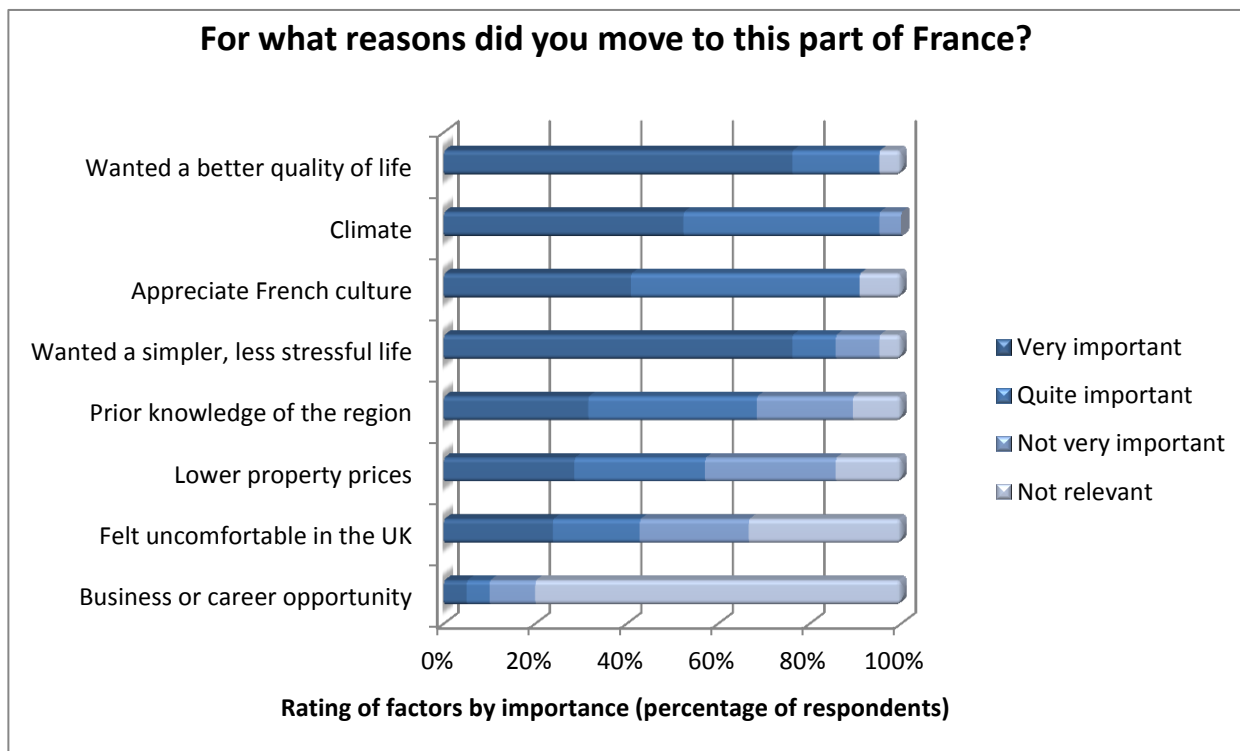
Figure 1: Questionnaire results showing the relative importance of factors influencing migration.

These common narratives are visible among the participants of my own study. In a questionnaire completed by 21 members of the online forum in 2010, lifestyle factors including quality of life and climate were cited as being of the highest importance in the decision to migrate to this département (see Figure 1), an observation echoed by Torkington (2010) in a profiling study of lifestyle migration to the Algarve. By citing factors associated with culture and lifestyle rather than economics, participants appear keen to express their own initiative in actively seeking an improved lifestyle within a distinct culture.

In contrast, more specific pull factors such as prior knowledge of the region were rated as less important. One might expect the relative unimportance of familiarity with the Ariège to be balanced by more significance given to the price of property, as the Ariège is popularly regarded as having relatively affordable property. Average prices shown on French property websites in November 2011 suggested 1556 per m² for the Ariège, compared with neighbouring départements of Aude (1958 m²), Haute-Pyrenees (1637 m²) and Pyrenees-Orientales (2617 per m²) (Immobilier.com). However, only a quarter

of respondents rated affordability as very important. As this paper will demonstrate, lifestyle migration to France is subject to negative stereotyping – the 'Brit' whose decision to migrate is led by property prices rather than appreciation or knowledge – which raises the question of whether migrants are aware of such stereotypes and deliberately avoid alignment with them.

3. Identity in lifestyle migration

In Benson's (2011) study of British migration to the Lot, migrants' lives were said to be characterised by ambivalence derived from tensions between romantic accounts that matched expectations of the new life, and how that life was actually experienced. This is supported by my own observations from the online forum; member postings illustrate how, for those with limited knowledge of the language, local area and way of life, the reality of living in France may prove challenging as there are frequent requests for help with finding English-speaking services as well as everyday matters such as where to buy furniture and wood fuel. We can thus see the potential for a degree of marginalisation; O'Reilly and Benson (2009) suggest that, far from escaping the structural differences of life before migration, the new life may in some cases reproduce inequalities.

Distinctions may be made on multiple levels: by migrants stressing their own agency or 'adventurousness', by using stereotypes, by emphasising the uniqueness of destinations, and by distinguishing between migrants and those who remain in the UK.

On the one hand, we can see a degree of 'agency', or active involvement in shaping one's own experience, as part of an 'individualising modernity' (Giddens, 1991) that drives our self-realising projects. Indeed, in Giddens' view of lifestyle as a set of practices that 'give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity' (*ibid* 81), we can see that what migrants choose to do in the new life is a reflection of their decisions of who to be and how to live. This is enabled by the popularity of migration as a consumer practice, seen in the marketing of foreign property amid images of 'lifestyle' (*French Property News*), and television programmes such as *A Place in the Sun* that follow prospective emigrants in searching for a property that can offer them a 'better way of life'. These interpretations of what constitutes a better lifestyle are the 'visible role models' that help reify the narrative of self-identity (Giddens, 1991: 81).

Alongside these promotions lie the structural conditions that Giddens (1991) argues make it possible for the individual to make 'internally referenced' decisions within the reflexive project of the self. These include the weakening of anchors to external ties such as family, as well as opportunities for more remote working practices such as renting out property or digital working. Add to this the relative ease of migration within the EU, plus the recent property boom in the UK in which many homeowners found themselves with collateral in property, and we can see the role played by the social environment as it is reflexively utilised and interpreted by migrants who attempt to gain a sense of control over their lives.

On the other hand, some recent studies (O'Reilly & Benson, 2009; Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010) have argued that social structures may also constrain the search for a more distinctive way of life. They look to Bourdieu's (1990) theories of *habitus*, or unconscious disposition based on past experience, as a relevant concept for understanding how more internalised aspects such as experience, expectations and aspirations can form a bridge between social structures and individual agency (Jenkins, 1996). Lifestyle, as a product of habitus, becomes a system of distinctive signs or tastes that are socially qualified (Bourdieu, 1984: 170) and these may be more dynamic in a context such as lifestyle migration where social identity will be more fluid. Indeed, the very act of claiming "appreciation of French culture" as an important reason to migrate is an attempt to transform a more British habitus. Bourdieu's concepts of social, cultural and symbolic forms of capital offer a way of understanding such distinctions in a context where economic capital may be less relevant. *Social capital,* such as resources based on group membership, may include one's ability to participate in different social contexts, such as French activities and English speaking networks. *Cultural capital* corresponds to knowledge and skills, such as competence in French or sympathetic restoration of property. *Symbolic* capital, likened to "a reputation for competence" (Bourdieu, 1984: 291), may derive from being "notable" for one's ability to integrate. This is exemplified by Benson's participants who qualify their chosen lifestyle as distinctive from that of others, distinguishing between those who claim knowledge of *how to live* in rural France compared with others who are seen to merely *consume* French life (2010). The enduring nature of habitus and associated forms of social and cultural capital has led to migrants assessing the extent to which they have

exceeded the accomplishments of the other expats in integration and appreciation of French life, in contrast to those who are consumption-led in the search for property.

My research is primarily interested in how such distinctions are expressed in discourse, and how this particular context is situated within the macro perspective of global attitudes towards lifestyle migration. Identity is considered beyond a private view of the self as the concept of 'lifestyle' cannot be viewed in isolation as merely part of the migrant's self-identification. Lifestyle migration is a response to global developments that offer the freedom to change one's life through the means and the knowledge of alternative ways of life. The collectivity of social identity is therefore relevant when considering the social context of lifestyle migration. Social identity can be further differentiated into the separate yet simultaneous facets of *group identity* and *social categorisation* (Jenkins, 1996). Jenkins defines group identity as an internal definition of which its members are conscious (for example 'British'). In contrast, social categorisation is an external definition whereby we define ourselves and others as belonging to different social categories that are not consciously defined as such by their members, such as migrants who are categorised as newcomers.

As the literature and my own pilot studies have shown, social categorisation is clearly present in migrants' narratives and in the forum postings, where members sometimes take a stance against the "flood of expats" and those who "do not know anything about the country or language" (examples posted on the online forum in 2007). Media representations of migration to France help form the social context that informs and influences how local discourse, such as online communication, is produced and interpreted. It will be possible to consider whether local distinctions are embedded within wider stereotypes and socially shared attitudes.

4. Data

While a full corpus investigation of media representations of British migrants in France is outside the scope of this study, an overview of common themes will give an indication of how the British in France are routinely presented. An initial search of the *LexisNexis* publication database in September 2010, using the search criteria *Brits* or *British in France,* yielded thirty-eight articles, mostly from broadsheets, and comprising lifestyle

articles or columns rather than news. Some authors were regular columnists, living in France themselves, who were therefore presenting their observations from an insider's point of view. Each article was read and those that included negative evaluations of British migrants were noted, reducing the number of articles to ten. These ten articles were then read in depth to identify specific examples of negativity towards 'other' British migrants, and these were found to broadly correspond to two common themes: the first representing migrants as sticking to British communities and ways of life, with the second portraying the British migrant as ignorantly following a 'dream', or property bandwagon, with little idea of what they are buying into. Although these excerpts are decontextualised, the aim of this study is to pick out negative evaluations within the media and to see whether a pattern could be determined.

Finally, one article by John Lichfield (2004), "Our man in Normandy", in *The Independent* was selected for its overall focus on the negative consequences of the "new" British invasion, including reference to an out-group within the title (*Find a rustic retreat away from other Brits*). Lichfield describes the towns of the south-west where English is "the most commonly heard language in the Saturday street market", and he contrasts this with his own observations in Normandy, where the lower concentrations of British incomers are not only "welcome, but prized". According to van Leeuwen, (2008, p. 20) texts not only represent social practices but also "explain and legitimate" (or critique) them. It therefore becomes apparent that Lichfield is simultaneously criticising one type of mass migration while also legitimating other variations of this practice, as exemplified by his own, by describing it as welcomed "by small villages and towns which are struggling to survive".

This text therefore offers an example of how lifestyle migration as social practice is recontextualised (van Leeuwen, 2008) into one with an inherent ideology, by which I refer to a framework of values that are shared by a social group (van Dijk, 1990). Such ideological values may underpin the maintenance of social power in the sense that one kind of lifestyle migration is portrayed as more acceptable, or legitimate, than another. Two extracts from the 693-word article were selected for analysis for their reference to both in-group and out-group social actors.

5. Methodology

In order to gain an overview of explicitly negative evaluations within the media and to see whether a pattern could be determined, the evaluative sections of the eight articles were analysed for judgemental language. Analysis of attitudinal meaning is rooted within the Appraisal framework outlined by White (2006) and it analyses the linguistic strategies by which texts activate such assessments. I have selected the sub-system of Attitude and its category of *Judgement* as an appropriate methodology for giving an overview of evaluations made with reference to the culturally-determined value systems conveyed by the writers of these texts.

For a more in-depth analysis of an extract, van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actors framework was selected to examine how social actors and their actions are constructed within one media extract. This framework is particularly relevant for the analysis of collective identity representations in the form of both group identity and social categorisation. The framework brings together a number of linguistic systems within what van Leeuwen refers to as *recontextualisation*, seen here in the sense of how a media text focuses on one aspect of an event and adds evaluation according to the goals of the writer, so it becomes transformed or *recontextualised*. Of the transformation types, the two most relevant to this extract are:

- Rearrangements, seen where grammatical choices such as transitivity can represent social actors and their actions with either an active or passive role.
- Substitutions, whereby elements of the actual social practice are substituted with other elements that give different meanings; for example, the differentiation of social actors.
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6. Analysis and discussion

6.1 Using the Appraisal framework

Within the Appraisal system, the semantic domain of *Judgement* encompasses evaluation of human behaviour with reference not only to rules, but also to the social expectations that are determined by cultural and ideological values (White, 2002). The

most obvious evaluations are those that are explicitly presented using **attitudinal inscription**, as seen in this criticism of migrant competence where the British migrant is portrayed as ignorantly following a 'dream' with little idea of what they are buying into (the lexical item carrying the judgement is underlined):

"We are talking about the person who buys into a <u>halfbaked</u> dream without realising that

no one can live a dream for ever." (Tominey, 2005), *The Express*.

The extracts also illustrate some interesting use of inscription using lexis that carries a positive/negative sense even when removed from its current context, as seen in the use of 'branded as' below.

"a friend admitted that when she bought an expatriate newspaper at the local supermarket she hid it under other purchases because she felt it <u>branded</u> her as belonging to the "British ghetto"." (Streeter, 2009), *The Independent.*

Most noticeable in these extracts, however, is the frequent occurrence of the word "ghetto", a subjective category of settlement traditionally used to describe isolated minorities forced into particular areas. The choice of "ghetto", rather than, say, "enclave", is therefore unexpected when describing the relatively affluent British migrant who has chosen to follow a 'dream' of a better way of life.

"They form <u>ghettos</u> and buy isolated properties. It's a bit like the Raj." (Thomas, 2007), *The Times.*

"The Best of British group as I call them live in British <u>ghettos</u>, surrounded by British mates, playing golf and bridge, and discussing where you can buy the cheapest Marmite in the area." (Frith Powell, 2006) *The Sunday Times.*

"None of them speaks French. They stay in their <u>ghettoes</u>, just like Arabs in the city suburbs.'' (attributed to a local resident). (Peregrine, 2007), *The Daily Telegraph.*

"Some French are complaining that the British live in <u>ghettos</u>, overload the health service and dodge the French tax system." (Loos, 2005), *The Daily Telegraph.*

"For the deeply rural French, the immigration is insensitive and offensive, and

some liken the British to the Algerians, gathering in <u>ghettoes</u> in the city suburbs." (Reid, 2007) *The Times.*

It is interesting that little explicit description of the British communities is given to justify the use of the word "ghetto", and the authors therefore position themselves as reflecting a generally accepted world view, often quoted from others, that the British isolate themselves in English-speaking communities. Such references present the evaluation as more factual, or 'given', than if the writers had described the settlements as "like ghettos". By presenting the *British ghettos* as an accepted fact, the reader is not positioned to make a decision as to whether they agree with the label; as White suggests (2004), the reader's acceptance is assumed and the writer's subjectivity is concealed.

A less direct evaluation can be carried using ***attitudinal tokens***. White argues that these are the most manipulative and coercive meanings, as the reader is positioned to interpret them according to some underlying value systems or sociocultural norms (White, 2004). In the example below from The Times, Roche (2004) makes a generalised observation of British behaviour that is outwardly factual in its description of the Brits as limited in their capacity for adventure. Nevertheless, the very act of commenting on such behaviour and generalising the details evokes a particular viewpoint that seems to arise naturally from the stated 'facts': that continuing to behave in an unadventurous British manner is somehow not appropriate within the context of lifestyle migration.

> *"But the adventurous spirit of the Brits in France has its limit. They really want to rebuild on the other side of the Channel the same life they have in England. They listen to the BBC, make sausages and mash and drink too much wine."* (Roche, 2004), *The Times.*

Slightly different are what White (2006) terms ***attitudinal provocations***, which may be triggered by mechanisms such as comparison and metaphor, both of which are common strategies across these extracts. The example below, a quote from a British estate agent working in France for twenty years, brings in a cited comparison to provoke the reader to pass judgement based on an ideological value of how lifestyle migration should be:

> *"The original immigrants came because they really loved France," she says. "Those that come now are here to take advantage of the better style of living and they don't mind whether it is France, Spain or Italy - they simply want a detached house with their own grounds. They come to France because they have seen it on a TV programme. And among them are those who don't want to become part of the French community."* (Loos, 2005), *The Daily Telegraph.*

This apparently factual description forms the basis of the writer's justification to compare the "original immigrants" with those who come to "take advantage". The comparison avoids the use of explicitly negative lexis and instead provokes the reader to interpret the cited behaviour as either valued or inappropriate according to cultural conditioning. Linking this back to Bourdieu's types of capital, the original migrants are portrayed as possessing cultural capital (knowledge) and symbolic capital (integration), whereas the more recent arrivals are represented as in possession of economic capital only.

Other attitudinal provocations include metaphorical language, such as "invasion" and "flood", used here to provoke the reader to make judgement of the recent phenomenon. In the examples below, migration is conceptualised as a flood or invasion in which the British settlers are treated as one mass noun rather than individuals, and consequently assuming a greater and more damaging force:

> *"According to Mike Norman, of estate agency Nord Charente Homes, over the past five years the British have arrived in "a <u>flood</u> that just hasn't stopped."* (Loos, 2005), *The Daily Telegraph.*
> *"The British <u>invasion</u> had started.*" (Duke, 2006), *The Times.*

Overall the analysis suggests that there is a *pattern* of negative assumptions across these extracts. The attitudes embedded within the above examples appear to broadly correspond to the distinctions made by the more established migrants of Benson's study, and they may correspond to what van Dijk (1997) refers to as a link between micro and macro, as migrants such as those identified by Benson may be disassociating from these stereotypes, using discourse to represent themselves as not only distinct from the newcomers, but also as members of a divergent (established) group. As the

existence of "British ghettos" and generalised behaviour is reproduced through these representations, at the same time it normalises and legitimises the ideologies of a social group (van Dijk, 1990). Members who are aware of such ideologies may therefore construct a position of identity in relation to the inherent value system.

6.2 Using the Social Actor framework

The Social Actor framework (van Leeuwen, 2008) was selected to carry out a more detailed analysis of how the British themselves and their actions are constructed in one particular text. Two sections were chosen for their specific ingroup and outgroup references:

> *"In many cases it is the longer-established British residents who feel most threatened by the "new" British invasion of "Dordogneshire" and its borders. Until, say, five years ago, almost all of the British incomers were seeking holiday or retirement homes. There is now a wave of younger British migrants to the French south-west who want to escape the congestion at home.*

> *Personally, I have some sympathy with long-standing British residents who are uncomfortable at the thought of being swamped by other Britons. In most cases, the older residents say, they chose to live in France because they loved France and the rural French way of life. They did not want a slice of the home counties parachuted into the Périgord."*

> *By John Lichfield, The Independent, January 14, 2004*

6.3 Grammatical rearrangements

The Social Actor framework considers role allocation as an aspect of social actor representation. In Figure 2 below, we can see that Lichfield endows the established migrants with both active and passive roles as a means of positive representation. Activation of the established migrants occurs in their actions as the dynamic forces in an activity, mainly in processes where their intellectual actions are foregrounded, such as making decisions based on cultural appreciation (*chose, loved*). They are also given a voice (*say*), unlike the new arrivals. However, reactions also play a significant role in

the representation of established migrants, as they are represented as reacting emotively to the newer influx. Although their reactions are activated using active verbs, they are given passive roles using circumstantialisation (*by the "new" British invasion; swamped by other Britons*). In this way their reactions are foregrounded in grammatical formations that construct a passive role for the older migrants.

Social actors	• *longer-established British residents* • *long-standing British residents* • *British incomers* • *the older residents*
Activation: actions	• *seeking holiday or retirement homes* • *the older residents say* • *they chose to live in France* • *they loved France and the rural French way of life* • *They did not want*
Activation: reactions	• *Feel most threatened by the "new" British invasion* • *are uncomfortable* • *being swamped by other Britons*

Figure 2: Activation of social actors (established migrants)

In contrast, the reactions of the newer migrants are not represented; they are the provokers, not provoked. However, as Figure 3 reveals, the invasion of the younger migrants is not shown as a particularly dynamic process. Although these recent migrants are activated in relation to 'threatening' and 'swamping', they are de-emphasised in the passive clause, including an interesting passivation using *parachuted into,* as if the recent migrants are being dropped in by some outside force rather than as a result of their own agency.

Social actors	• *the "new" British invasion of "Dordogneshire*
	• *a wave of younger British migrants*
	• *other Britons*
	• *a slice of the home counties*
Activation: actions	• *want to escape the congestion at home*
	• *threatened by (activated in relation to 'threatening')*
	• *swamped by (activated in relation to 'swamping')*
	• *parachuted into the Périgord*

Figure 3: Activation of social actors (recent migrants)

## 6.4 Substitution of elements

By analysing the linguistic elements of *determination* we can examine how the identity of social actors is represented (see Figure 4 below). The sub-categories of determination include *categorisation*, which corresponds to Jenkins' *group identities,* where in- and out-group representation is defined by more tangible and recognisable categories of *identification, functionalisation* and *classification*. Figure 4 shows functionalisation in the interesting use of "migrants" to categorise the newer arrivals in comparison with the long-standing "residents", which reflects a more permanent activity.

Van Leeuwen's *differentiation*, where differences between individuals or groups are explicitly shown between "us" and "them" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 40) corresponds to Jenkins' less easily definable *social categorisation,* and can be seen in Lichfield's explicit reference to the "other" as distinct from the long-standing migrants, as well as "established" against "new", and the generalised "younger" versus "older".
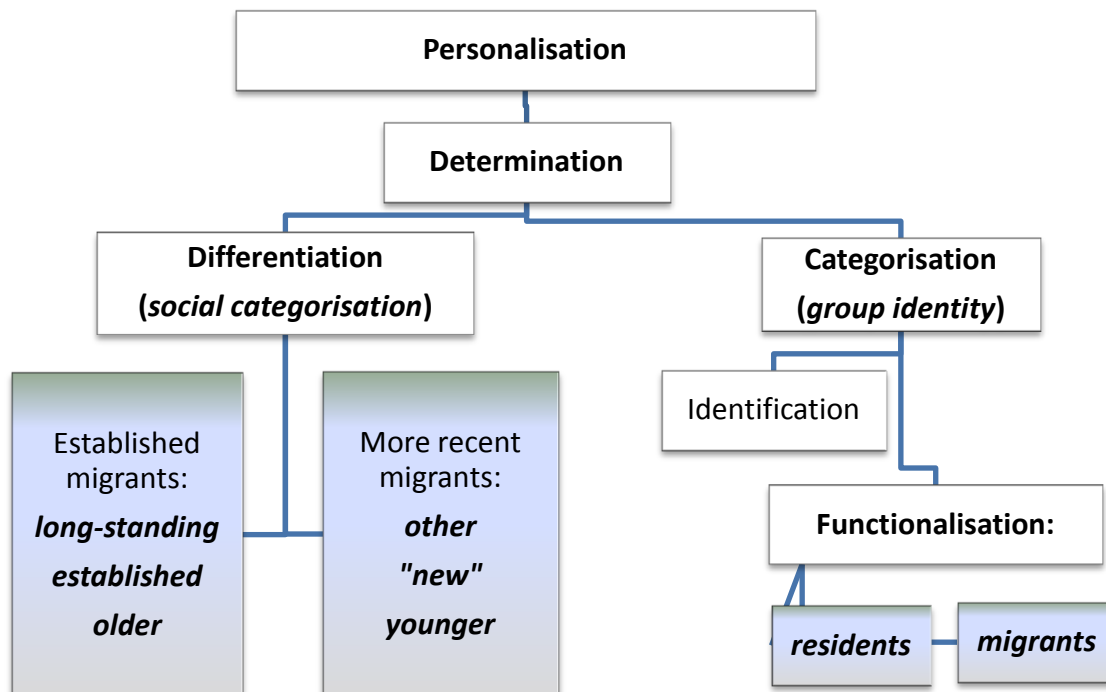
Figure 4: Determination: how identity is specified in the Social Actor framework (after van Leeuwen 2008).

The above strategies are those of personalisation; however, more abstract impersonalisation may also be used to assign a quality, using *abstraction*, or by reference to a place or thing associated with them, which van Leeuwen terms *objectivation.* In these extracts, impersonalisation lends strength to the recent migration and its effect by representing it as a mass force, reinforcing the non-dynamic representations discussed in the previous section as the individual identity of these settlers is made obscure:
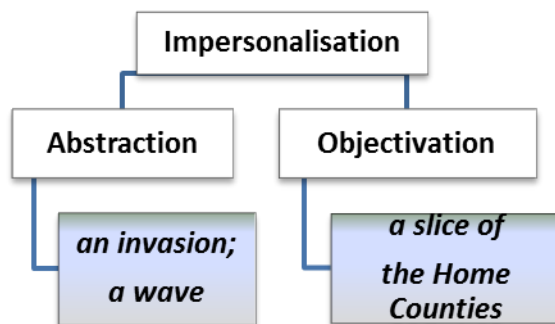
Figure 5: Analysis of Impersonalisation using the Social Actor framework (after van Leeuwen 2008).

The Social Actor framework makes explicit the contrast between the generalised phenomenon of recent migrants, whose only active participation is represented as a desire to escape, and the older migrants who made individual decisions based on appreciation of France and its culture. The in-group of established migrants, whose intellectual processes are foregrounded in their decisions to move to France, are represented as on the receiving end of a 'threat' from the out-group of newer arrivals. The latter are constructed as a vague force, pushed out of the UK and 'dropped' en masse into France.

7. Conclusion

Discourse is the resource through which the social practice of lifestyle migration is represented. This paper has demonstrated the value of situating a local study within its wider social context by examining media discourse. The analysis has demonstrated how writers who participate in lifestyle migration also recontextualise it to promote particular ideologies based on social categorisations. Many texts rely on the reader to apply sociocultural norms of some kind in order to make a negative judgement of British migrants who choose France for its consumable resources, and who live within the confines of British communities.

While the phenomenon does not exhibit the explicit issues of social injustice that we see in contexts of power and discrimination, this is nevertheless an example of discourse used to construct a social reality that discriminates through judgement and

stereotyping. It will be interesting to investigate how far such beliefs permeate local discourse among the migrants themselves, particularly in the construction of identity, to forge distinction within local communities. If so it may represent local reification of the ideologies seen within these media extracts.

Nevertheless, the question remains of how we can ascertain the role of media texts in the promotion of global beliefs that permeate local discourse. While there is occasional evidence of such distinction within online discourse, our interpretations of a text depend on whether we recognise, and agree with, the implicit value systems (2003). It is not unreasonable to propose that, by defining social identities within a value system that includes stereotyping, the social categorisation seen within the media encourages migrants who are aware of it to define their own position and identity in relation to this value system. Van Dijk (1990) has suggested that social representations such as stereotypes can influence information processing, arguing that cognitive processes will favour the easier application of stereotypes that are more easily recalled and applied than alternatives. In this way, an established member of the online forum may focus on the micro details of a new member's contribution if it is consistent with the stereotype, particularly if it allows them an opportunity to emphasise their own positive self-identity in a critical response.

It is also pertinent to consider the consequences of social categorisation on those represented in this way, even if they are not aware of the categorising. We can follow Fairclough's (2003) suggestion to examine participant interests and potential causal effects that such attitudes may have in areas of social life. Firstly, the established migrants may well have an interest in the status quo if they feel that, as established British settlers, they may be unfavourably associated with more recent arrivals. Furthermore, as more settlers arrive, there is a corresponding increase in competition for employment, for attracting guests to tourist accommodation[33] and for property to buy/renovate. In addition, if people frequently read or hear negative portrayals about British migrants in France, this could lead to a significantly negative effect on self-identification, as well as providing justification for those who claim distinction from such groups. It is possible that one's self-belief based on achieving a 'better way of life'

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[33] Many British migrants set up businesses such as guest houses or *gites*.

will be affected if one's social group undergoes routine representation as ignorant followers of the latest property hotspot and unwilling or unable to integrate, or even that they have less right to be in France than those who came before.

Finally, more work remains to be done to investigate exactly what kinds of ideologies are being transmitted here, and the underlying reasons for them. Although lifestyle migration carries associations of individual agency and new opportunities, the enduring nature of habitus may influence migrants to qualify their chosen lifestyle in terms of the particular forms of social or cultural capital that are associated with an acceptable or legitimate manner of lifestyle migration to France. If "habitus causes practices…to be immediately intelligible and foreseeable" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 58) to those who share its dispositions, then such attempts at claiming distinction can be seen as the "conscious reference to a norm" (*ibid, p.* 58) that is only necessary when the homogeneity of *habitus* is disturbed.

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