Migration, Settlement, Community and Identity: The Case of the British in Paris.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the British expatriate population in Paris and the surrounding region of Ile-de-France. It looks at the four inter-related issues of skilled migration, high-status residential settlement, community interaction and migrant identity. The approach is a holistic one. Mixed methods are used within a realist framework to first examine the overall British presence in the region, and having provided a statistical overview, ethnographic and interview material is used to explore a number of areas in greater depth.

This second more intensive research phase accounts for the majority of the thesis, and five constituent arguments guide analysis:

1) Skilled world city migration is complex and can only be explained through reference to various levels of decision-making, involving the firm, household and individual.

2) Different types of expatriates move overseas as a result of this decision-making dynamic, and it ensures that the British community in Ile-de-France is a heterogeneous one. Six broad categories of expatriate are, however, identifiable, reflecting systematic differences in motive for migration, commitment to France, family status and gender roles/norms.

3) There is a distinct geography of settlement, with many of the elite professional and managerial migrants opting to rent or buy in the prestigious suburban districts to the west of the city. This socio-geographic skew is largely a function of class position and immigrant status.

4) Expatriate civil society is diverse and multi-faceted, reflecting the different British 'tribes' living and working in Ile-de-France. Furthermore, alongside involvement in community organisations and informal social networks, expatriates maintain a continual dialogue with the UK via an array of transnational socio-cultural links. Together, this communal interaction and individual transnational behaviour are what make the British distinct. In other words, they are more visible in terms of what they do than where they live.

5) Finally, mobility is shown to confuse and unsettle in an abstract and psychological sense. Ambiguity develops with respect to place-based allegiance, and expatriate identities evolve and coalesce to reflect the interplay of home and host country.

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CHAPTER 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Over recent decades international mobility has played an increasing role in the everyday lives of large numbers of developed world citizens. In the European Union, for example, approximately 5.5 million nationals currently live outside their home country (Salt *et al.*, 2000)[1]. Similarly, recent OECD figures show that skilled migration "rose considerably during the 1990s" (OECD, 2002, p. 7), yet beyond the data little seems to be known about the ethno-national groups involved or their immigrant lifestyles. This study intends to address this lacuna, focusing specifically upon city-based, working-age mobility taking place between the UK and France.

Paris provides the urban backdrop for the investigation[2], with its sizeable British community the focus for empirical research. Initially, the migratory processes and patterns that surround the expatriate presence in the city will be examined, along with the diverse residential outcomes emanating from this[3]. In addition, international mobility will be conceived as fluid and ongoing, its influence on the everyday lives of expatriates continuing long after the initial acts of migration and settlement have passed.

This conceptualisation of mobility marks an important departure from the norm within population geography. Traditionally, scholars have tended to look at the questions of why people move, how they do so, who is involved and where it is they move to. As a consequence, the complex worlds beyond the 'neat' physical acts of migration and settlement have often been ignored. Acutely aware of this, the study places great analytical emphasis on the everyday action/interaction of British immigrants, focusing in particular upon notions of community and individual identity.

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[1] This figure is set to rise further as a result of the Copenhagen agreement in December 2002 (Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 2002). In April 2003, this agreement was followed by the Athens summit where ten mainly post-communist countries (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus) signed an accession treaty with the European Union for entry on May 1st 2004. Turkey has also been given a conditional date for opening accession talks in 2005.

[2] Ile-de-France is the capital-city region that surrounds Paris. It is home to over 10 million inhabitants (INSEE, 1999), and is made up of eight *départements*, of which Paris is the principal one.

[3] The terms 'British' and 'Expatriate' require some degree of delineation. In terms of the 'British' epithet, it refers to individuals in Ile-de-France originating from either England, Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland. I am, however, aware that within this legal/citizenship definition there will be opacity - what Cohen (1994) calls the "fuzzy frontiers of British identity" (see Appendix 1). The expatriate label is a little more problematic in that it is value-laden and connects to the many stereotypes of the British overseas (see Section 1.2 and Box 1.1). Notwithstanding this diverse symbolic use, and the associated connotations inherent in the term, the 'expatriate' label will be employed throughout the thesis. Its use will be general, applying to all British immigrants living and working in Paris for over twelve months.

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In dealing with such issues, the choice to focus on intra-EU mobility between Britain and France is clearly an important one and requires closer scrutiny. Principally, there is a need to justify the somewhat anomalous or, at very least, novel decision to concentrate on British expatriates and their everyday behaviour in Ile-de-France. Put simply, with 130 million people (or 2.2% of the world's population) living outside their country of origin[4], one must address the questions of why the British, and why specifically Paris? Furthermore, this justification must be located within the broader literary and policy frameworks that directly and indirectly shape my research.

The section that follows offers this justification. Firstly, it highlights the relatively unconventional nature of the study, and then places it within the skill mobility literature, world city theory and the intra-European migration system. Moreover, the study's contribution towards our understanding of British expatriates abroad in general, and Franco-British relations in particular, is also underlined. The three main aims of the thesis are then reviewed, before the investigative framework used to explore each of these aims is examined. Finally, the introduction ends by outlining the overall structure of each of the eight remaining chapters.

1.2 The nature of the research project

This Franco-British case study is unconventional in the sense that social scientists have predominantly examined 'visible' ethnic minorities, whose presence in the host society is viewed by the majority as problematic (Kofman 1999, p. 133; O'Reilly 2000a, p. 39). Such a focus is understandable, and the work produced has been powerful, helping to challenge the discrimination and exclusion of immigrants on racial and religious grounds. Nonetheless, this gives the impression that social and cultural distinction based on national, ethnic and immigrant difference is the preserve of visible and problematised minorities, and this is an impression that those on the far right are particularly keen to cultivate.

Quite intentionally, the empirical basis of the present research poses a challenge to such 'common-sense' assertions. Examining a skilled, relatively high-status and privileged population, enables me to show that even 'acceptable' migrant groups, not subject to significant levels of discrimination or external constraint, retain socially and culturally distinct ways of being/doing. Furthermore, if one accepts this, then by association one is accepting the inevitability of some first-generation social and cultural distinction. This in turn underlines the selective problematisation of particular migrant

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[4] Based on United Nations figures for 1997.

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groups and particular behavioural traits within apparently tolerant and liberal European societies.

More specifically, the focus on skilled migration between advanced capitalist economies connects to a number of inter-related literatures and policy areas (Beaverstock, 1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c; Beaverstock and Smith, 1996; Findlay, 1988, 1989, 1995a, 1995b; Findlay and Garrick, 1990; Koser and Salt, 1997; Salt, 1983-4, 1988, 1992, 1995, 1997; Salt and Ford, 1993). Firstly, from a numerical perspective, the international exchange of knowledge and expertise has increased dramatically over recent years, with population mobility a key component in this. In short, states now vie for competitive advantage, against a backdrop of intense economic competition and the rising power of the global conglomerate. As a result, 'new international divisions of labour' have emerged, encompassing both high and low skilled workers (Frobel *et al.*, 1980; Massey, 1995), and in terms of the former, skills and experience tend to concentrate in the research and development and command and control centres of the developed world.

Britain is well placed in this respect, and has adopted a pro-active stance in the geographical "war over skills" (Iredale 2001, p. 21)[5]. However, the skilled migratory system, within Europe at least, is one of brain 'exchange' rather than 'drain'. As part of this, qualified native workers leave the UK in their thousands each year, settling temporarily and permanently overseas. Council of Europe figures, for instance, show that during the 1980s and 1990s Britain was the country people were most likely to leave in order to live and work elsewhere in Europe (Marshall, 1995). Unfortunately, though, beyond aggregate statistics and the occasional journalistic account, relatively little is known about the nature of this loss – a research gap that the present thesis intends to redress.

Secondly, within this labour exchange system, investment, in the form of knowledge and expertise tends to concentrate in particular urban locales. These key locales are heavily interdependent, part of a global economic system of exchange that operates from outside any single nation-state (Castells, 1989; Friedman, 1986; Friedman and Wolf, 1982; Hannerz, 1996; Sassen, 1991). Paris is one of the most important of these, and using the city as an exemplar, my research seeks to illuminate the role of the world city as a focus for skilled, working-age migration more generally (see Figure 1.1).

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[5] This transnational war over skills was evident in the recently established 'Highly Skilled Migration Programme'. It was announced in February 2002, as part of the 'Secure Borders, Safe Haven' White Paper, and acknowledged that 'governments are in competition for the brightest and best talents', wherever they may be (Roche, 2000).

Figure 1.1: An inventory of world cities

Thirdly, there is an intra-regional dimension to the study, in the sense that it looks specifically at skill exchange within the European Union (EU). To date, few other population geographers have adopted such a supra-national perspective, a surprising hiatus given that the Single European Labour Market is now firmly enshrined in European law[6]. As Ackers (1998, p. 6) notes:

"Relatively little interest has been shown either at the political level or indeed, in migration research, in intra-Community migration and the movement and status of nationals within the borders of the union".

Furthermore, France is a key country within the European migratory system, and of the 5.5 million EU nationals living and working outside their home state in 1996 over one-fifth were resident there (Salt *et al.*, 2000). Unfortunately, though, beyond the waves of unskilled workers from southern Europe, little is known about those to have benefited from the recent opening of European borders and economic interdependence of member states.

With the future of a European 'super-state' resting heavily upon the ability of citizens to move amongst, and live comfortably within the various constituent countries, this lack of skilled migratory research is unfortunate. It will, after all, be the people, and not the political and economic institutions, who determine whether a European ethos takes hold, and intra-regional mobility is possibly the most important mechanism for achieving this.

Fourthly, by specifically looking at UK expatriates rather than any other European or global-city group, the study seeks to add depth to both popular and academic accounts of the British in continental Europe (see Box 1.1). At present there are a number of stereotypical expatriate images:

A. Sun-seeking second-home owners and retirees

B. Middle-class romantics in search of a rural idyll

C. Urban, male, working-class contract workers of the 'Aufwiedersen Pet' mould

D. Ageing colonial types from a bygone era

I intend to challenges these images, and in the process undermine their command on the way we conceptualise British *émigrés*. After all, we know relatively little about urban British communities anywhere in the developed world (although see: Beaverstock, 2002; Willis and Yeo, 2002).

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[6] Starting in 1957 with the key provisions for an 'integrated European market' in the Treaty of Rome, the geo-political context for intra-European migration has changed considerably over the past fifty years. The key legislative changes occurring at a pan-European level are discussed further in Section 2.3.2.

Box 1.1: The British 'Expatriate' – an unwanted stereotype

The popular misconceptions and negative connotations surrounding the 'typical' expatriate led respondents to avoid applying the term to themselves. When used it was applied to other types of people within the community. For example, long-term residents like Angela and Francis felt, respectively, that expatriates were "temporary people", and "would eventually go back to England". Not surprisingly, they had committed themselves to Ile-de-France[7].

In contrast, British sojourners like Hannah believed expatriates to be "people who go away and stay away", and Greg shared this view:

"I don't see myself as an ex-pat because I don't see myself as permanently here...an ex-pat is someone who's middle-aged, who's been away for a long time, and who's a member of ex-pat societies".

Different types of respondent tried to 'pass the expatriate buck', and a process of 'othering' was clearly at work within the British community.

Respondents were keen to avoid the negative stereotypes associated with the 'expatriate' epithet; from Colonel Blimp to John Bull, from Colonial India to the Spanish resort, and from bridge playing and gin drinking to football watching and beer swilling, respondents were acutely aware of the overseas images of the British expatriate.

Fifthly, the empirical focus of the research cannot be adequately explained without recourse to the historic co-operation and undoubted rivalry between the UK and France. Whilst the two countries have always enjoyed a volatile, mercurial relationship, there is undoubtedly a long-running collaborative principle underlying much of this duelling. Even before the EU, this can be traced back to historic agreements such as the 'Auld Alliance'[8], the 1860 'Treaty on Trade' and the 1904 'Entente Cordiale'[9].

Symbolic 'adversaries' yet close neighbours, the UK and France remain strategic partners. There is a genuine interdependence, and this impacts upon migration today as it did in the past[10]. Two-way transport and economic links, for example, are intense; bilateral trade is worth GBP 34 billion annually and has doubled since 1988

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[7] Pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis in order to respect the confidentiality of respondents.

[8] Signed in 1295 this was a military pact between France (Philip IV) and Scotland (John Balliol) to counter the threat from England (Edward I), the common enemy at the time. It lasted until 1560.

[9] This became the 'Triple Entente' in 1907 when Russia joined to rival Germany's alliance with Austria-Hungary and Italy.

[10] The historic British presence and influence in Paris has been documented by a number of authors, all of whom point towards the importance of the 19th century in establishing a sizeable community in the city (Hart and Barbin, 2000; Lapie, 1976; Leribault, 1994).

(Jay 1999, p. 89), whilst the London-Paris air route is now the busiest in the world[11]. Furthermore, the Gallic culture is revered amongst Britain's middle and upper classes, and related to this, the Francophone influence in British schools remains substantial – 70% of British students learn French at school, and each year 2,500 teaching assistants are exchanged to teach each other's language in secondary schools (Jay 1999, p. 91). Given this historic and contemporary cooperation, it is no wonder that the country is the most significant EU destination for those choosing to leave the UK (Poulain 1996, p. 55).

1.3 Research aims and objectives

Having linked the empirical basis of the research to six key areas of academic enquiry, I will now outline the purpose of the thesis – what it ultimately seeks to uncover. To this end, there are three main aims:

1. To explore the degree of social heterogeneity within the British community in Ile-de-France

2. To test the hypothesis that migration and settlement outcomes are based upon the interplay of complex decision-making processes

3. To examine the influence of international mobility on everyday immigrant life in terms of:

    - Socio-Spatial Interaction

    - Individual Behaviour

    - Place-Based Allegiance

In terms of meeting the first of these aims, a skilled migrant typology will be advanced. This will reflect differences in the migratory pathways used to reach Paris, and will also deal explicitly with the everyday impact of social fissures such as gender, generation, life-stage and socio-professional status on community cohesion. Introduced in Chapter 3, and explored in considerably more depth in Chapter 5, the typology will be used as a guide for subsequent analysis. It will allow internal complexities, inconsistencies and nuances to be explored whilst at the same time leave room for generalisations where appropriate. Thus, the importance of shared ethnic, national and immigrant background can be acknowledged without obscuring the internal divisions that permeate the British community in Ile-de-France.

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[11] According to the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (www.fco.gov.uk)

The second aim of the study is more specific than the first, and concerns the discrete 'events' with which international mobility is commonly associated – the decision to migrate, and the decision of where to settle. These two choices have, historically, been examined in rather simplistic terms. More recently, however, the literature has begun to broaden in its conceptualisation, to the extent that most scholars now accept the complex decision-making interplay between structure and agency surrounding the migratory and settlement events (Giddens, 1984; Sarre, 1986; Sarre *et al.* 1989). Aware of the importance of these academic advancements, the thesis seeks to build upon the conceptual and theoretical progress made.

Specifically, the economic, political, social and cultural context of skilled migration will be identified, as will the actions of the migrants themselves both within the home and workplace, and as autonomous decision-making agents (Findlay and Garrick, 1990; Iredale, 2001; Kofman, 2000; Koser and Salt, 1997). Likewise, in examining the residential outcomes of mobility, analysis will also be sensitive to the complex interplay of housing market mechanisms that shape immigrant settlement (Glebe, 1986; White, 1998a). The aim in both cases is to show that migration and settlement are complex events that call for substantial explanatory subtlety and depth. This may seem obvious, but it has often been ignored at the expense of more simplistic and politically motivated forms of analysis and explanation.

As noted already, in the opening to the chapter, the influence of international mobility is ongoing, extending well beyond the initial acts of migration and settlement. Crossing national boundaries unsettles in a long-term socio-psychological sense, and is clearly about much more than simple physical relocation. Those involved face a new set of home-host and global-local circumstances once they arrive at their destination, that impact upon everyday immigrant behaviour. Correspondingly, my third aim is to identify and examine the nature of this upheaval.

The task of extending geographical analysis in this way is certainly not straightforward. True, the ethno-national and immigrant status of expatriates will set them apart from their native French counterparts, but this socio-cultural distinction will manifest itself in a multitude of ways and with varying degrees of intensity. This is why, in attempting to capture the everyday impact of mobility, the thesis adopts two complementary perspectives.

Firstly, Zelinsky and Lee's (1998) 'heterolocal' approach to minority community research will be adopted. This model focuses on the in-group interaction of expatriates, both within immigrant organisations and in more informal social settings.

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Furthermore, the framework argues that these activity spaces need not always be geographically tied to neighbourhood, a sociological approach to community interaction that is particularly useful in a skilled mobility study like this.

Beyond the heterolocal realm, the 'transnational' literature adds a second dimension to the study of minority distinction (Bailey, 2001; Portes *et al.*, 1999; Vertovec, 1999). It shows how private and individual forms of behaviour are now an increasingly common alternative to the community organisation and social network. Key to this shift has been the growth in transnational information, communication, transport and consumption channels between sending and receiving countries. Links that allow expatriates to remain socially and culturally connected to 'home' irrespective of the city, region or nation in which they live.

As well as allowing for new forms of deterritorialised behaviour, the transnational approach also implies that expatriate identities are becoming increasingly deterritorialised. This is a key notion and will be used to guide my analysis of the relationship between migration and British place-based allegiance. Specifically, a transnational perspective will be adopted in order to explore the ways in which home and host country identities coalesce following migration.

1.4 Empirical/analytical framework

In order to meet the three main research aims, a carefully structured empirical/analytical approach was called for. Accordingly, the evidence presented in the thesis is divided into two main sections. The first will use quantitative data to provide a community-wide overview of the British population in Ile-de-France. The purpose of this 'extensive' section is to establish the context for the case-study, and thereby develop a firm basis upon which subsequent more in-depth analysis can rest.

In the second 'intensive' section, qualitative material will be used to examine the issues of migration, settlement, community and identity in greater detail. This section will begin by establishing answers to the basic why, who and where questions of skilled migration and settlement, tying these in to the conceptual and theoretical tools discussed in the literature. The perspective will then shifts to examine evidence of British heterolocalism, before looking at the two other related issues of transnational behaviour and place-based identity.

There is, therefore, gradation in terms of the scale of analysis at this intensive stage of research. From a concern with international migration, attention shifts to the urban realm and the important housing and neighbourhood issues effecting British

residents in Ile-de-France. Community interaction is then explored, before individual transnational behaviour is examined. Finally, analysis ends by assessing the impact of mobility upon the abstract place-based identities of expatriates.

1.5 Thesis structure

A substantial, if not always geographically-based, literature covers the areas of migration, settlement, community and identity. Chapter 2 reviews the contributions made by scholars within each of these fields, and contemplates the various ways in which the ideas advanced may apply to my own analysis of the British in Ile-de-France.

In Chapter 3 I outline my use within the thesis of complementary methodological tools, within the extensive-intensive framework identified above. Primarily, official statistics and survey returns are discussed,, as these establish the context for my community-wide study. I then review the interview and ethnographic techniques that provide the basis for subsequent in-depth enquiry.

Chapter 4 is the 'extensive' section of the thesis and therefore assesses the British population *en masse*. It provides a numerical, geographical and socio-demographic overview of the community, based primarily on the use of data from the 1990 French census. In addition, findings from my own survey of expatriate organisations in Ile-de-France are then reviewed, and these are used to develop further insight into the nature of the British population in the region.

Establishing why and how the British move to Paris helps to illuminate the types of expatriate present there. Chapter 5 seeks to explore this link. It identifies the various decision-making dynamics underpinning skilled migration and then outlines the key social divisions within the community. This complementary framework represents a crucial point of reference for the remainder of the thesis, allowing the subtleties and sensitivities surrounding issues of settlement, community and identity to be examined appropriately.

The decision of where to settle within Ile-de-France is the subject of Chapter 6. The reasons behind British residential clustering are examined at first, and then the impact of this clustering upon expatriate interaction is assessed. The relationship between neighbourhood and community is considered as part of this, and then the notion of an 'international' as oppose to purely 'British' residential area is forwarded. This international dimension is an intriguing one, and is raised again in the two chapters that follow.

In Chapter 7 the morphology of the British community is explored. The activity spaces expatriates circulate within – made up of immigrant organisations and informal social networks – are discussed. These constitute the main spaces for British socialisation within Ile-de-France, and understandably reflect some key social fissures within the community. This diversity is probed at length and shown to link to the lifestyle typology advanced in Chapter 5, a typology that itself reflects the heterogeneity of British/Western society more generally.

Chapter 8 moves analysis away from the heterolocal realm to consider the 'transnational' links expatriates maintain. These links are diverse, have a number of important functions, and like their communal equivalents tend to reflect social divisions within the British population. The more abstract realm of transnational identity is then explored, to once again highlight the way in which migration deterritorialises. As part of this, the 'in-between' position of the British émigrés *vis à vis* their home and host country is highlighted, a position that in the extreme leads to placelessness and a sense of ambiguity with respect to national belonging.

Finally, Chapter 9 combines the many different dimensions to the research, and in the process summarises the broad conclusions reached. The wider implications of the study are also considered, as are the potential avenues for further research.

CHAPTER 2. Migration, Settlement, Community and Identity: A Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this review, migration will be the first of the four international mobility issues to be examined. Its underlying economic, political, social and cultural antecedents will be considered, and in addition, decision making at the level of the firm, household and individual will be assessed. In adopting this multi-level approach, I aim to develop a framework to help answer the complex why, how and who questions of skilled international migration.

From migration, analysis will then move on to consider the residential settlement patterns of global-, city migrants. High-status, non-problematised groups such as the British tend to cluster within particular housing classes. Access to property within each class is, however, subject to various constraints and alongside this immigrants have their own specific demands and requirements. This interaction, between housing class and supply-side and demand-based factors, lies at the core of immigrant settlement and the second part of the chapter will reflect this in the way it attempts to explain the *where* question of skilled mobility.

Beyond the acts of migration and settlement, the thesis looks at the everyday behaviour of the British in Ile-de-France and the numerous ways in which they remain socially and culturally distinct from their French hosts. Adopting a heterolocal approach to community, the third section of the review assesses the importance of both formal and informal social nodes and networks for expatriates. These nodes and networks fulfil a number of important functions, the most important of which will be identified. The review will also underline the fragmented and heterogeneous nature of minority communities, an issue of paramount importance throughout the thesis.

In the fourth and final section the growing corpus of 'transnational' literature is examined. This work is used to demonstrate the various ways in which everyday immigrant behaviour transcends the nation-state. Moreover, the section will also consider the place-based attachments harboured by expatriates, with a transnational perspective used to show how seemingly antagonistic national allegiances coalesce following migration.

2.2 New approaches – new migrations

Until the 1990s, with the exception of a limited number of 'brain-drain' studies (CMRST, 1967; Grubel and Scott, 1967; Fortney, 1970; Pearson and Parson, 1983; The Royal Society, 1963, 1987) and the pioneering work of John Salt (1983-4, 1988), little research seems to have been done into the international mobility of high-status, non-problematised groups[12]. Instead, almost all enquiry concentrated upon 'mass migrations', according with the social problem / ethnic-minority paradigm dominant at the time. Issues associated with the integration and assimilation of low-skilled, racialised minorities captured academic attention, whilst structurally and geographically proximate forms of international movement were overlooked. Thus, although evidence pointed towards the existence of expatriate communities in cities like Brussels (De Lannoy, 1974), London (Peach 1987, p. 33) Vienna (White, 1988) and Düsseldorf (O'Loughlin and Glebe 1984; Glebe 1986), there was simply no in-depth analysis into this presence. Today, these limitations continue to be lamented upon:

"British theoretical accounts of immigration make a perfunctory claim to the need to explore a wide range of migrations before returning to the main object of their analysis, that of post-war black migration". (Mac an Ghaill 2000, p. 138)

Nevertheless, the 1990s were without doubt a period of considerable advancement, both in terms of approaches adopted and the migrant streams examined.

Most notably, calls for re-theorisation (White and Jackson, 1995) ensured a gradual movement away from the confines of spatial demography and the data-led empiricism with which studies of migration had become synonymous. Scholars began embracing mixed-methodologies (Findlay and Li, 1999), with biographical approaches particularly popular (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). Associated with this disciplinary expansion were the advancements made in explaining migration, with academics recognising the need for approaches allowing "many voices...without one being dominant" (Findlay and Graham 1991, p. 156).

Not unconnected to these 'new approaches', involving "much more qualitative methods...and a very different philosophical tack" (Boyle et al. 1998, p. x), the 1990s also witnessed a dramatic transformation in patterns and processes surrounding migration. Diversity became the watchword within Europe, and an array of taxonomies were devised

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[12] There is a corpus of historic research into British migration to/from the colonies of empire (see, for example, Appleyard, 1962; Haines, 1994).

to 'manage' the variety of cross-border exchanges being observed. Labelled by White (1993a) as the 'new migration', three broad groups were identified; skilled workers, clandestine migrants, and asylum seekers[13]. Of the three groups the skilled migrants are of interest here, and in the review that follows the why, how and who questions surrounding their mobility will be explored. However, before attempting this I want to briefly identify a number of important issues and limitations in the literature.

2.2.1 Defining skilled migration

Principally, the scope of academic research has often been restricted by definitions of skilled mobility tied rather narrowly to the actions of large transnational employers. This issue is of fundamental importance and suggests that not all of the implications of the 'new approaches' perspective have as yet been realised. Explanations have remained artificially neat, 'parcelled off' from the true complexity of cross-border skill exchange, and it is the aim of this review to move beyond this. To develop a complex and subtle appreciation of population mobility between developed world countries.

In order to expand analysis and advance academic theory accordingly, one needs to address the definitional inconsistencies in the literature. There is, for example, no universal agreement on what constitutes migration, correspondingly "a common, useable definition of an international migrant does not exist" (Salt *et al.* 2000, p. 10). This is an important introductory point, as my own research findings and their interpretation will very much depend upon the way in which the 'skilled migration' epithet is operationalised (see Chapter 3).

This said, the British government through the 'International Passenger Survey' (IPS) classes a migrant as "someone who changes his or her country of usual residence for a period of at least a year, so that the country of destination effectively becomes the country of usual residence" (National Statistics, 2000), a definition consistent with UN[14] guidelines and one adopted throughout the thesis.

However, in defining migration in this way and imposing some consistency on the phenomenon, one must recognise those forms of skill mobility omitted from discussion.

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[13] Within each group, the importance of gender was also noted: "...different experiences of the new migration by men and women highlight the point that migration is not an undifferentiated process" (Koser and Lutz 1998, p. 7), and this complexity will be illustrated throughout the thesis.

[14] The UN also uses the label 'short-term migrant' in order to describe those people residing in a foreign country for longer than three months, but for no more than one year (Auriol and Sexton 2002, p. 23).

Salt (*et al.*, 2000), for instance, talks of 'labour tourism' as well as the more general 'movement of expertise'. The latter included anything from virtual interaction across borders, through to business trips, regular commuting, and extended visits (Salt, 1997). Unfortunately, though, little is known about these short-term human resource flows, except that "to a limited extent at least, migration, secondment, short-term assignment and business visits are all substitutable" (Salt and Ford 1993 p. 296)[15].

Using a twelve-month time-scale definition of migration, one must also recognise the internal diversity that remains. Cormode (1994), for example, uses 'skilled international circulation' to emphasize the lack of permanence amongst Japanese immigrants in Canada, whilst others employ the 'skilled transient' epithet to convey similar sentiments elsewhere (Appleyard, 1989; Findlay, 1995a; Findlay and Garrick, 1990). This has led to blurring of the migratory boundary, and the theoretical gap between transient/circulatory migrants and business visits, for example, is not always clear (Iredale 2001, p. 18).

This said, a line must be drawn, and the key point to be gleaned from the work of Cormode, Appleyard and Findlay is that when talking of skilled migration there are internal temporal nuances to be considered (see also Findlay *et al.*, 1994a). Relocation may be temporary, indefinite or permanent, return may be pre-planned, mythical, or simply never considered. Acknowledging this, one is able to grasp the heterogeneity of 'migration', yet at the same time accept its internal coherence relative to other forms of shorter-term and/or disembodied 'expertise-based' mobility (see Figure 2.1).

Moving away from the temporal subtleties dissecting migration, there are also spatial divides to be acknowledged. Most explicitly, Gould (1988) offers a four-point typology to distinguish between international moves within and between peripheral and core economies. Based upon this taxonomy, British migration to France concurs with a 'core-core' pattern of movement, and is thereby distinct from the majority of migratory research to date.

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[15] Temporal 'confusion' with respect to where the migratory line should be drawn is also evident outside the skilled mobility literature. Most notably, King *et al.* (1998, 2000) have called for conceptualisations of retirement migration to be relaxed and refined in order to encompass an array of mobile lifestyles and multiple allegiances to place (see also Buller and Hoggart 1994a, p. 5; O'Reilly 2000a, p. 105). Holidays, tourism, and second-home ownership become in conceptual/definitional terms analogous to business trips and extended visits – all forms of mobility not sufficiently permanent to be classed as migration, yet at the same time intimately linked to it.

Postal Service	Video Conference	Business Trip	Regular Commute	Extended Visit	Transient / Circulatory	Indefinite	Permanent
Disembodied		SHORT-TERM 'LABOUR TOURISM'			MIGRATION		
		Embodied					
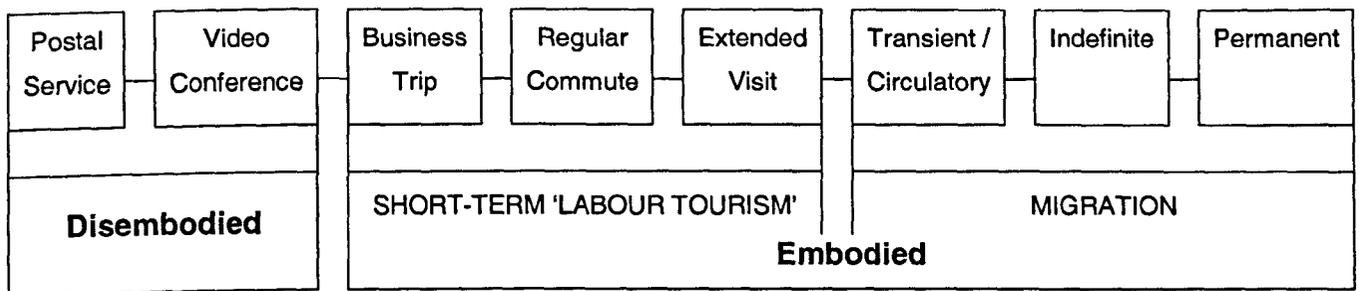
Figure 2.1: Migration and the international movement of expertise

As part of this core-core migratory pattern, authors have recognised that movement is not uni-directional, but instead involves 'exchanges' (Findlay et al., 1994b) and 'circulation' (Gaillard and Gaillard, 1998). Apart from occasional fluctuations, flows are relatively balanced with reciprocity and exchange replacing traditional notions of skill loss and brain drain.

The particular supra-national context of the EU, within which Franco-British exchange occurs, adds yet another spatial dimension to the mobility equation. In particular, it challenges the clear cut divide within the literature between internal and international migration[16].

Alongside the time-space context used to situate this study within the broader mobility literature, the skill dimension also requires consideration. Some authors, for example, talk of 'skilled' mobility, whilst others refer to the 'highly skilled' or 'elite'. Reasons for these nuances are unclear, although they undoubtedly stem from problems over definition. Within advanced capitalist economies there has been a gradual move to categorise most work as skilled (Findlay et al. 1994b, p. 87; Todisco, 1993). The shift relates to a more general move towards a knowledge-based economy, and has undoubtedly impacted upon the groups now included in the study of international skill exchange. Underlining this point, the IPS (International Passenger Survey) is now almost entirely dominated by skilled occupations (Findlay, 1989). Add to this the fact that world-cities like

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[16] Internal migration, defined as "permanent movements of population which have taken place within the confines of a nation state" (Halfacree et al 1992, p. 157), is clearly not the same as British migration to France, the latter defined by the fact that it transcends national boundaries. Nonetheless, with continued geo-political developments on an EU-wide basis, this dichotomy is increasingly questionable. In particular, there is an urgent need to reconsider the internal – international explanatory divide that runs through much of the migratory literature. Mutually exclusive theories need to be compared and contrasted, and common ground explored when focusing upon movement within regional blocs.

Paris have been particularly strong beneficiaries of the professionalisation[17] process, and one can see the justification for adopting a 'skilled' perspective to examine the British.

There is, however, a problem to this in that "there is no agreed definition across countries (or) among scholars" (Mahroum 1999, p. 169) as to who should be included within the skilled migration analytical net. This said, the state of the literature is improving, with the OECD's use of the 'Canberra Manual' to determine 'Human Resources in Science and Technology' one of the few clear technical approaches to determining the skill issue (Auriol and Sexton 2002, p. 13-15). In addition, Salt's (1997, pp. 6-8) twelve-point skill classification represents an important benchmark for geographic research:

1. Corporate Transferees
2. Technical / Visiting Firemen
3. Health and Education Professionals
4. Project Specialists (often construction)
5. Consultant Specialists
6. Private Career Development / Training
7. Clergy and Missionaries
8. Entertainment, Sport, Art
9. Businessmen / Independently Wealthy
10. Academics, Researchers, Students
11. Military
12. Spouses and Children

The key point to be gleaned from it is that whilst:

"There is no agreed concept or definition of the highly skilled...The group as a whole consists of a series of largely self contained and non-competing sub-groups, among whom levels and duration of training are such as to lead to low elasticities of supply". (Salt 1997, p. 5)

This recognition of 'non-competing sub-groups' suggests that one approach to the study of skilled mobility would involve in-depth analysis into a particular skilled migratory flow.

One of the first to explicitly adopt this occupation / sectors specific approach was Jonathan Beaverstock, with his examination of international migration amongst advanced producer service employees, particularly those within the accountancy and banking professions (Beaverstock, 1991, 1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c; Beaverstock and Smith, 1996). Other diverse, and less numerically / financially significant flows have also been identified. From studies of migration in the health-care sector (Findlay *et al.*, 1994a; Miller *et al.*, 1998; Ness *et al.*, 1993), to the academic 'brain-drain' phenomenon (Findlay *et al.*, 1999; Hodges, 2000; The Royal Society, 1987; Schuster, 1994) and student/graduate circulation (King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2002; King and Shuttleworth, 1995a, 1995b; Li *et al.*,

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[17] Hall *et al.* 1996 (in Kofman 1999, p. 132) have shown how Paris's occupational base has become increasingly skilled. There has been 37.8% overall growth in professional employment in the city, with the figure for women even higher at 66.7%.

1996; Murphy-Lejeune, 2001; Tremblay, 2002), the potential for skill-based case-studies is clear.

Notwithstanding the undoubted importance of these highly focused studies, the research presented here is not confined to one particular profession or skill but adopts instead a community-wide approach to migration. This involves a 'loose' definition of those who are skilled, based upon tertiary education and/or professional employment (Findlay 1988; Iredale, 2001; Salt and Ford, 1993)[18]. An approach that is particularly useful in addressing the absence of women in much of the existing literature (Kofman *et al.* 2000, p. 130-132).

2.3 Skilled migration

With over 25,000 British residents living in Paris (see Section 4.1), it is self-evidently impossible to develop a framework to account for all forms of migration. The skilled literature, as already indicated, tends to focus upon particular professional cohorts rather than overall populations. Likewise, expatriate community studies concentrate upon specific groups such as retirees (King and Patterson, 1998; King *et al.*, 2000; O'Reilly, 2000a) and second-home owners (Buller and Hoggart, 1994a, 1994b; Chaplin, 1999), with no overall case-studies of British working-age urban migration currently available. Aware of these limitations, the review that follows attempts to draw on a diverse literature in order to identify reasons behind British emigration, the important mechanisms and facilitators involved, and the main social groups implicated in the process. The overall aim is to provide a basis upon which the empirical material examined in Chapter 5 can rest.

In line with my introductory aims (see Section 1.3) and developments within population geography more generally (Findlay and Graham, 1991; Halfacree and Boyle, 1993; White and Jackson, 1995), the framework for migration presented here will be influenced by Structuration theory (Giddens, 1994). As such, care will be taken to avoid privileging one particular level of explanation, with well-established divides between rational-behaviourist and structural schools circumvented by more subtle forms of analysis (see Zulauf 2001, p. 21/2). This will involve highlighting a diverse array of structural and individual factors identified in the literature as shaping skilled migration, as well as the 'channels' (Findlay and Garrick, 1990; Garrick, 1991) 'institutions' (Goss and Lindquist,

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[18] There will almost certainly be expatriates in Paris with no tertiary education and no professional head of household. However, during research no significant 'un-skilled' presence was uncovered (see Chapter 3).

19995; Hedwig and Hillmann, 1998) and 'networks' (Boyd, 1989; Wong and Salaff, 1998; Vertovec, 2002) mediating between them.

In addition, this is a somewhat unconventional study, and the way in which the why, how and who questions of migration are addressed reflects this. To elucidate, British migration to France is voluntary, involving 'invisible' migrants moving across relatively minor social, cultural, economic and political frontiers. Widely cited factors for migration, such as political persecution, famine, war and economic hardship will, therefore, have little explanatory power, with household and individual level decision-making much more prominent. Add to this the cultural and economic basis of this world city study, and its unique EU geo-political context, and explanations will clearly differ from those of more traditional accounts of migration.

2.3.1 Economic restructuring

The majority of studies documenting skilled migration focus upon one particular facet of the process; involving employees within private sector companies, moving internationally through internal labour markets. Looking first at the structural dimensions to this so-called 'career-path' migration, it is clear that monumental changes in the world economy have taken place over the past few decades, changes that have had a significant impact upon migration.

This economic reorganisation has principally been about the globalisation of capital and associated labour market restructuring. Foreign direct investment has grown considerably since the 1960s (Dicken, 1992), an increasing proportion of which now involves the service sector (Sassen 1991, p. 35), with France a particularly prominent beneficiary (Findlay et al. 1994b, p. 86). Trans-national corporations (TNC's) have been key to this, and they tend to favour developed world locations for those high order facilities at the upper echelons of the corporation.

Linked to this, there has been huge growth in advanced producer service employment. For example, Beaverstock (1996b, p426) shows how jobs in finance, real estate and insurance grew by 126,000 in New York between 1960-90. Furthermore, evidence from the top twenty UK accountancy firms indicates an 85% rise in professional and managerial employment in the decade leading up to 1988 (Beaverstock, 1991). Equally stark has been the contemporaneous decline in manufacturing, with a 'New International

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Division of Labour' emerging as a result of this restructuring[19] (Frobel *et al.*, 1980; Massey, 1995).

The dramatic shift from secondary to tertiary employment within the developed world has had an important impact upon international migration. Multiple and complex divisions of labour now operate producing particular types of spatial organisation (Boyle *et al.*, 1994). One of the most important locations in this respect is the 'global' city (Sassen, 1991), also termed the 'world' (Friedman, 1986; Friedman and Wolf, 1982), 'information' (Castells, 1989) and 'transnational' (Hannerz, 1996) city[20] (see Appendix 2). These are magnetic destinations for migrants, with low-wage and low-skilled labour needed as native affluence grows and certain types of jobs are left unfilled (Sassen, 1991).

In addition, academics have begun to recognise that specialist skills are also required at levels that exceed national supply. As Beaverstock (1994, p.337) suggests:

"The world cities and the restructuring of the demand within them are vitally important when conceptualising highly skilled professional and managerial labour migration".

As part of this, new international professional and managerial divisions of labour emerged encompassing cities like New York, London and Paris. These cities, because of their position at the apex of the global economy, require a constant supply of highly skilled labour from a global market place (Hall, 2000). Focusing on Paris, it is one of only ten 'alpha' world cities (see Figure 1.1) and one of only four with a maximum 'world city value'. As part of this, it is classified as a 'prime' accountancy, advertising, banking and legal centre, with each area having a powerful and expansive global reach (Beaverstock *et al.* 2000). The reorganisation / NIDL framework is, therefore, likely to be particularly relevant when discussing the why, how and who of British migration to Ile-de-France[21].

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[19] The core-periphery dynamic that defines the NIDL is summarised as: "...the location of labour-intensive activities in Third World countries where labour costs are particularly low. Meanwhile, the more knowledge-intensive activities are invariably retained within the advanced economies, and particularly in the home countries of different multinational firms. These include research and development, management and marketing – by far the most highly remunerative activities within the overall corporate system" (Breathnach and Jackson 1991, in Lobo and Salvo 1998, p. 266).

[20] It is worth noting that, well before these geo-economic concepts became common currency, the role of large cities in terms of attracting skilled working-age expatriates was acknowledged. As Cohen (1977, pp. 25-6) remarked, "Though there is little systematic information on the geographical distribution of expatriates within the host country, casual observations indicate that they tend to be disproportionately concentrated in the large metropolitan cities and particularly the national capitals".

[21] Paris is different in an important respect from the three other 'maximum value' world cities. The interventionist state based upon a Bismarkian 'Conservative Corporatist' welfare regime (Esping-Anderson, 1990) has ensured that the city's urban landscape is not entirely at the behest of capitalist logic. As a result, Paris has been labelled a relatively 'soft' global city by urban commentators (Body-Gendrot, 1996). Others have placed it in a 'third tier' of world cities (Knox 1996, p. 125), and its exact position in the global hierarchy is clearly a matter for debate.

Having said this, it must be acknowledged that different professional sectors have different elasticities of demand with respect to skilled immigrant labour. The visible expression of global economic restructuring is, therefore, sector specific and dependent upon internal industrial rhythms and cycles (see Section 5.2.1.1). This implies that the structural shifts outlined above have not as yet had a universal impact, with particular skills and professions more international than others.

Internal nuances aside, the economic shifts identified above suggest that a substantial proportion of British expatriates will be living and working in Paris as a consequence of their involvement in the global economy. The question that now needs addressing is how this economic, demand-driven form of migration operates. This requires considerable subtlety; appreciating the desires of individual workers and their families, as well as the profit maximising motives of the firm.

2.3.1.1 The internal labour market

The internal labour markets (ILM's) of large TNC's are the most widely cited means through which skilled individuals migrate. The ILM was first proposed by Doeringer and Piore in 1971 (see also Piore, 1979) and has proved extremely useful in explaining the circulation of managers and professionals within the corporate structure of the global firm (see for example: Beaverstock 1990b, 1991, 1996b; Salt 1988). There are three main forms of personnel circulation (vertical, lateral and in/out movements) reflecting the typical structure of an ILM (Beaverstock, 1991). Significantly, this circulation, and the career advancement associated with it, often requires geographical mobility which in the case of TNC's can involve substantial periods of international relocation.

Whilst the exact nature of ILM-based mobility is dependent upon the organisational culture of the firm and the economic sector within which it is located[22], it appears that there are three broad types of mobile employees; those involved in senior management and control, support and technical staff, and younger experience-seeking trainees (Salt and Ford, 1993). Company motives behind relocation are also complex, but are generally related to the need to: increase employee experience, attract and retain labour, meet specific

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[22] For example, Boyle et al. (1994) and Findlay et al. (1994) note that international skill transfer is relatively low amongst small and medium sized French enterprises in the UK. Contemplating this finding, both argue for a recognition of the "multiple and complex spatial divisions of labour" accompanying skilled migration. Divisions of labour that vary in accordance with the nature of the industry and the corporation itself. Thus, whilst TNC's of all sizes have internationalised (Kofman 2000, p. 50), differences in expatriation attitudes and abilities clearly exist between large and small to medium sized enterprises.

functional requirements, and/or establish new overseas facilities (Beaverstock, 1996b). In most cases firms also use an array of formal and informal policies to ease relocation for their employees (Beaverstock, 1990a), with international human resource specialists playing a particularly important role in this 'lubrication' process (Beaverstock, 2001)[23].

2.3.1.2 Flexible labour markets

As firms have increasingly moved towards post-Fordist forms of production and service delivery, the hegemony of the ILM has been undermined. Corporate structures have evolved and there has been increased flexibility and reliance on local resources. This flexible/local shift has led to new types of employment-based migration occurring outside the centralised labour markets of TNC's (Salt, 1992).

Beaverstock (1996b, 1996c), for example, adapts Doeringer and Piore's (1971) ILM model by incorporating Atkinson's (1985) idea of flexible labour markets. Applying this hybrid concept to skilled migration he suggests that 'flexible glocalised labour networks' exist whereby people are able to move internationally not only within the hierarchical structures of the firm, but also via peripheral and external labour market mechanism.

Consistent with this 'flexibility' hypothesis, Cormode (1994) recognises the role played by joint ventures, foreign subsidiaries, strategic alliances, subcontracting, and dynamic networks in contemporary skilled migration. Like Beaverstock she moves analysis away from the rigid structures of the ILM to consider 'relational labour markets' and the inter-organisational mobility networks associated with them (Cormode, 1996). With other empirical evidence supporting this 'flexible turn' (see for example Findlay and Li, 1997), it is clear that extended-internal and relational labour markets need considering in any discussion of professional world city migration.

There is another dimension to this flexible/local argument that actually calls into question the long term viability of skilled migration. In the UK TNC's spend £4.2 billion annually moving their employees overseas (Salt, 1997), with relocation costing between £100,000 and £600,000 per employee (Beaverstock, 2001). The high cost of expatriation has led to alternatives to migration being found, with firms becoming more flexible and/or looking to local labour markets for specialist support and expertise. An example of this increasing adaptability would be the use by TNC's of business travel and video

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[23] These involve, according to Salt (1983-84), the provision of information, the use of relocation agencies, the removal of institutional barriers, and the receipt by employees of expatriation allowances.

conferencing, rather than permanent employee relocation (see Figure 2.1). Nevertheless, the immutable qualities brought to the firm by the skilled expatriate are well known (Ford, 1992; Salt and Ford, 1993), and the process will undoubtedly continue to play a key role within a broader and increasingly sophisticated system of expertise mobility (Koser and Salt, 1997).

2.3.1.3 External and non-commercial labour markets

By their very nature, internal and flexible labour markets of TNC's involve only those engaged in the global productive economy. Thus, whilst I accept that "within the general pattern of skill exchange there is no doubt that corporate relocation is a major element in UK labour immigration and emigration" (Salt 1995, p. 29), it is not the only element, and reliance upon it would leave a large amount of intra-European mobility unexplained. After all, history tells us that skilled expatriates moved between core economies well before the growth of the TNC and the development of global city theory.

Remaining within the economic realm, non-commercial and external labour market channels clearly need incorporating into any framework of skilled migration. Unfortunately, however, the literature becomes somewhat restricted when moving outside the remit of transnational firms and their internal/flexible labour markets.

Migratory pathways outside the TNC were first observed by Findlay and Garrick (1990) within their 'migration channels' approach. This showed that, away from the SE 'escalator' region (Fielding, 1992) and the global-city networks embedded within it, international employment channels were substantially more diverse with :

"the internal dynamics of *three* migration channels significantly structuring the pattern of international migration opportunity, and selectively moulding the regional characteristics of British international migration". (Findlay and Garrick 1990, p. 191)

Notwithstanding the continued prominence of the 'ILM', Findlay and Garrick showed how international relocation also stemmed from other types of labour exchange, involving recruitment and overseas contract work.

The significance of this channels approach lies in the fact that it acknowledges diverse forms of employment-based migration occurring outside the direct control of the firm. It accepts that skilled individuals relocate through the help of recruitment agencies and head-hunters (Boyle *et al.*, 1996; Gould, 1987; Hayward, 1997). In addition, freelance consultants and professionals are allowed for within the fluid channels framework, individuals moving on temporary contracts, benefiting from the particular overseas

opportunities that arise (Hedwig and Hillman, 1998; Salt and Ford, 1993). The expansion of analysis need not end here though. For instance, non-commercial transnational organisations, outside the direct influence of the capitalist system, attract individuals from across the developed and developing world – Brussels has the EU (Willis, 1983), Geneva has the UN (White, 1988), whilst Paris has the OECD and UNESCO.

World cities, then, do not just attract employees moving within the internal and flexible labour markets of transnational companies. They attract a variety of autonomous professionals, as well as those employed by governments, transnational organisations and the third sector. Unfortunately, however, the diversity in international employment pathways suggested by Findlay and Garrick's approach is often overlooked, something to be avoided in this community-wide investigation.

2.3.1.4 The career-path

Moving within internal, flexible, external or non-commercial labour markets, skilled individuals are likely to be motivated by the prospect of professional and economic advancement. The association between geographical mobility and the career-path is a long one (Fielding, 1992; Pahl and Pahl, 1971), with its international credentials well established (Beaverstock, 1990 a, 1990 b, 1991; Ford, 1992; Garrick 1991; Salt, 1983-4).

According to Salt (1983-84), mobility rests upon the specific construction of the 'career' – with the ambitions of employees (organisational man) and the expectations of the employer (organisational career) the two key dimensions to ensuring career-path migration. Supportive of this basic premise, Beaverstock (1990a, 1990b, 1991) has noted the importance of the fast-track international career for those employed within the advanced producer service sector. This work serves to further underline the importance of agency within explanations of skilled, employment-based migration. As Findlay (1995a, p.521) asserts:

"the power of individual migrants to position themselves advantageously within the evolving world economy should not be underestimated".

Furthermore, with surveys consistently showing the career-enhancing role of migration, it is little wonder that employees of all ages continue to strive for overseas experience (Choat, 1999).

Having said this, the notion of the career does not always involve explicit, rational and linear progression, within a particular profession or organisation. Overseas gap-year

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experience, for instance, can make the difference between a successful and unsuccessful job application, even if the benefits are not always apparent at the time. Correspondingly, it is important to recognise that the notion of the 'career' extends beyond professional advancement; with the benefits of self-development and lifestyle enhancement also discernible. Thus, whilst for many expatriates promotion and/or income gain may be the ultimate migratory incentive, one must also recognise the experiential and non-monetary benefits of the international career-path (Ackers 1998, p. 170; Zulauf 2001, p. 194).

2.3.1.5 The household and the trailing spouse[24]

Beyond the labour market and career-path concepts, it is clear that many professional employees must consider household issues before embarking upon their international migration. Moving is always a difficult process, with the views of a working or non-working spouse, and the presence of children or elderly dependents likely to impact upon the decision-making process. Furthermore, the increasing need for migratory 'lubricators' and relocation specialists, allied with the growing number refusing international sojourns, and the associated rise in dual-career couples[25] (Baker, 2000), all point towards the importance of the household dynamic in migratory decision-making.

Unfortunately, however, recognition of migration as an inherently social act has been limited to the psychological and human resource 'culture-shock' literature (see for example: Deverthelyi, 1995; Greenbury and Shortland, 1996; Gullick, 1990; Harvey, 1998). Thus, whilst the household remains "the basic social unit around which people conduct their lives" (Hardill 1998, p.257), it has been relatively invisible in discussions of skilled international migration.

Relocation may well be prompted by the firm and career-path, but the decision-making process does not end there, even if much of the literature does. Recognising this, a number of feminist scholars have challenged "the dual myth of migration as male-dominated and economically determined" (Ackers 1998, p. 140). They argue that

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[24] This term has a number of other guises, including 'accompanying partner' (Willis and Yeo, 2002), 'tied mover' (Mincer 1978, in Ackers 1998, p. 165) and 'trailing wife' (Breugel 1996, in Kofman 2000, p. 53). For the sake of clarity and consistency I have opted for the most widely used and known.

[25] There is a strong correlation between dual-career households and the refusal to relocate overseas. As Harvey (1998, p. 309) recognises: "If the dual-career couple is not properly handled by international human resource managers, the frequency of refusal to relocate and failure during the international assignment will continue to rise".

explanations must evolve beyond the firm and career-path, to consider household politics and the hidden role of the trailing-spouse.

The reasons why females invariably 'trail' are complex; when moving, the man's job continues to take priority (Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Boyle, 2002), professions associated with 'skilled' migration remain male-dominated (McDowell and Court 1994a, 1994b), and within these professions there is a reluctance to send women overseas (Adler, 1994; Beaverstock, 2001; Harris, 1997; Linehan, 1998). However, even if outside economic and career-path structures, one must still see 'women as active agents' rather than 'passive dependents' (Kofman *et al.* 2000, p. 3; Yeo and Khoo 1998, p. 159). The trailing-spouse shapes skilled mobility (and immobility) through a household decision-making dynamic, and as such relations within the home can be as important as those within the firm.

As part of this household dimension, one must accept that the patriarchal-capitalist model of career-path mobility is being challenged as domestic and workplace norms evolve. Not only does evidence suggest increasing ambiguity with respect to the net benefits of international migration, something undoubtedly linked to the growing number of dual-career couple, but new household compromises also appear to be emerging, underpinning the development of transnational mobility patterns. The existence of 'Euro-commuters' (Dearlove, 1996), 'frontier migrants' (Zulauf 2001, p. 17) and 'astronaut families' (Ammmt and Guerin, 2001) are illuminating examples of these new household compromises. Temporarily divided by national borders, for days, weeks and even months, these outcomes are the latest in an increasingly complex career-household-gender mobility dynamic.

2.3.2 Migration and transnational policy

Looking beyond economic and household structures, and the respective influence of the career-path migrant and trailing spouse, I now want to consider the effect that national and European political barriers have upon intra-regional migration. Focusing on the EU, quite apart from a favourable economic context, geo-political developments over the past two decades have resulted in the removal of institutional barriers to mobility. True, TNC's often have the resources necessary to by-pass such constraints (Peixoto, 2001), but for independent migrants moving outside the firm these developments have at very least been helpful and at best they have made international mobility feasible (Salt and Ford 1993, p.306).

The emergence of a 'United States of Europe' within which labour is ostensibly allowed to move freely between each member state, can be traced to a number of key multi-lateral agreements between EU countries[26] (see Appendix 3). All advance the principle of free population exchange, either through general or sector specific legislation (see Zulauf 2001, p. 12-15)[27].

Having said this, formal and informal barriers to mobility continue to exist, and are particularly stifling in sectors where economic internationalisation has been slow (European Commission, 2001). Nursing is a prime example, "...there has been no major increase in the number of UK nurses seeking work in the EU" (Ness et al. 1993, p. 20), and this is due largely to the "...wide gap between the intentions of the European community and the Directives, and an individual's experience of what this means in reality" (ibid, p. iii). Similarly, evidence provided by Zulauf (2001), from the nursing and banking sectors, shows how we "...need measures that go beyond the mutual recognition of qualifications and skills" (p. 198) if the mobility levels envisaged by EU bureaucrats are to be reached.

Thus, whilst intra-European mobility has never been easier for migrants outside the influence of the TNC, a number of formal and many more informal barriers to mobility remain (European Commission, 2001; Peixoto, 2001; Read, 1991). A 'United States of Europe' will depend upon the dissolution of these barriers so that people feel both physically and psychologically free to move between member states.

2.3.3 Migration and transnational socio-cultural space

The economic and geo-political shifts summarised so far have undoubtedly created an increasingly supportive context for skilled European migration. However, whilst underpinning rising levels of mobility, they have not had a proportionate impact, and increases have been "slow and steady" (Findlay 1995b, p. 140). This has already been shown to be the case in the nursing and banking sectors (Ness et al., 1993; Zulauf, 2001), and aggregate data for the British in Ile-de-France is similarly unspectacular (see Section 4.1). Clearly, then, migration within the EU amidst freedom of movement rhetoric and

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[26] The presence of the 'European Economic Area (EEA)' is also significant in terms of EU-wide immigration policy, with migration to and from EEA, but non-EU countries (Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein) relatively easy.

[27] Sectoral Directives are the most long-standing of these, and have been applied to specific professions such as medicine and architecture. Unfortunately though, their development has been slow and laborious (Salt, 1992), and as a result more General Directives have superseded them, related to issues such as the harmonization of training and mutual recognition of educational qualifications.

increasing economic interdependence retains its 'international' dimension. By this, I mean that social and cultural gradients remain in place, ensuring that movement across national borders continues to be seen as qualitatively different from internal relocation.

This said, there are signs that the situation is evolving, with certain 'hyper-mobile' individuals no longer cognisant of, or constrained by, the international dimension of world city mobility (see Section 8.3). Furthermore, and the two factors are inextricably linked, national and local distinction is now undoubtedly constructed through, rather than in opposition to, world-wide signs and symbols. The resultant transnational socio-cultural context – a mixture of both the global and the local – has clearly underpinned a temporal shift towards the normalisation of international mobility. International mobility is no longer as remote a prospect as it once was, with travel a fact of life for many, and overseas migration no longer quite so unusual or quite so 'foreign'.

Key to this process has been time-space compression, with technological change leading to growth in both information and transportation linkages across national borders (see Section 8.2). Notwithstanding the impact that this has had upon our everyday lives, transnational linkages have also underpinned a global information and travel revolution. Correspondingly, individuals now make decisions to migrate based upon unprecedented levels of 'know-how', as well as an unparalleled ability to 'get there', a transnational socio-cultural context that both directly and indirectly facilitates the migratory process.

In essence, whilst socio-cultural barriers remain, contemporary trends towards transnationalism in general, and time-space compression in particular, have undoubtedly made migration more 'accessible'. Particularly within regional blocs like the EU, identity frontiers have receded, and the 'international' gradient differentiating, and thereby helping to constrain mobility, has eroded. Add to this the increasing levels of know-how permeating the migration and settlement process, and the growing ability of individuals to physically relocate, and it is clear how important this global-local process of transnationalism has been.

Furthermore, with exchange schemes like ERASMUS (now SOCRATES) aiming to bridge national communicative divides, and European student mobility reaching record levels (Tremblay, 2002), the favourable socio-cultural context for migration will continue. In particular, new generations of working-age migrants are now emerging, whose outlooks, although often contingent upon local and national ties, extend to the European and

international realm[28]. These global-local, socio-cultural shifts cannot be ignored when considering the structural context that surrounds skilled, world city migration, particularly within the EU.

2.3.4 Migrant diversity

With such socio-cultural upheaval, and an increasingly favourable geo-political and economic context, one can see why British migration to Ile-de-France involves a diverse range of social groups. Unfortunately, however, the literature remains dominated by an economic / sector-specific approach to skilled migration, and as such tends to overlook the untidy diversity that exists beyond the career-path migrant and trailing spouse.

Table 2.1 attempts to address this issue, outlining the variety of occupational fields the British are likely to be engage in. As well as the high-status career-path professionals, expatriates may actually have migrated without securing any prior employment. There will also be those who opt for relatively unskilled forms of employment, simply for the experience of living and working in a world-renowned city such as Paris. As stated in the introduction, examining this complexity is an explicit aim of the thesis (see Section 1.3), and the remainder of this first section of the review will focus on the diverse pathways associated with skilled migration.

As Iredale (2001, p. 20) recognizes, "no one theory or typology explains skilled migration" and one must therefore look beyond the dominant career-path / trailing-spouse model of professional migration. The task is not easy, though, as the individuals involved are potentially very diverse, with academic coverage extremely limited. Nevertheless, Ulf Hannerz (1996, p. 129-132) through his discussion of the 'Transnational City', provides a valuable insight into the heterogeneous appeal of locales like Paris. Three prominent social groups are identified; a third world population, a transnational managerial category, and a group of expressive specialists, with the latter group the important one in terms of examining the diversity of skilled migration.

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[28] Li *et al.* (1996) suggest that student mobility can be extremely important in effecting subsequent migratory behaviour – expanding student's mental maps and thereby making them more amenable to a global lifestyle in later-life (see also Section 8.3.2).

Table 2.1: Skilled Migration – beyond the career-path and trailing-spouse.

WORKING		
High-Status Career-Path Migrants:	Trans-National Corporations (TNC's):	• *Advanced Producer Services* • *Science, Engineering, Computing*
	National and Trans-National Non-Profit Organisations:	• *Global Reach: e.g. UNESCO, OECD, religious groups and charities* • *Supra-National Governance: e.g. EU, Council of Europe* • *National Governance: e.g. military, and embassy / consulate staff*
	Independent Consultants and Trans-National Entrepreneurs	
Individuals with Specialist Non-Productive Skill:		• *Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Services* • *Culture, Media and the Arts*
Employees in Non-Scarce Local / National Labour Markets:		• *Hotel and catering, au pairing, TEFL, construction, tourism etc...*
NON-WORKING		
Trailing Spouse		
Post-Graduate Students		

Expressive specialists appear to be attracted to world-renowned cultural and economic centres such as London, New York and Paris (see, for example, Bertrand-Dorléac, 1994; Mollier, 1994; Ory, 1994; Scott, 2000). They largely relocate "on their own" (Hannerz 1996, p. 131), rather than within TNC's and the associated career-path and household structures. Supportive of this often young and bohemian migrant presence, Kofman *et al.* (2000, p. 131) identify a similar cosmopolitan group of "intellectuals, students, artists and exiles" living within Europe's larger cities, a population generally ignored by scholars of skilled migration.

The presence of expressive specialists should not, however, be surprising. After all, the historical precedents, particularly within Europe's main cultural centres, are clearly

there (Alomes, 1999; Bailey, 1989; Fouche, 1998). Unfortunately, though, this type of appeal has been overshadowed by more dominant economic approaches, when ideally the two facets of world city magnetisms should have been considered in parallel.

In addition to this need to recognise cultural diversity, the literature also suffers from the fact that it prioritises "a narrow range of skilled migrations" (Kofman 2000, p. 51) and as a result tends to favour men. In particular, feminised professions, such as health, education and welfare (HEW) have been rendered invisible, with male dominated advanced producer service sectors proving much more attractive for academic research. Thus, whilst women dominate the HEW professions (Findlay, 1988), and whilst these are gradually becoming more transnational (Ness *et al.*, 1993; Zulauf, 2001), migrant women tend to be associated exclusively with the trailing spouse. This tied-migrant picture is, however, a 'mainstream myth' (Ackers, 1998), and it is now as Kofman (2000, p. 53) remarks, "more acceptable than ever in European societies for women to migrate on their own for education, employment or social reasons".

Staying with the narrow skill base of the literature, newly qualified graduates represent another group largely overlooked (although see: King and Shuttleworth, 1995a, 1995b; MacEinrí, 1989, 1991). As with HEW occupations, women once again dominate – this time a function of a linguistic-gender divide within universities. Migration outside of employment is common amongst this graduate cohort (King and Shuttleworth 1995b, p. 35), with secretarial and language-based occupations popular professional choices upon arrival (King and Arbuckle, 1992). Moreover, with the rapid internationalisation of education, some in this group are relocating overseas for post-graduate experience, and whether a student or employed these individuals live on modest incomes in relatively high cost world cities (MacEinrí, 1991). This is, therefore, a form of mobility that represents a 'rite of passage' into adulthood, during which time lifestyle preference and experience seeking takes priority over economic gain and career-path advancement.

2.3.4.1 Channelling diversity

Appreciating the complexities beyond the professional and managerial vista that dominates the literature, I want to briefly consider the migratory channels used by groups such as expressive specialists, HEW workers and lifestyle graduates. This requires one to acknowledge that movement is often un-structured and occurs outside the influence of the transnational corporation. As MacEinrí (1991, p. 37) observes, "the motivations of the

middle-class emigrant are as likely to be non-economic as work-driven", and from this comes the need to appreciate "a reduction in the rigidity of structures...and an increase in the flexibility of migration" (White 2001, p. 3).

Focusing upon this need for flexibility in explaining skill mobility, a number of alternative migratory channels are worth identifying. These include professional journals, newspapers and other specialist media (Findlay and Li, 1998), careers-offices (Shuttleworth, 1995a), recruitment agencies (Boyle et al., 1996; Gould, 1987; Iredale 2001) and the internet. All are used by more independent migrants who find work having first taken the decision to migrate overseas.

This represents a kind of 'emigration as walkabout' (King and Shuttleworth, 1995b) and is often contingent upon the use of transnational social and information networks. The seminal work of MacEinrí (1989; 1991), for example, reveals how the Irish presence in Paris stems from traditional social networks rather than employment. Similarly, King and Arbuckle (1992) observe a 'migration culture' amongst the new Irish in Rome, with over half having a sibling abroad (see also Kockel, 1993). Summarising this Irish 'walkabout' phenomenon, a phenomenon that seems reliant upon transnational social ties, King and Shuttleworth (1995b, p. 35) conclude:

"Even with the 'new' European migration destinations the role of social networking has been shown to be fundamental in the rapid evolution of graduate-led Irish communities in cities like Paris, Rome and Munich...Irish graduate migration is relatively unstructured by formal agencies such as employment bureaux and the ILM of TNC's".

In conceptualising skilled migration, therefore, one must recognise the importance of networks and 'network capital' (Boyd 1989; Wong and Salaff, 1998). This may involve family and close friends, as well as more distant acquaintances and information flows – encompassing both 'strong and weak ties' (Granovetter, 1973, 1982) in the process (see also Findlay et al., 1994a).

Beyond such networks, direct personal experience is also important in stimulating autonomous mobility. Most notably, the international retirement literature emphasises the role of 'travel careers' (King et al. 2000, p. 30) in underpinning later-life migration; with childhood memories, family holidays and business visits all shaping the relationships that retirees have with the places in which they ultimately choose to settle (King et al., 1998; Lazaridis et al., 1999). This is equally likely to impact upon the decisions of working age migrants, and is something that student schemes such as ERASMUS (now SOCRATES)

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have sought to cultivate (King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2002; Li *et al.*, 1996; Mahroum, 1999; Peixoto, 2001).

The diverse migratory pathways beyond the firm and career-path are included in Figure 2.2. This summarises the mechanisms in the literature most likely to shape skilled British migration to Ile-de-France. From the employment-led internal, flexible and external labour markets to individually initiated mobility, it is clear that expatriates will use a diverse range of migratory pathways. Moreover, the impact of economic, geo-political and socio-cultural shifts will relate to the channelling mechanism employed. Those within TNC's, for instance, will be exposed to the logic of global capitalism yet relatively oblivious to geo-political shifts within the EU. In contrast, independent migrants are more likely to be effected by reductions in geo-political barriers, with economic changes potentially less significant. The key point to be gleaned from Figure 2.2 is that the channels used by British expatriates will reflect the diverse combinations of structure and agency that accompany the decision to migrate, with skilled migration extending well beyond the TNC and professional career-path.

CHANNELLING MECHANISM		STRUCTURAL IMPACT		
Employment-Led	Individual-Led	Demand-Driven Economic Imperative	Low Geo-Political Impact	Low Transnational Socio-Cultural Impact
INTERNAL LABOUR MARKET				
FLEXIBLE LABOUR MARKET				
EXTERNAL LABOUR MARKET - Companies with international contracts - Specialist consultants - Recruitment agencies	EXTERNAL LABOUR MARKET - Recruitment agencies - Career office - Specialist media (trade journals, newspapers) - Internet	↕	↕	↕
SOCIAL AND INFORMATION NETWORKS	SOCIAL AND INFORMATION NETWORKS			
	PERSONAL EXPERIENCE			
	NO CHANNEL			
		Supply-Driven Individual Imperative	High Geo-Political Impact	High Transnational Socio-Cultural Impact

Figure 2.2: Franco-British migration channels

2.3.4.2 A final caveat

One important group of migrants has so far been ignored, their mobility a function of household decision rather than transnational employment opportunities or individual autonomy. Here I am referring to transnational couples, where one or both partners settles outside his/her home country in order to cement a mixed-nationality relationship. British migration to Paris may be motivated in this way, through the presence of a French or even third country partner.

Regrettably, research into this migratory stream is limited. Nonetheless, a clear gender divide has been observed in household decision making, with women more likely to settle in the husbands/partners home country (King and Arbuckle, 1992). This process is encapsulated by the following extract from a female migrant now living in her husband's home country:

"Ten years ago I said I do and because I really did, I forfeited my name, shed my job, lost my income, gave up my apartment and, as if smoking a final cigarette before execution, I relished one last American donut before flying off with my new husband to land quite foreign and very far away. As soon as the donut was gone I realised so too was I: gone". (Roberts 1997, p. 33)

Key to this process is the notion that the male career-path is more valuable than the female, and the associated pressure on women to trail their spouse (see Section 2.3.1). In addition, women tend to be better equipped linguistically (Ackers 1998, p. 168), with their related dominance in student exchange schemes a further factor in helping to ensure that a preponderance of women move abroad to live with their male partner.

2.3.5 Summary

A large proportion of the why, how and who of skilled mobility is encompassed within the economic restructuring, TNC labour market, and the career-path / trailing-spouse model of professional migration. This approach is extremely valuable, and addresses the complex interplay of structure and agency in the decision-making process. Nonetheless, as economic and geo-political co-operation increases within Europe, and social and cultural integration continues, there will undoubtedly be those who do not fit within this particular explanatory framework.

The review acknowledges this, outlining the likely presence of more autonomous and/or non-economic migrant groups. These include independent consultants,

governmental and third-sector employees, expressive specialists, HEW workers, lifestyle graduates and mixed-relationship movers, all of whom relocate outside the influence of the transnational firm. Acknowledging this diversity is critical in a community-wide study such as this, and sets the scene for the empirical investigation into British migration decision-making in Chapter 5.

To aid analysis, Figure 2.3 provides a summary framework for skilled migration, within which the areas to be examined later on in the thesis are identified. Principally, British decision-making within the transnational firm and household will be considered, as will the influence of the autonomous migrant. The aim will be to relate the diversity uncovered in the literature to the real-world, demonstrating how complex the why, how and who questions of skilled migration really are.

DECISION-MAKING PROCESS - see Chapter 5	GEO- POLITICAL BARRIERS	CHANNELLING - see Figure 2.2	MIGRANTS TYPES - see Chapter 5

HOME Context

FIRM

INDIVIDUAL　　　HOUSEHOLD

INFORMAL

FORMAL

→ ILM

→ FLM

→ ELM

→ Social Contacts

→ Information Networks

→ Personal Experience

→ No Channel

HETEROGENEOUS EXPATRIATE COMMUNITY

HOST Context
- to World City

HOME AND HOST STRUCTURAL GRADIENT
- Economic and Socio-Cultural

Figure 2.3: A framework for skilled migration

2.4 Residential settlement

In addition to explaining skilled migration, the thesis examines the residential settlement of the British across Ile-de-France. This second key mobility event is important in its own right, and like migration requires a complex yet subtle explanatory framework, combining the forces of structure and agency (see, for example, Glebe and O'Loughlin, 1987; Sarre, 1986; Sarre *et al.*, 1989; Tomlins, 1999). Moreover, where immigrants choose, or are compelled to live within a city, can have a profound impact upon subsequent patterns of socio-spatial behaviour. This is a long standing ecological issue (Park, 1926; Peach, 1975), and one that bears particular resonance for this community-based expatriate study. It implies, not only that residential settlement is worth examining in its own right, but that such an examination carries with it important implications for the study of minority communities and identities more generally (see Chapter 6).

Until recently, much of the residential literature focused on problematised immigrant groups, and the implications of this work will be acknowledged where appropriate. Most notably, research showed housing outcomes to be contingent upon the socio-economic position and race of immigrants. Historically, these two variables have combined to ensure low-skilled, non-white minorities concentrate within the residual property sectors avoided by the native population. Along with such constraints, the early literature acknowledged that immigrants were able to exercise some degree of choice in determining housing outcomes. Key to this self-determination were the cultural preferences of the incoming group, as well as the social networks at their disposal.

Together, choice and constraint-based factors have produced an extremely powerful framework from which to explore the housing outcomes of problematised immigrants. In accounting for the settlement of the British across Ile-de-France, this section will adopt a similar approach. It is one that will build upon the pioneering work of Glebe (1986) and White (1998a) and their analysis of residential clustering amongst skilled migrant groups elsewhere in Europe[29]. However, before examining the socio-

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[29] Paralleling this work further afield is Curson and Curson's (1982) study of Japanese settlement in Sydney.

economic and choice-based housing market mechanisms likely to shape British settlement, one should be aware of a number of problems inherent in the literature.

Most obviously, explanations have tended to rely on area-based statistics, the scale of which can be extremely significant in determining the extent of residential clustering[30] (Kesteloot, 1994; Peach, 1996; White, 1993a, 1993b). Moreover, the methods used to calculate levels of segregation also help to shape the 'facts' observed[31]. This is why the conclusions reached in the thesis around housing segregation and its community/identity implications are based upon both statistical and more in-depth forms of geographical analysis (see Chapters 4 and 6).

2.4.1 Introduction

For over twenty-five years geographers have been aware of the fact that it is not only low-skilled immigrants who cluster residentially[32]. As Glebe (1986) astutely remarks:

"In addition to low-status minorities, many European cities also have foreign minorities of middle or high socio-economic status. Little attention has been paid so far to these groups which in studies of ethnic segregation, are usually referred to as 'other foreigners'". (p. 461)

My aim, therefore, in the ensuing section of the literature review is to explore the possible reasons for 'other foreigners' living close to each other. Specifically, whilst levels of British segregation may not be as spectacular as those recorded for say the Maghrebian population in Ile-de-France, I intend to show that they are nevertheless worth examining and explaining.

In order to achieve this, the second part of the review will be divided into two main sections. Firstly, the property classes relevant to the British will be identified, as will the key urban gatekeepers shaping access to housing within each of these classes. Secondly, the specific demands of skilled expatriates will be outlined. These will be

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[30] Clustering in this study is referring to the over-representation of the British within certain census wards (*communes*) and city boroughs (*arrondissements*) of Ile-de-France. Other terms used in the literature to refer to this phenomenon include separation, segregation, concentration and congregation, with subtle nuances often characterising their varied usage within the literature.

[31] The Indices of Segregation (IS) and Dissimilarity (ID) (Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965), the Location Quotient (LQ) (Curson and Curson 1982; White, 1988), and P* index are the most common statistical measures used to quantify levels of immigrant clustering.

[32] It was only after the pioneering work in Brussels (De Lannoy, 1978), showing the Americans (61.3) to have a segregation index almost as high as the Turks (68.3), that scholars began to consider the settlement patterns of 'other foreign' groups.

shown to be contingent upon a variety of social and cultural factors, factors that can be critical in shaping the residential outcomes of international mobility.

2.4.2 Property classes and housing 'gatekeepers'

Immigrants tend to concentrate within specific housing classes distributed unevenly across the city (Rex, 1968; Rex and Moore, 1967; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979). The exact form the housing classes take depends upon the nature of the property within the particular urban area (cf. Lichtenberger, 1984; vanAmersfoort, 1990; White, 1987), with the distribution of immigrants across each of the classes a function of their socio-economic position.

Numerous scholars, for example, have documented the impact of purchasing power on the clustering of marginalized minorities within European cities (Kesteloot, 1987; Peach, 1996; Roelandt and Veenman, 1992; White 1998b). Similarly, the privileged socio-economic position of skilled immigrants suggests their concentration within particular high-status property classes. In addition, there are some on relatively modest incomes, such as the lifestyle graduates and expressive specialists, who face more restricted housing options.

However, it is not only affordability that influences the geography of immigrant settlement, knowledge of the property markets is also critical. Immigrants must be able to access and know about the available property within their respective housing classes. As Pahl (1975) in his seminal text on urban managerialism shows, this rests heavily on the actions and advice of property gatekeepers/institutions such as estate agents (Cater, 1981), building societies (Boddy, 1980; Stevens et al., 1982; Williams, 1978), landlords (O'Loughlin, 1987) and local authorities (Gray, 1976; Sporton and White, 1989).

In addition, less formal access channels associated with the social networking of immigrants and their prior knowledge of the host country, are also known to be significant in 'opening up' housing supply. The most obvious example of this is the prolonged chain migration to particular cities and neighbourhoods that occurs on the advice of relatives and friends already in situ.

Studies of skilled residential settlement demonstrate an awareness of these socio-economic and accessibility issues. Evidence suggests that particular housing classes are

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favoured by high-status groups, and also that the choice of property within each class is contingent upon various channelling mechanisms. Work in Brussels, for instance, has identified the importance of particularly 'desirable' housing areas for international elites, areas that are very different to those frequented by traditional minorities (De Lannoy, 1975; Grimmeau and David-Valcke, 1978; van der Haegen, 1995). These findings are supported by similar evidence from Düsseldorf and London, which documents the settlement of Japanese professionals within high quality, furnished rental accommodation (Glebe, 1986; White and Hurdley, 2003; Montag and White, 2000; White, 1988, 1998a, 1999).

In addition, a suburban owner-occupier class of housing also seems important for high-status immigrants, with a number of scholars observing a city/suburban pattern of settlement (Blom, 1999; Glebe, 1986; White, 1988). Latterly, this has been associated with the notion of the 'ethnoburb', a concept designed to identify loose concentrations of relatively affluent immigrants within particular suburban locations:

"Ethnoburbs are suburban ethnic clusters of residential areas and business districts in large metropolitan areas. They are multiethnic communities, in which one ethnic minority group has a significant concentration, but does not necessarily comprise a majority" (Li 1998, p. 2).

Although originally applied to the Chinese in North America, the ethnoburb is useful more generally in helping to account for the location of similarly privileged groups in other world cities. The suburbs west of Paris (*la banlieue ouest*), for example, have been shown to be home to an international class of 'career-path' migrants (Wagner, 1998), and along with a select number of city-centre '*beaux quartiers*'[33], they appear to attract a disproportionate number of international professional and managerial residents. Furthermore, the socio-economic exclusivity of these two areas is increasing (Grange, 1993; Rhein, 1998).

Thus, in both urban and suburban locations, where there exists a preponderance of quality private rental or owner-occupier accommodation, 'elites' tend to cluster. These two housing classes must, therefore, be considered when accounting for British settlement across Ile-de-France.

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[33] These are generally agreed to be the 1st, 7th, 8th, 15th and 16th *arrondissements*, all of which extend west from *Nôtre Dame*.

Having said this, one must be aware of the important demographic nuances that determine the distribution of expatriates across the housing classes. For example, in both London and Sydney, Japanese families have been shown to exhibit different locational preferences to their non-familial counterparts (Curson and Curson, 1982; White, 1999). Moreover, as well as these life-stage differences, one must also be aware of socio-economic divides. Young, single, well educated, but financially constrained lifestyle graduates may ostensibly share the same private rental sector as their elite career-path counterparts (cf. MacEinrí, 1989, 1991; White, 1988, 1998a). Nevertheless, there will obviously be a great deal of difference in the quality of rental accommodation being purchased by the two types of skilled migrants.

To this demographic and socio-economic diversity the variable of time must also be added to recognise the constant changes occurring in the built environment of any city. For example, whilst central Paris has always been relatively prestigious, the inauguration of Jacques Chirac as mayor in 1977 with his *laissez-faire* right wing political ideology marked the beginnings of an era of gentrification in the remaining devalorized areas[34] (Carpenter *et al.*, 1994). Pre-war rent controlled housing was the target, with the state and property capitalism combining to exploit the 'value gap'[35] that had emerged following 1948 rent control legislation. The *embourgeoisement* associated with the 'cleaning up of Paris'[36] (White, 1998b) has helped to ensure that inner-city districts are now dominated by middle and upper class owner-occupiers and private renters. The implication for British settlement is clear – the central city will now be

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[34] In 1977 a new housing act was introduced to encourage owner-occupation through low interest loans, and between 1975 and 1990 the owner-occupied sector in Paris increased in importance from 21.6% to 26.9% (Carpenter and Lees, 1995).

[35] A value gap, originally devised by Hamnett and Randolph (1986), occurs when conversion of tenure from low status renal to higher value owner occupied and private rented accommodation would produce substantial financial remuneration for owners of property capital but is hampered by legislation (such as the 1948 rent act).

[36] Examples of revalorised areas include the traditional working class heartland of the eastern city (Carpenter *et al.*, 1994) as well the more central Marais district (Carpenter and Lees, 1995). The 15th arrondissement, however, remains an area of low status North African immigrant concentration (Barou, 1988).

almost universally attractive, something that was certainly not the case in the past, and is certainly not true of all world cities[37].

Whether in the suburbs or city-centre, renting or buying, the access that expatriates have to property within each housing class is crucial in determining the eventual geography of settlement. In the extreme, residential choice may be completely controlled. This can occur when the expatriate employer acts as estate agent and landlord, something that is not uncommon for those working in the larger TNC's (Cohen, 1977; Montag and White, 2000; White, 2001). Similarly, at the other end of the socio-economic spectrum, live-in workers such as *au pairs* and nannies, as well as international students in halls of residence, have little say about where they live within the city.

Moreover, even for those without these obvious constraints, housing preference may continue to be shaped by employer involvement. The transnational firm, for example, whilst not always providing property directly often acts as a key gatekeeper in the housing search process (Glebe, 1986; White, 1999), and as Curson and Curson (1982, p. 492) observe:

"(whilst) similarity in family and socio-economic status may in fact ensure some proximity to other Japanese, (so) indeed may the operation of the various Japanese companies in finding suitable accommodation for their employees".

These companies often form alliances with specialist estate agents, both native and minority owned[38], and together can have a substantial impact upon the settlement of professional and managerial migrants (Montag and White, 2000; White 2001).

Even for those expatriates engaged in individual-led search processes, the specific actions of estate agents and landlords cannot be ignored. Buller and Hoggart (1994a, p. 69), for example, note the critical role played by property agents and specialist magazines in directing British second-home owners towards certain areas of rural France[39]. A channelling influence also likely to manifest itself in the urban context.

Furthermore, as the influence of the employer declines, informal information channels can play an increasingly important role in shaping residential outcomes. This

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[37] Although the city of Paris has become more universally appealing to middle and upper class residents, the traditionally popular western *arrondissements* continue to remain the most significant in relative and absolute terms for *'les classes privilégiées'* (Grange, 1993; Rhein, 1998).
[38] Interestingly in Düsseldorf estate agents are predominantly German, while in London there are approximately 15 Japanese companies involved in the housing search process (Montag and White, 2000).
[39] In some villages in rural France up to one-fifth of the population is British (Hellen, 2001).

has been shown to be the case for middle-class graduates, who through socio-economic circumstance rely upon social networks and the media to find overseas accommodation (Almeida, 1992; King and Shuttleworth 1995b). These less structured housing channels act as a valuable orientation resource for those who cannot rely upon employer expertise, and/or cannot afford to pay for specialist advice from estate agents and relocation companies.

In summary, the above section has highlighted how socio-economic status and accessibility issues influence the residential outcomes associated with migration. The literature indicates a number of important housing classes and associated channelling mechanisms, and these are summarised in Table 2.2. This lists the property sectors likely to be significant in guiding British settlement across Ile-de-France – given what we already know of the types of individuals relocating there (see Section 2.3). Very briefly, five housing classes are identified, and these are linked to the socio-economic position of expatriates and the relationship they have with their overseas employer.

Table 2.2: British residential settlement in Ile-de-France: property classes and housing gatekeepers.

Employer Influence	Channelling Mechanisms	Housing Class	
EMPLOYMENT DETERMINED	Employer dictates place of residence	Industry Owned Property	
		Live-in Accommodation	Au-pairs, nannies etc
			Student Halls
EMPLOYMENT GUIDED	Employer guidance - recommendation, advice and support from TNC	Owner-Occupied	
	Estate agents / landlords - often specialist targeting career-path expatriates	Private Rental – High Quality	
INDIVIDUAL SEARCH	Estate agents / landlords - often specialist targeting career-path expatriates	Owner-Occupied	
	Social and media networks - knowledge of housing market through contacts, experience and media	Private Rental – High Quality	
		Private Rental – Standard	

2.4.3 Ethno-national and immigrant-specific demand

Along with supply-side issues, a number of demand-based factors influence the residential outcomes of immigrants within the city. Since the 1970s, for instance, scholars have been aware of how 'voluntary non-participation' and the 'myth of return' shapes housing preference (Anwar, 1979; Dahya, 1974), a short-termism that acts to guide certain groups to particular housing sectors and geographical areas. Likewise, the need/desire to live near to immigrants, their specialist organisations and associated commercial facilities also impacts upon the residential outcomes of migration. The most obvious example in Paris is the Goutte d'Or district, which rather than being a 'hyper-ghetto' (Wacquant and Wilson, 1993) where North African immigrants are forced to live, acts as a social and cultural hearth. Furthermore, once these dimensions to demand begin to create residential clusters, the clusters often become self-supporting based upon chain migration and cumulative demand.

Focusing upon the social and cultural preferences of immigrants, Li (1998, p. 2) argues that these remain significant even for those in relatively affluent areas outside the central city:

"Ethnoburbs are created through deliberate efforts of a group within changing global / national / local contexts. They function as a settlement type that replicates some features of an ethnic enclave, and some features of a suburb lacking a specific ethnic identity".

This demand-based issue is likely to prove particularly important for the British, given what we know of their suburban residential skew within Ile-de-France (Guillon and Chauviré 1991, pp. 180-186; Hart and Barbin, 2000; Living in France 1998, pp 56-64; Wagner, 1998).

Evidence from the retirement migration literature (Damer, 1996; International Journal of Population Geography, 1998) lends support to the contention that choice shapes the residential outcomes of even relatively affluent minorities. In particular, retirees seem to harbour a desire to establish in-group social networks close to where they live, and this draws them together residentially:

"...enclavism provides a readily accessible set of overlapping formal and informal social networks amongst highly visible expatriate communities". (King at al. 1998, p. 105)

Similarly, this networking function is apparent for skilled working-age migrants:

"The Japanese are middle-class and live in middle-class areas, but they are not randomly distributed across the available areas. Certainly class is an important factor for their distribution, as they are orientated

towards high-priced housing. Ethnicity, however, determines their concentration within specific parts of that sector, above all because of the need to maintain positive internal interaction within the group". (Glebe 1986, p. 482)

This demand is both a positive and negative one, with the choice to locate in immigrant enclaves based around socio-psychological and linguistic insecurities as much as the self-conscious assertion of cultural identity.

In addition to social networking, there are more specific ethno-national and immigrant demands that can lead to residential concentration. One of the most important variables in this respect is the location of specialist schooling facilities. Montag and White (2000), for example, show how the location of the Japanese school in London (West Acton), allied with the eleven bus routes serving it, has impacted upon the overall geography of Japanese settlement in the city. Research from Brussels (van der Haegen, 1995) reinforces the point, and as White (1988, p. 420) observes in relation to evidence gathered from Vienna:

"The location of scholastic infrastructure is important not only in reflecting the existing locations of high status foreigners in Vienna but also in maintaining that distribution".

In addition to schooling, a number of other ethno-national and immigrant facilities also appear influential. Employment-related institutions, for example, have been highlighted by De Lannoy (1975) as possible forces behind concentration in Brussels, whilst White (1998a) identifies the role of international transport in contributing towards residential clustering.

Other specialist facilities catering for particular religious beliefs, dietary needs and leisure pursuits may also lead to choice-related segregation. This said, with the exception of Jewish immigrants, the power of these ethnic variables amongst high-status groups remains somewhat ambiguous[40]. Curson and Curson (1982), for instance, note how only a small proportion of the Japanese in Sydney involve themselves in specialist leisure activities (e.g. *Ikebana*), and they attributed little explanatory power to this residential variable. Nonetheless, even with such uncertainty, it is clear that specialist ethnic, national and immigrant facilities, along with the presence of in-group social networks, have the potential to shape the residential outcomes of expatriates.

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[40] The Chinese commercial concentration in the Porte-de-Choisy district of Paris is an example of this 'specialist facility' clustering (White *et al.*, 1987). There was, however, no British equivalent (cf. Figure 4.19).

Finally, in terms of the issue of 'non-participation' and the influence of return in residential searching, the concept would appear to be applicable to skilled as much as un-skilled individuals. Many British will have short 'stay horizons' (White 1988, p. 413), with their sojourn status precluding participation in particular housing classes, most notably the owner occupier sector. Many are likely to voluntarily confine themselves to the private rented sector as a result, a decisions that adds yet another dimension to choice-based accounts of residential clustering. Furthermore, this confinement is especially likely if property in the home country is retained.

Over time housing integration may increase as short-term priorities erode and immigrants accept the longevity of their move. However, the influence of the initial period of uncertainty is often prolonged and initial non-participation can leave an important residential legacy. This stems from the fact that once settled within a city people tend to move relatively short distances, keeping to the neighbourhoods that they know best (see Section 4.3.5).

2.4.4 Summary

The British are not a problematised minority and are relatively dispersed across the various urban and suburban neighbourhoods of Ile-de-France. Like most ethno-national groups they do not live in ghettos or enclaves and exhibit only moderate levels of concentration. Nevertheless, the supply-side and demand-based factors underpinning this moderate concentration are worth examining, and these are summarised in Figure 2.4.

Based on evidence from the literature, this tells us that in considering British settlement a number of key property classes will represent the theoretical supply of available accomodation. Beyond this, urban gatekeepers act to filter supply, and channel individuals into particular residential areas. Furthermore, expatriates have their own ethnic, national and immigrant derived agendas. They may, for instance, want to live near to fellow nationals, or in close proximity to particular employment and educational facilities. They may also be conscious of the temporary nature of their stay and choose not to participate within particular property classes. These decisions are crucial, and combined with socio-economic and accessibility issues, are central to accounting for settlement within the world city.

Chapter 6 will adopt this framework when considering evidence of British neighbourhood propinquity in Ile-de-France. In addition, the proceeding discussion will also prove useful when examining the more general presence of 'international' residential zones of skilled migrants in globl cities like Paris.

CONTEXT OF MIGRATION (see SECTION 2.3)

HOUSING CLASSES – Theoretical Supply of Property

ACCESSIBILITY	CHOICE

Formal Gatekeepers (TNC's, Estate Agents, Relocation Specialists)	Informal Gatekeepers (Friends, Relatives, Media)	Social Networking	Ethno-National / Immigrant Facilities	Non-Participation

SUPPLY FILTERS – limit extent to which each housing class is accessible, giving a 'practical' property supply	ETHNO-NATIONAL / IMMIGRANT DEMAND – within each housing class immigrants have their own agendas

INTERACTION OF SUPPLY FILTERS AND SPECIALIST DEMAND

DISTINCT ETHNO-NATIONAL / IMMIGRANT MOSAIC?

Dispersal	Loose Clustering	Neighbourhood Community	Ghetto, enclave or 'Planted' Community

Suburban	Urban

Figure 2.4: A framework for high status, world city settlement

2.5 Minority communities[41]

Whilst the most visible and statistically accessible facet of minority distinction, residential clustering is but one dimension of it. As Grimes (1992, p. 165) argues:

"The significance of residence alone in the context of migrant adaptation has been greatly overemphasized, largely because of the availability of census data, and because of the difficulties associated with analysing the more complex – although more relevant – phenomenon of social interaction".

The task, therefore, in this and the final chapter section is to assess the everyday impact of ethnic, national and immigrant status on the behaviour of British expatriates.

Focusing for now upon the issue of community distinction, I want to examine the importance of formal organisations and informal social networks in the lives of the British expatriates in Ile-de-France. Primarily, this will involve tracing the evolution of the 'heterolocal' model of community – one based first and foremost upon social interaction rather than residential propinquity. The significant spaces of immigrant interaction will be identified and their prominent functions explored, before the social diversity of the various user groups is acknowledged.

In concentrating upon minority community distinction, the thesis inevitably presents a one-sided view of integration and assimilation[42]. The aim, however, is not to overplay separation and insularity, merely to explore this particular facet of international mobility. In fact, none of the expatriates were cocooned within an entirely British environment twenty-four hours a day, just as few were isolated from all UK influences. In almost every case a Franco-British balance was struck, and it is the British side to this balance that I intend to investigate.

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[41] Community has always been a difficult concept to define (Hillery, 1955; Sutton and Munson, 1976). As a result, some have questioned the viability of the term. For example, Stacey (1969) labelled it a 'verbal ragbag' that could mean anything to anyone, whilst Hawtin *et al.* (1994, p. 32) call it "an over-used, often hackneyed concept".

[42] Studies of skilled expatriate communities have produced mixed results with regard to host country socio-cultural integration. Some point towards considerable success in establishing native ties (Buller and Hoggart, 1994a, 1994b; King and Arbuckle, 1992; King and Patterson, 1998; MacEinrf, 1989), whilst other talk in more insular terms (Beaverstock, 2002; Beaverstock and Bostock, 2000; Cohen, 1977; Damer, 1996; King *et al.*, 2000; O'Reilly 2000a, 2000b; Willis and Yeo, 2002). Reasons for these differences in establishing native ties relate to the context of arrival and the type of migratory pathway involved, with the socio-professional status of expatriates a key variable.

2.5.1 Community as interaction

Understandably, research has predominantly examined the communal behaviour of the most visible and controversial immigrant groups –either those associated with the mass migration waves of the 1950s, 60s and 70s, or the more recent asylum seeker, refugee and clandestine population flows. Nevertheless, a number of British community studies do exist; ranging from historic examinations of colonial-era settlement (Marshall, 2000; Proudfoot and Wilson, 1961; Tanner, 1964), to contemporary studies of retirement migration (King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2000a) and 'elite' expatriate communities (Beaverstock, 2002; Beaverstock and Bostock, 2000; Willis and Yeo, 2002). Combining this diverse literature, I want to first deal with the morphology of community.

As already suggested in Section 2.4, and demonstrated empirically in Chapters 4 and 6, the British are only loosely clustered and have only a vague sense of neighbourhood-based ethno-national affinity. As a result, the importance of geography in terms of British communality will lie less in urban ecology and the housing market and more in the location of activity spaces across Ile-de-France.

This requires one to acknowledge the 'community without propinquity' idea, a notion developed in the USA to shows how middle-class groups come together as a result of shared values and interests rather than neighbourhood proximity (Webber, 1963). This idea marked the beginning of a shift away from communities as neighbourhoods (see, for example, Young and Wilmott, 1957), to them being seen as contingent upon institutions and personal ties. Thus, rather than being used only to describe neat and spatially coherent sets of social relations, communities have become associated with the 'non-place urban realm'[43].

Accepting that residential proximity may involve no communal ties, whilst at the same time dispersed individuals may come together at particular locales to form non-place communities signalled an important socio-anthropological development within minority research. The move away from spatial fetishism did not, however, signal a complete disregard for the relationship between society and space. Wellman and

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[43] Paralleling this debate was the work of Tönnies (1957) with his discussion of the shift from the sentimental, loyal and personal world of 'gemeinschaft' to the rational, unemotional and depersonalised relationships that characterised the contemporary 'gesellschaft' era. Even if neat place-based communities ever existed, Tönnies argued that these were now unsustainable in the modern urban world.

Leighton (1979), for example, were at the forefront of calls for a balance between traditional neighbourhood studies and the 'community lost' critiques that followed. Forwarding the notion of 'community as liberated' they argued that:

"We must be concerned with neighbourhood *and* community rather than neighbourhood *or* community... the two are separate concepts which may or may not be closely associated". (Wellman and Leighton 1979, p. 385)

As one of the first subtle appreciations of the community concept, the work of Wellman and Leighton defends the importance of propinquity whilst avoiding ascribing any degree of primacy to the variable, and this balance will be implicit throughout the remainder of the thesis.

The implications of Webber, Wellman and Leighton, and others, for the study of immigrant communities are obvious. The ecological association between residential dispersal and inevitable host country integration/assimilation is no longer valid – if it ever was. Groups as diverse as Koreans in New York (Kim, 1981), Asians in Leicester (Phillips, 1981) and the Iberian domestic servants in Paris (White, 1989), whilst forming loose residential clusters, have been shown to maintain geographically dispersed networks of ties. As Western (1992, p. 160) succinctly puts it, "it seems that these days you do not have to be *geographically* close to close friends".

The key issue to arise from this conceptual shift is how one examines the social morphology of non-place communities, and the distinctive forms of immigrant behaviour occurring within them. An alternative socio-spatial approach is clearly required, and Zelinsky and Lee (1998) provide it in the form of 'heterolocalism'[44]. Linking general developments in community theory with evidence of geographical, but not socio-cultural dispersal amongst immigrants, heterolocalism "...is intended to convey the possibility that an ethnic community can exist without any significant clustering" (*ibid*, p. 285). More particularly, it is a North American response to the reality of late modernity and the confusing/ambiguous urban mosaics that have emerged.

Quite clearly:

"We are not witnessing any latter-day replication of ethnically homogenous neighbourhoods in the manner of the various Chinatowns, Boston's intensely Italian North End or its equivalent in South Philadelphia, or

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[44] The exact definition of heterolocalism given by Zelinsky and Lee (1998) is as follows: "recent populations of shared ethnic identity which enter an area from distant sources, then quickly adopt a dispersed pattern of residential location, all the while managing to remain cohesive through a variety of means' (p. 281).

in the many classic examples (Polish, Jewish, German, Greek, etc.) in the Chicago of yesteryear". (*ibid*, p. 287)

The thesis recognises this phenomenon as something extending well beyond the boundaries of North America, and will seek to apply the heterolocal framework to the European context (although see Davies and Townshend, 1994). Moreover, because "...the most conspicuous heterolocal communities involve the relatively privileged" (*ibid*, p. 281), this transfer will be relatively easy for the British.

In privileging these "far flung sparsely knit ties stretching beyond the boundaries of neighbourhood or kinship solidarities" (Wellman 1987, p. 8), immigrant organisations and social networks become the most important constituents of community. These represent the 'places' where minority distinction is most likely to be produced and reproduced, and their role will now be considered in detail[45].

2.5.2 Community as place

The terms and metaphors used to refer to these places of immigrant performance vary quite considerably; from 'beacons' (Stoller, 1996) to 'bubbles' (Cohen, 1977), to 'social fields' (Willis and Yeo, 2002) and immigrant 'enclaves' (King *et al.*, 1998); however all document the same basic phenomenon. They reveal just how important certain locales are, and the key role played by friends, relatives and acquaintances within these locales.

In very basic terms, the recursive relationship between the individual participant, the group and the interactional space, creates the 'place' in which immigrant 'performances' occur. This 'social spatialisation' argument has been discussed in relation to identity evolution and performance amongst groups as diverse as students (Chatterton, 1999) and new age travellers (Hetherington, 1996), and it is clear that the ethno-national/immigrant status of expatriates marks them out as another important "mini-community within the divided city" (Chatterton 1999, p. 132).

Looking at this 'actor-cast-stage' identity nexus in detail, and the associated sites of social centrality, one can distinguish between two definite types of immigrant 'glue'.

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[45] The heterolocal model of community proposed in the thesis involves the contemporaneous presence of 'strong' and 'weak' ties, with both important in the overall constitution of group interaction and identity (see Granovetter 1973, 1982). In addition, these ties may reflect residential clustering, with heterolocal activity spaces not entirely devoid of geographical influence – something that authors such as Wellman and Leighton (1979) and Zelinsky and Lee (1998) recognise within their community frameworks.

The first involves activity space within and around the immigrant organisation, and the importance of these organisations will now be discussed. *Attention will then turn towards less formal social networks, appreciating the fundamental and complementary role that these play in the communal lifeworlds of immigrants.*

2.5.2.1 Immigrant organisations[46]

In terms of community morphology, immigrant organisations represent the most visible and permanent dimension to heterolocalism. This point assumes an added degree of saliency when one is considering non-problematised groups, who are also residentially and commercially dispersed. White (1989), for example, when faced with the task of accessing the 'invisible' Iberian community "with little in the way of tangible physical manifestation...and no real core community area" (p. 208-9), nevertheless discovered a "fragmentary core of Spanish life...based on nodal provision of infrastructure" (*ibid*, p. 207). It was, he discovered, through immigrant organisations like the '*Iglesia Español*', with its daily Spanish masses and active social and cultural life, that the vitality of the Iberian 'non-place community' became palpable.

The extent of institutional provision varies between minorities[47], and it is rare that all essential services are provided from within the community, such that it can be said to be 'institutionally complete' (Breton, 1964; Driedger and Church, 1974). Nevertheless, the variety of organisations is often impressive - ranging from churches, schools[48] and business organisations to welfare bodies, cultural societies and political groups (see, for example, Ansari 1992, p. 133-144; Davies and Townshend 1994; Gitmez and Wilpert 1987, p. 115-121; Josephides 1987, p 47-50).

In Paris, 'invisible' minorities such as the Americans (Kaspi and Le Dret, 1994) and Portuguese (Hily and Poinard, 1987) have a strong and diverse organisational

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[46] Immigrant organisations can be distinguished from less formal interaction through the presence of some, or all, of the following; membership policies, a joining fee, a constitution, voluntary and/or paid staff, permanent premises, and a management committee (see Section 4.4).

[47] Few truly comparative studies of immigrant organisations exist (although see, Jenkins, 1988; Joly, 1996; Sassen-Koob, 1979).

[48] This particular communal node assumes an added importance because of the way in which it produces/reproduces 1.5/2nd generation socio-cultural distinction. As Cohen (1977, p. 45) notes, "One of the most important institutions, which safeguards the cultural seperateness of the expatriate and provides them with a sense of continuity in relation to their home societies, is their natural-language school".

presence, a pattern that is also replicated amongst British groups elsewhere. Karen O'Reilly (2000a), for example, discovered how:

"Club life and social groups are a critical feature of life in Spain for the British migrant. There are over 50 British clubs...catering for almost every interest and activity, (and), for many of the retired migrants this can become a way of life". (p. 77)

Similarly, Willis (1983, p. 60) noted the importance of immigrant organisations in sustaining a "vigorous cultural life" for a very different British diplomatic community in Brussels (see also Beaverstock 2002; Willis and Yeo, 2002).

These findings, and others like them, suggest that even in the absence of substantial external constraint and long distances between the home and host country, the British are likely to be organisationally involved. This said, there are those groups for whom communal infrastructure is almost non-existent (Ansari 1992; King and Arbuckle, 1992; Lazaridis *et al.*, 1999; Markowitz 1993; Shokeid 1988), and one must recognise that the heterolocal model often involves less visible/formal social networks. Thus, whilst much of the fabric that binds immigrants together:

"...exists in the shape of ethnic churches, business associations, athletic leagues, social and service clubs, cultural centres, festivals, and other institutions...a sense of community can be constructed and maintained even in the absence of formal organisations and activities if personal networks come into play" (Zelinsky and Lee 1998, p. 288).

2.5.2.2 Social networks

Immigrant infrastructure may not always be present or discernible but this does not mean that there is no evidence of community. Markowitz (1993), for example, failed to find any Soviet Jewish organisations in New York. Nevertheless, by focusing on less visible friendship networks "a community of social interaction" (p. 81) was soon revealed. Almost invisible in almost every sense, this community was vibrant and self-contained, demonstrating that the everyday impact of mobility also manifests itself in behaviour occurring outside of the club, society or association. As Rex and Josephides (1987, p. 20) remark:

"We should be prepared to apply our mode of analysis not merely to churches, workers' associations or welfare associations, but also to more ephemeral groups such as the clientele of public houses, groups which meet for house parties, or football teams".

Taking this suggestion further, immigrants seem to rely more upon social networks on an everyday basis, with organisational activities tending to be relatively confined and 'instantiated' (Giddens, 1984). The informal 'we-relationships' of small

groups invariably reveal higher and more intense levels of social stratification (Ley, 1983), and research into community distinction must address this. It must go beyond discrete and visible organisations to consider alternative locales, such as pubs, bars and restaurants, as well the home, work and street spaces in which immigrant performances occur.

Whyte's (1955) classic ethnography 'Street Corner Society' is famed for this, and shows just how significant casual interaction can be in the socio-spatial behaviour of minority groups. Similarly, in Paris evidence from the Goutte d'Or district reveals how popular street gambling is amongst the North African community (Vuddamalay et al., 1991). A visible and perennial manifestation of low-status, male, immigrant interaction, the main British heterolocal equivalent to the street would appear to be the 'pub' and bar (Eaton, 1995). As O'Reilly (2000a, p. 77) observes of the retired migrant community in Spain:

"Many of the British bars are almost clubs in their own right, organising outings, holding bingo nights, serving as information exchanges, holding raffles, organising fund raising events, and enabling book exchanges".

Pubs, bars and restaurants have also been shown to be socially and economically important for working-age expatriates, representing one of the most significant places in which professional British identities are visibly 'performed' (Beaverstock, 2002; Beaverstock and Bostock 2000; Willis and Yeo, 2002).

These two examples, of the street and the pub, demonstrate the need to look beyond the immigrant organisation to examine other sites of informal sociability. At the same time, it is important to recognise that these facets are intertwined. Immigrant networks are usually essential precursors to the establishment of organisations (Hagan 1998, p. 55), providing the seedbed for the 'social entrepreneur' (Breton, 1965). These organisations in turn underpin the expansion of social networks beyond their immediate members (Gitmez and Wilpert 1987, p. 111; Stoller 1996, p. 160), with the two types of social glue complementary. As Breton (1965, p. 202) recognises, "the degree of institutional completeness and the magnitude of the ethnic interpersonal network are interdependent phenomena". Thus, when considering British socio-spatial behaviour both facets of community will be explored.

2.5.3 Community functions

Having established a framework for the study of the British expatriate community, it is also important to identify the mechanisms that underlie the socio-spatial behaviour observed. Immigrants are subject to explicit and implicit influences, and embed within community nodes and networks through choice and constraint. Aware of this complexity, the review will now consider a number of basic functions associated with in-group interaction. It will seek to answer the question of why immigrants remain distinct from their hosts.

Firstly, formal and informal community infrastructure provides immigrants with an easily accessible network of social support. This function is important because migration unsettles and isolates, and whether a refugee (Carey-Wood *et al.*, 1995; Duke and Marshall, 1995) or skilled migrant (Gordon and Jones, 1991; Li *et al.*, 1995; MacEinrí, 1989; O'Reilly, 2000b; Yeo and Khoo, 1998), newcomers must 'find their feet' and gain social confidence. In addition, the community structures help new arrivals to find accommodation and employment (Almeida, 1992; Grimes, 1992), and provide them with vital information about the host country context.

Cut from familiar social moorings, and without the practical socio-cultural capital to operate effectively within ones adopted city, it is easy to see why immigrants favour in-group interaction. Furthermore, once settled this behavioural pattern often continues, with theses functions not just confined to newcomers.

Community structures also provide comfort and "sufficient familiarity in the strangeness of the host society" (Cohen 1977, p. 77). They allow everyday escape from an often alien and stressful native milieu. Furthermore, this function is particularly important for those faced with considerable language barriers – something that a wealth of British community studies testify (Buller and Hoggart, 1994a, 1994b; King *et al.* 1998, p. 105; O'Reilly 2000b, p. 241). As O'Reilly (2000a, p. 149) asserts, "language is crucial", in fact it is probably "the most significant indicator of the ability to integrate with the local indigenous community and to come to terms with the local culture" (King *et al.* 2000, p. 128). Similarly, Willis (1983, p. 59/60) notes how:

"If the British seemed a little cliquish in associating so much with each other, it is a characteristic shared by other national groups and has much to do with the need to relax from the stress of a totally new environment among compatriots speaking the same language".

Thus, when examining community distinction it is important to recognise the practical difficulties faced by immigrants, and problems many have in overcoming what can be very obstinate social and cultural-linguistic barriers.

This said, even after initial periods of adaptation, and having acquired the appropriate language skills, immigrants often seek to retain elements of their home-country identity. There is a long-term and often self-conscious assertion of cultural difference, and this manifests itself in the organisational involvement and social networking of expatriates. The British, for example, even though English is a European/international language, tend to socialise with fellow nationals. As one expatriate admitted: "the trouble with the British is they tend to stick together...and that's true here in Brussels, despite its huge international community... although we speak three languages we still tend to mix with British people" (Gordon and Jones 1991, p. 124). There is, then, more to the expatriate 'bubble' than language or the need for initial practical and social support. An additional ethno-national identity function applies, even to non-problematised groups moving between structurally proximate European countries (see, for example, King and Shuttleworth, 1995a; MacEinrí, 1989).

Together, these three factors help ensure that international mobility is almost always paralleled by some degree of socio-spatial distinction. Crucially though, this is not antithetical to the integration/acculturation process, far from it, the stability provided by community structures may actually function as a vital precursor to adaptation. This 'bridgehead' function has been noted by Jenkins (1988, p. 57), amongst many others:

"Most ethnic associations are in fact performing a dual role. Identity and acculturation, although they may appear to be opposite goals, are in fact both coping mechanisms leading to survival in the new society".

Similarly, MacEinrí (1989, p. 74) argues that places like pubs function "more as bridges than as citadels", with immigrant activity spaces potentially assisting in the integration and assimilation process.

Associated with this bridgeheader role, it is also apparent that expatriate nodes and networks act as 'third spaces' (Cohen 1977, p. 60-71), allowing different nationalities to come together at one locale. This has been observed amongst 'elite' communities of British and international migrants in Singapore, united by their business acumen and shared work identity (Beaverstock, 2002; Beaverstock and Bostock, 2000). Similarly,

amongst retired expatriates, substantial interaction with 'other foreign nationals' has also been uncovered (O'Reilly 2000a, p. 119).

However, whilst there may be an international 'expatriate sector' (Cohen, 1977), this third-space role is less obvious in terms of bringing home and host nationals together at one location. Evidence from Singapore suggests that local representation at British/international events is low or none existent, with historic research indicating the resistance that can develop when natives participate (Proudfoot and Wilson, 1961; Tanner, 1964). One can, therefore, envisage a situation in Paris where some expatriate 'bubbles' are open to international migrants/Anglophones of similar social status. However, they are less likely to be open to the majority French population. This would threaten the cultural-linguistic distinctiveness of the clique, and would be seen to ultimately undermine its *raison d'être* and challenge its long-term viability.

2.5.4 Community diversity

Having identified five of the most significant functions of immigrant organisations and social networks, this final section looks beneath the homogenising 'British' epithet to consider the internal social complexity inherent in the community. Britain is an 'imagined' entity[49], and the nationalist doctrine on which it is based rarely unites. British citizens share a passport, they have a legally, geographically and culturally derived identity, but this does not prevent social fissures from community involvement either at home or abroad (see, for example, Hausknecht, 1962).

Heterogeneity "...is endemic in 'natural' expatriate communities" (Cohen 1977, p. 53), there is never a 'national' voice to be heard or a single immigrant reality to be uncovered, even if media accounts may indicate otherwise (O'Reilly, 2000a). The real-world is complex and contradictory, with overseas British communities "more heterogeneous than is commonly believed" (Warnes *et al.*, 1999). Demonstrating this point is one of the main aims of the thesis (see Section 1.3), and requires a subtle approach to community that looks beneath imagined ethnic and national groups to

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[49] The notion of the 'imagined' community was first employed by Anderson (1983) to account for the paradox of the nationalist doctrine. The paradox is that, "members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 15).

consider variables such as generation, gender, life-stage and socio-professional status (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

This said, dominant patterns and processes within the community will undoubtedly be evident, and the actions of prominent leaders and figureheads in constructing a public veneer of unity must be acknowledged (see Section 7.1). As Smith and Jackson (1999) argue, community representatives often make what they see as legitimate claims to represent fellow nationals, claims based upon their own subjective and socially specific experiences. These representations are important, but it makes little sense to end analysis here, and the thesis will look beyond those who 'shout the loudest' to examine the communal behaviour of other less visible social groups (see Section 3.4).

In capturing this diversity, the literature already consulted offers considerable guidance (see Section 2.2-4.). The influence of gender, for example, is apparent in the everyday behaviour of British expatriates, just as it also manifests itself in the international migration process (Gordon and Jones, 1991; O'Reilly 2000b; Willis and Yeo, 2002; Yeo and Khoo, 1998). Pahl and Pahl (1971) showed this to be the case over thirty years ago, with the communal realm becoming more important for women than men due to the dominant career-path / trailing-spouse pattern of migration:

"If mobility means that long-established friendship ties are broken, there may be responses such as we have described – the cherishing of old friends even though they are rarely seen, anxiety about making new friends, the seeking out of friends at clubs and coffee mornings. From this point of view friends are often more important for a woman than for a man; for him his career provides his chief identity, but she must look elsewhere, if she does not find that the roles of wife, mother and housewife are enough". (p. 175)

This observation continues to hold true today, with socialising amongst female British immigrants "...a viable substitute in place of the advantages and anchorage that waged work offer" (Yeo and Khoo 1998, p. 176), and in the process allowing identities to move beyond the role of mother, wife and homemaker (see also Allen and Hill, 1997).

In addition to the communally-active trailing-spouse, tentative evidence also suggests a different gender effect on immigrant interaction. As Section 2.3.4.2 indicates, women are more likely than men to be in mixed-nationality relationships and to know the language of the country extremely well (King and Arbuckle, 1992; King et al. 2000, p. 139). Integrated and perhaps even assimilated, the experiences of those within this female dominated group will clearly be very different to those of the trailing spouse. However

for both, socio-spatial behaviour is shaped by gender and the influence that capitalist-patriarchy exerts upon the international mobility process.

Other social fissures are also evident in the literature. Smith and Jackson (1999), for example, in looking beyond the public homogeneity constructed by community leaders in Bradford, note "clear generational differences in the expression of Ukrainian identity" (p. 378). Similarly in Paris, a journalist visiting the British Conservative Association observed that members were, "not in the first flush of youth" (Lowry, 1991). This link between age/generation and changing levels of civic engagement is a well known one, and evident across the developed world (Putman, 2000).

Intersecting this generational divide, the influence of length of stay / permanence is also discernible. Curson and Curson's (1982) research in Sydney, for instance, revealed clear distinctions between new arrivals and longer term settlers. As a result, they concluded, "there is little evidence that the permanent and temporary (Japanese) communities interact socially" (p. 508), a finding also reflected amongst the British community in Ile-de-France.

Evidence of social divisions, although limited, demonstrates how communal distinction is contingent upon factors other than ethno-national and immigrant status. Heterolocal nodes and networks may ostensibly target a single minority group; however, they inevitably "convey a certain identity message whether explicit or implicit" (Joly 1987, p. 78) and this is read in different ways by different social groups. A female migrant married to a Frenchman, for example, will have different priorities and face different opportunities to a non-working British housewife. Similarly, an elderly established expatriate will be attracted to activity spaces that younger, newly arrived immigrants overlook. This may seem obvious – such complexity is a feature of all social life both at home and abroad – but it is nonetheless worth re-iterating given the nature of this community-wide research.

2.6 Transnationalism

As an appendage to heterolocalism, Zelinsky and Lee also accept the need for community analysis to engage with transnational urban theory (1998, p. 290-293). This theory emerged in the early 1990s to account for the growing presence of deterritorialised forms

of behaviour and identification. Specifically, scholars across a number of disciplines observed the co-existence of global-local attachments, attachments that were particularly prominent amongst international migrants. Aware of this ground-breaking work, the thesis aims to uncover the ways in which British lives, both in an abstract and literal sense, transcend the nation-state (see Chapter 8).

2.6.1 A modern phenomenon

Defining the transnational phenomenon is difficult, if not impossible. It is an omnipresent feature of modern urbanity (Castles, 2000; Hannerz, 1996; Massey, 1993; Smith, 2001), and as a result the associated literature is fragmented and covers a plethora of issues (see, for example, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 1999; Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 2001). Nevertheless, a number of basic 'global-local' symptoms are worth identifying, and these are alluded to in the benchmark definition proposed by Glick-Schiller and colleagues:

"Our earlier conceptions of immigrants no longer suffice...now a new kind of migrating population is emerging, composed of those whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies. Their lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field...a new conceptualisation is needed in order to come to terms with the experience and consciousness of this new migrant population. We call this new conceptualisation 'transnationalism', and describe the new type of migrants as transmigrants". (1992, p. 1)

This early work (see also Basch et al., 1994) implies that fundamental structural changes took place during the 1980s and early 1990s, undermining the role of the nation-state as *the* container for socio-cultural, economic and political processes. Correspondingly, immigrant populations began to become defined as much by their transcendental as their transitional qualities, and this shift provided impetus for the now burgeoning transnational literature.

True, in modern times people have been able to communicate and move between distant localities. However, they have never before been able to do so with such freedom, intensity and regularity. For instance, although letter writing was a vital tool of empire for British colonials, it represented the main means of cross-border exchange with months elapsing between correspondence. Likewise, remittances were common during the early and mid twentieth century but levels were small in comparison to those recorded today: it is now estimated that $67 billion is sent home per annum, making remittances second only to oil in the world trade figures (Martin 1992, in Boyle et al. 1998, p. 5).

Thus, whilst there should be some sense of *déjà vu* associated with the transnational turn, and whilst "the novelty of contemporary conditions should not be exaggerated" (Foner 1997, p. 369), important shifts have undoubtedly occurred. These have had a profound impact upon the socio-spatial behaviour of immigrants, and more than this, they have simultaneously altered the evolution of expatriate identities, redefining the integration/assimilation dynamic in the process.

In embryonic form the 'new' dimension to transnationalism was observed as far back as the 1960s (Angell, 1967), and by the late 1970s Cohen remarked how:

"Modern means of communication and transportation have made it much easier than it was before to keep in touch with the home country, culturally and socially. Hence expatriates enjoy external supports which enable them to preserve a mental and material independence from the host country". (1977, p. 9)

These 'modern means' ensured a gradual time-space shrinkage, whereby a global-local dynamic began encroaching upon everyday immigrant life. A quarter of a century later, this process has reached maturity, letter writing and remittances are but one dimension in a much broader phenomenon of cross-border exchange.

Alongside them we have "faxes, videos, emails, WAP protocols and cheap flights", developments that have "altered the space-time characteristics of many transnational communities" (Bailey, 2001, p. 418). The resultant networks of instantaneous communication and personal travel that now surround the act of migration mean that "...distance, and boundaries, are not what they used to be" (Hannerz 1996, p. 3). It has, effectively, become easier than ever to sustain elongated social and cultural worlds spanning home and host countries.

Unfortunately, these behavioural / technological shifts have only been examined amongst a narrow group of 'traditional' migrants. Whilst understandable, this focus is still surprising in light of the omnipotent nature of the phenomenon. It does not fundamentally matter if you are a Columbian in New York (Guarnizo *et al.*, 1999) or a British expatriate in Paris, the transnational possibilities are there. Similarly, the practical need and/or identity-infused desire to exploit these possibilities extends to all types of immigrant groups regardless of skill or socio-economic position. Nevertheless, the evidence of British transnationalism is limited (although see Beaverstock, 2002; Beaverstock and Bostock 2000; Willis and Yeo, 2002), with research into more

spectacular forms of the phenomenon vast[50]. This thesis seeks to address such an imbalance in the literature and in the process expand academic insight into transnationalism (see Chapter 8).

2.6.2 Transnational links and localities

The elongation of the identities and activity space across nation-states depends upon various types of socio-cultural, economic and political exchange; of these types, the socio-cultural dimension will receive particular attention. In addition, the phenomenon may come from 'above' or from 'below', with the latter form dominating empirical research (Portes et al., 1999). Similarly, this study adopts a 'grass-roots' approach to transnationalism, emphasising upon the global-local potential of expatriate life.

Focusing upon where these socio-cultural exchanges occur, the literature distinguishes between two particular spaces – communal and individual. In terms of the former, the in-situ nodes and networks discussed in Section 2.5 are inherently transnational. All British communal performances and events in Ile-de-France depend, to varying degrees, upon continual engagement with 'home'. Such performances are appealing to immigrants by the very fact that they are globally and locally constituted. Heterolocalism is, then, a communal manifestation of transnational urbanism, something implied by Smith (2001, p. 174-6) when promoting the 'translocal' concept:

"A fruitful approach for research on transnationalism would start with analysis of socio-cultural, political and economic networks situated in the social space of the city, with an awareness that the social space being analysed might usefully be understood as a translocality, a fluid cross-border space in which social actors interact with local and extra local institutions and social processes in the formation of power, meaning and identities...As increasing numbers of locality-based social networks, cultural formations, grassroots movements and business activities extend across national boundaries, becoming bi-national if not multinational in spatial scale, urban research needs to be literally 're-placed' from the local to the translocal and transnational scales".

The 'social space of the city', has in recent years been 're-placed' by the pervasiveness of a global-local dynamic, a dynamic that permeates all forms of heterolocal distinction (see, for example, Beaverstock, 2002; Georgiou, 2001; Willis and Yeo, 2002; Zelinsky and Lee 1998, pp. 290-3).

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[50] Issues covered are diverse, ranging from studies of domestic labour, organised crime, trafficking and smuggling networks, through to political mobilisation, remittances, and transnational entrepreneurial activity.

As well as shaping the communal lives of expatriates, transnationalism also manifests itself in private and individualised forms of socio-cultural distinction. The home is a prominent expatriate 'bubble' in this respect. It is one of the few places where interaction with the host society can be avoided, and as a result of increasing transnational input now allows instantaneous exchanges to take place with the country of origin. Most notable has been the regular and pervasive impact of 'banal' transnational media (Askoy and Robins, 2002; Husband, 1994; Riggins, 1992), as Hannerz (1996, p. 4) asserts:

"The technologies of mobility have changed, and a growing range of media reach across borders to make claims on our senses".

This domestic reach manifests itself in "multiple and complex ways" (Vertovec 1999, p. 454), with diverse consumption practices ensuring that immigrant homes are now often quite distinct from those of native citizens. Just as Anderson (1983) showed how print capitalism was axiomatic to the imagining of nationhood, so deterritorialised 'mediascapes' (Appadurai, 1990, 1996) have been key to the production / reproduction of trans-nationhood[51].

As well as these media links, other forms of communication have enabled contemporary migrants to lead transnational lives, irrespective of their communal involvement. Research carried out by Willis and Yeo (2002, p. 569), for example, revealed "the key roles of rapid postal services, telephone contact and particularly the internet and email" in the lives of British expatriates. Perhaps the most spectacular facet of transnational urbanism, the internet and email have in particular changed the way in which minorities communicate (Ansari 1992, p. 139; Brunn and Purcell, 1996; Morton, 1999; Zelinsky and Lee 1998, p. 289).

Travel represents another important transnational link, and Paris as a prominent world city is extremely well placed to benefit from the increasingly complex and intense international transport networks (see Keeling, 1995). In fact some migrants are likely to live as 'astronaut families' (Ammnt and Guerin, 2001), within households spread between two or more countries and leading "an almost commuter like existence" (Willis

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[51] This coincides with a shifts towards television and new media consumption within the domestic sphere more generally, irrespective of migration (see, for example, Rothenbuhler, 1998; Silverstone and Hirsch, 1994).

and Yeo 2002, p. 570). The recent example of British academics living in Paris and commuting to universities in the UK underlines the reality of this transnational process (Wallace, 2002).

Furthermore, as well as travel and communication, an array of home-based products are now available to overseas immigrants. British goods, for instance, can be purchased on-line, in specialist shops, or may even be sent from the UK by friends to meet the cultural requirements of expatriates (see, for example, Bannister, 1999; Edmonds, 1992; Smolka, 1996). Overseas voting is yet another transnational ritual, enabling a proprietary interest in the affairs of the home country to be maintained and ostensibly expressed (see, for example, Landale, 1996; The Economist, 2000).

Thus, without determining the action of migrants, technological advancements in communications and transport have changed the everyday morphology of immigrant life. The expatriates of today are no longer reliant upon the communal 'bubble', with an array cross-border links enabling individual / private forms of social and cultural distinction (although see Walmsley, 2000)[52]. Significantly, this transnational behaviour tends to be more intense amongst well educated and/or high-status groups (Karim 1999, p. 2; Portes *et al.* 1999, p. 224), and one would therefore expect there to be ample evidence of the phenomenon amongst the British in Ile-de-France.

As a final point, it must be noted that the exact nature of transnational exchange depends upon the particular ethno-national community and its internal social diversity. As Nancy Foner recognises:

"Some groups are likely to be more transnational than others in that involvement in transnational connections and activities is more extensive, frequent and wide-ranging – and we need research that explores and explains the differences. Within immigrant groups, too, there are variations in the frequency, depth, and range of transnational ties". (1997, p. 370)

As with heterolocalism, transnational behaviour reflects key social fissures within the immigrant community. Divisions based upon gender, generation, life-stage and socio-professional status are often evident in the way the phenomenon is articulated (see, for example, Remennick, 2002), even if the motives behind transnational behaviour are shared.

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[52] As Putman (2000, p. 246) notes of this tension between communal engagement and technological innovation more generally: "It is precisely those most marked by dependence on televised entertainment who were *most* likely to have dropped out of civic and social life – who spent less time with friends, were less involved in community organisations, and were less likely to participate in public affairs".

2.6.3 Transnational identities

Having shown how international mobility is accompanied by socio-cultural exchanges that quite literally transgress national borders, it is important that we also recognise the way in which identities become transnational following migration. Previously taken-for-granted forms of geographical allegiance become increasingly partial and consciously felt, as individuals reposition themselves to reflect their sense of belonging to more than one nation-state. Scholars have been widely appreciative of this destabilisation process, and whilst arguments persist over the degree of identity uprootedness (cf. Appadurai, 1990, 1996; Mitchell, 1997), there is consensus in the sense that international mobility is seen as inherently transnational.

The identities of first-generation migrants are, to differing degrees, peripatetic — rarely do we see absolute assimilation, nor do we see total insularity. Instead, migrant identities usually coalesce, balanced 'in-between' nation-states, and over time this balance evolves. The result is "hybridity, impurity (and) intermingling" (Rushdie, 1991), a "double consciousness" (Gilroy, 1993) whereby the identities of immigrants reflect dual, rather than mono-national allegiance.

Positioned within what Bhabha (1990, 1994) calls a 'third-space[53]', individuals and groups have the power to achieve a compromise between ostensibly antithetic home and host belonging. British expatriates, for example, tend to retain their geographical moorings and rarely leave all socio-cultural and ethno-national 'baggage' behind. Equally though, few behave as 'Little Englanders', with most also appropriating at least some host country signs and symbols (see, for example, Buller and Hoggart, 1994a, 1994b; King et al., 2000; O'Reilly, 2000a). Migrants then, in an abstract sense, find themselves located both inside and outside the home and host country.

The exact nature of this Franco-British balance will be explored further in Chapter 8. Nevertheless, it is also important to recognise that some transnational identities evolve beyond dual, to encompass multiple forms of geographical attachment. Very simply, some contemporary migrants appear placeless, with only a limited degree of

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[53] Note the parallels between this 'third-space' identity concept, and the notion as applied to the immigrant organisation (see Section 2.5.3). In both cases the 'third-space' metaphor documents individual movement away from the confines of the nation-state, one in terms of abstract identity and the other in terms of actual social interaction.

national/local affinity expressed. As Appadurai (1996, p. 189) notes, " the task of producing locality (as a structure of feeling, a property of social life, and an ideology of situated community) is increasingly a struggle". A struggle that now means "there are various kinds of people for whom the nation works less well as a source of cultural resonance" (Hannerz 1996, p. 88). Whilst still very much in the minority, these deterritorialised individuals have been identified by academics, and in historic terms are in the ascendancy.

There are a number of factors that seem to account for this advance in 'placelessness', with international experience during childhood and throughout later-life especially important.

In the terms of Bourdieu's (1984) social, cultural and economic 'capital', it seems that some individuals develop transnational forms of this as a result of extensive migratory experience. This is of use on an international stage, and helps to produce / reproduce the post-national attachments that certain immigrants appear to exhibit.

In the educational sphere, for example, 'circuits' of schooling not only underpin the national production/reproduction of distinction (Ball et al., 1995), they also help produce/reproduce a transnational outlook amongst high-status immigrants in elite international schools[54]. Thus, whilst schools "create cultural norms that define a nation" (Johnson 1992, p. 170), they also connect to broader social, cultural and economic systems operating at a European and a global scale. Similarly, in transnational corporations, international organisations, and government embassies, transferable skills and resources are acquired that are of use throughout the global capitalist system.

In school and at work there are some who seem to 'learn' the transnational rules. For a variety of reasons, and in a multitude of ways, they develop the capacity to operate effectively overseas, and are particularly at 'home' in global-cities like London, New York and Paris. In turn this may lead to further migration, and as a mobility spiral develops so more transnational capital is amassed, and so deterritorialised identities evolve accordingly.

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[54] Contrast these high-status educational circuits with those of 'traditional' migrant groups (see, for example, Gramberg, 1998; Swan Committee, 1985).

Whether or not those embedded within this spiral actually constitute a new *international* 'class' of skilled migrants, is a complex question. Certainly, there is no reason to believe that social stratification occurs only within the confines of the nation-state (Breen and Rottman, 1998). Furthermore, a number of scholars have identified the general presence of an international power elite, united by their Western-capitalist and Anglophone/global identities (Antonopoloulou, 2000; Hannerz 1996, p. 85-7). This 'new super class', according to Sklair (1998, p. 3), "is transnational in the double sense that its members have global rather than or in addition to local perspectives; and it typically contains people from many countries who operate inter-nationally as a normal part of their working lives" (see also: Adonis and Pollard, 1997; Carroll and Fennema, 2002; Robinson and Harris, 2000; Sklair, 1995, 2001, 2002).

Interestingly, the French literature offers support to these claims (Tarrius, 1992; Wagner, 1998), and if any of the expatriates encountered in Paris can be said to belong to a nascent supra-national class, it will be those with deterritorialised identities. This said, the power of transnationalism lies in its ability to embrace the global and the local; no identity is likely to be completely deterritorialised just as no class will be completely supra-national. The issue at stake here, and in Chapter 8, is one of global-local balance.

2.6.4 Summary

In the last two sections of the review, analysis purposefully moved away from a concern with migration and settlement, to consider everyday issues of community and transnational behaviour/identity. The British in Ile-de-France do not live or operate within a tightly defined ecological area and their community interaction will depend upon formal organisation and amorphous social networks rather than propinquity. These two types of communal glue encompass a diverse range of events and activities, and in doing so reach a substantial, yet heterogeneous clientele. The result of this is that, whilst a number of common needs and desires clearly underpin heterolocal distinction, social fissures such as gender, generation, life-stage and socio-professional status continue to exert an influence on minority interaction.

In addition to these communal performances, immigrants also reconstruct 'home' through less public forms of behaviour. A focus on the transnational nature of

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contemporary urban life demonstrated this. It showed how significant social and cultural links between the home and host country have become, and how these are increasingly challenging more longstanding forms of community behaviour. Transnationalism, though, was also shown to encompass more than the literal 'here to there' exchanges of people, information and dialogue, and the chapter ended by examining the transcendental qualities of migrant identities. Not only were people shown to be transnational in their position 'in-between' the home and host country, some were shown to harbour more complex and deterritorialised allegiances. The following chapter will now outline the various ways in which I sought to examine these community and identity issues, as well as the migration and settlement processes discussed in Sections 2.3 -2.4.

CHAPTER 3. The Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction: a mixed-method strategy

Real-life is diverse and complex, with specialist academic knowledge similarly multifaceted. Claims over representation and truth can be developed and deployed in a number of ways, and the use of a single methodological tool can be limiting. Often, therefore, one must explore a variety of empirical avenues in order to establish understanding and secure sufficient theoretical/conceptual advancement. Moreover, this is particularly important in relation to the present research, a case study that, as well as presenting a community wide overview (Chapter 4), examines mobility events (Chapters 5-6) and everyday immigrant life (Chapters 7-8).

Aware of the philosophical / pragmatic need for broad epistemological insight, I collected both qualitative and quantitative material during nine-months of fieldwork in Ile-de-France. This methodological 'fusion' is not new, in fact the value and legitimacy of using different techniques to probe different phenomena is now well established across the social sciences. Most scholars accept the limitations inherent in either/or methodological dichotomies, and at the very least show a theoretical willingness to move along what is now widely accepted as a complementary qualitative-quantitative 'continuum' (Graham 1999; Madge *et al.*, 1997).

This said, important differences between the various research techniques exist, and the thesis structure reflects this (Bryman 1988, p. 94). Thus, whilst a range of methodological devices were employed throughout, the unique qualities/limitations of each determined their ultimate deployment. Triangulation occurred and the empirical chapters were structured in order to benefit from the extensive power of quantitative data *vis à vis* the more intensive insight of qualitative enquiry.

Whilst all chapters draw from the varied methods employed and multi-dimensional truths uncovered, chapter 4 provides a statistical overview of the British and this then sets the scene for the move towards more in-depth enquiry beginning in chapters 5 and 6 and culminating in chapters 7 and 8. A multi-level 'realist' methodological framework (see Sarre, 1987; Sayer, 1982, 2000), thus creates room for both descriptive and analytical insight.

Although this structure reflects the different qualities of extensive-quantitative *vis à vis* intensive-qualitative research, it is important that one also recognises the overlap involved. During every stage of research the diverse methodological tools and different truths uncovered 'talked' to each other. This integrative process involved three forms of triangulation:

- Different methods were used to validate, undermine or in some cases confuse existing findings.

- They were also able to offer insight into issues and areas that other techniques were unable to reach.

- In addition, the different methodologies opened up new avenues of enquiry, posing novel and often progressively more complex research questions.

These I respectively call the 'old ground', 'new ground' and 'new pathway' functions of mixed-method research, and whilst findings are presented in two discrete stages the integrative dimension must not be obscured.

3.2 A statistical overview

3.2.1 The size of the community

Access to official statistics was negotiated in order to gain numerical, geographical, and socio-demographic insight into the British community in Ile-de-France. In terms of meeting the former aim, three data providers were consulted: the French census bureau 'INSEE' (*Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques*), the French Interior Ministry (for *Carte de Séjour* returns), and the British 'National Statistics' office (for the International Passenger Survey). Together, these three sources provided stock and flow data on the number of British and other selected ethno-national minorities in Ile-de-France[55].

Although the census and *Carte de Séjour* (CdS) figures were broadly similar, there were some illuminating differences (see Section 4.1). In particular, there was evidence of variable coverage, something true of all official statistical tools (Simpson and Dorling,

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[55] Another source of data on the British presence in France could have been the annual 'Labour Force Survey'. However, the reliability of this is "highly suspect", with "severe disadvantages" in its use as a measure of the foreign population in France (Salt *et al.* 2000, p. 112). The British Foreign Office also keeps records of nationals residing overseas. Unfortunately, these are kept for only a small number of unstable countries where the geo-political context makes such records necessary. France is not classed as a potentially volatile destination.

1994)[56]. The *Carte de Séjour* figures, for example, measure all legal foreign residents in France - '*Étrangers*' over the age of 18 are required by law to register for a one, five or ten year residence permit within three months of arrival. As a result, *carte de séjour* figures tend to be sensitive to short-term immigrant fluctuations, measuring populations often overlooked by more rigid census counts. This has created the tendency for the Interior Ministry to record a higher foreign presence in Ile-de-France than the census bureau (Rex 1987, p. 10). A discrepancy that is added to by the fact that few departing expatriates bother to cancel/change their *carte de séjour* permit when leaving France or moving internally.

Whilst a useful diagnostic device as far as transient immigrants are concerned, *carte de séjour* data are relatively simple and tightly aligned to a *de jure* definition of the '*Étranger*' population. The device is, therefore, unable to reach all immigrants and to address this omission one must turn to the census. This is able to capture the approximate size of the naturalised immigrant community: those migrants who have become '*Français par acquisition*', and are thus no longer classified as '*Étrangers*'. This additional coverage is important, particularly given that the legal status of immigrants does not always align with their *de facto* position within the host society. Moreover, naturalisation rates in France are especially high relative to other advanced capitalist economies, suggesting that the size of the '*Français par acquisition*' category may be considerable[57] (Salt *et al.* 2000, p. 165)[58].

An additional, technical point about the census is that it makes the distinction between '*hors ménages ordinaires*' and '*ménages ordinaires*' populations. The former group constitutes only about 2.2% of the overall French population, consisting of individuals living outside of the parameters of 'normal' life. This includes those in workers hostels, student halls, retirement homes, religious communities, and long-term care. Given the extremely small size and diversity of this anomalous group it was decided to exclude it

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[56] Migration statistics are far from perfect, although they have been improving. As Salt *et al.* (2000, p. 17) acknowledge "It is certainly the case that the situation with regard to a wide range of international migration statistics relating to European countries is considerably better now than a decade ago".

[57] Naturalization in France requires a three to five year period of permanent residency, as well as the ability of the immigrant to demonstrate decency and assimilation.

[58] These issues of differential population coverage may have a spatial dimension to them, related to the social geographies of British settlement across Ile-de-France. Carte de Séjour data, for example, show there to be more British living in central Paris than the census, whilst the census records a higher suburban British presence than the CdS (see Table 4.5).

from my analysis of the British. This involved a small numerical adjustment, removing only about 500 individuals, but is nonetheless worth noting[59].

As a result of this adjustment, almost 25,000 British immigrants (i.e. those *'Étrangers'* and *'Français par acquisition'* living in *'ménages ordinaries'*) were recorded in the census as having settled permanently in Ile-de-France, and I negotiated access to look at the following socio-demographic variables:

- Place of Residence
- Gender
- Age
- Socio-Professional Status
- Economic Activity
- Housing Mobility
- Housing Class

The census is the only statistical measure that allows these attributes to be explored in such depth, and therefore represented the most important statistical tool in my assessment of the overall British community in Ile-de-France (see Section 3.2.2-3).

In addition to *carte de séjour* and census returns, the third data set consulted was the International Passenger Survey (IPS). This measures the flow of immigrants/emigrants into and out of the UK, and is somewhat contentious given its small sample base of between 0.1-5% (for a review, see Coleman, 1987)[60]. This contrasts sharply with the 25% reach of the French census and almost total (legal) coverage of the *carte de séjour*. Therefore, inferences made from this survey were more limited, with three-year aggregate figures helping to circumvent the problem of small sample size.

Finally, all official statistics suffer, by definition, from an inability to access clandestine migrant groups, something well known to population geographers. However, this issue is unlikely to be significant in my own particular study given the political, social, cultural, and economic context of Franco-British population exchange.

3.2.2 The spread of the community

The British are a non-problematised immigrant group and so little detailed data is published on them, unlike, for example, Maghrebian minorities. As already noted, the census was the

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[59] The figure of 2.2% is derived from the 1990 census. This recorded a total French population of 56,625,026, of which only 1,254,663 were classed as 'hors ménages ordinaires'. Of the total British population (foreign and naturalized) a similar figure of 2.1% was registered in 1990 for those 'hors ménages ordinaires'.

[60] Figures from the International Passenger Survey are subject to both sampling and non-sampling errors. Roughly, the standard error for an estimate of 40,000 migrants is around 10%, and for an estimate of 1,000 migrants it is around 40%. Thus, when analysing disaggregated data the standard errors can become a major limitation.

only source of geographic and socio-demographic insight, but even this involved a six months wait for unpublished data. Therefore, having initially planned to conduct interviews based in part upon census findings, I was forced to restructure my recruitment and sampling strategy (see Section 3.4)[61].

In terms of the data on the spread of the British across Ile-de-France, there were various scales of geographical analysis. Outside central Paris the other seven '*départements*' that make up Ile-de-France are broken down into much smaller '*communes*'. In Paris itself the spatial disaggregation occurs at the level of the '*arrondissements*', of which there are 20. Data at these two levels (*commune* and *arrondissement*) enabled me to plot the distribution of the British, with maps produced via the GIS package MapInfo. The results are presented in Figures 4.2-5.

One of the major limitations of the unpublished data relates to the fact that it comes from a 1 in 4 sample tape, with the figures multiplied to provide total population estimates. On the whole, and particularly given the size of the British community, this adjustment posed few problems. However, when examining expatriate distributions in sparsely populated communes it occasionally became an issue. Small numbers of British allied with a small overall population can lead to the problem of overrepresentation, and this was adjusted for accordingly (see Figure 4.5).

Another limitation was the lack of temporally comparable material. I had initially intended to produce maps based upon 1990 and 1999 data. Unfortunately, however, *commune* and *arrondissement* figures were no longer available in the 1999 census due to a change in bureaucratic procedure. Also unavailable were the figures documenting the distribution of naturalised British, and hypotheses regarding the differential settlement patterns of '*Étrangers*' *vis à vis* the '*Français par acquisition*' population could not be methodically tested. Nonetheless, even with these access restrictions the geographical findings that emerged were intriguing (see Section 4.2).

3.2.3 Socio-demographic characteristics

British socio-demographic characteristics were examined at a departmental and a regional level, and analysed using both 'SPSS' and 'Excel' software packages. Although not all of the requested variables were available, data on gender, age, socio-economic status,

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[61] I am indebted to Dr Catherine Rhein of the LADYSS-CNRS research cluster at *Université de Paris 1* for negotiating access to the relevant census tapes.

residential mobility and housing class were acquired. Analogous figures for three other skilled migrant groups were also obtained. Americans were chosen because of their linguistic similarities and partly-shared cultural heritage. The Japanese business acumen and strong corporate culture made them a comparable professional groups, whilst Germany's EU membership provided another group worth exploring.

Together, the British, American, Japanese and German communities share a similar socio-economic profile, and to a lesser extent they are culturally close. Equally though, some very significant differences exist and the socio-demographic data allowed me to explore both of these comparative dimensions. Following the success of this strategy, it was also extended to the geographical level, where the settlement pattern of the four groups was evaluated collectively. The aim of this transnational research was to examine ostensibly separate skilled migrant groups and consider the possibility and potential of conceptual and theoretical overlap.

There were few constraints involved in accessing socio-demographic data beyond the initial six-month waiting period. As with the geographic data, 1999 figures were once again unavailable, only this time due to delays in the completion of the relevant census tapes. This proved frustrating, although in the future there should be the possibility of longitudinal research.

3.3 A community overview: the organisational survey

The aim, in designing and distributing a survey to all the British and major Anglophone organisations in Ile-de-France was two-fold. Firstly, and in parallel with the official statistics discussed above, the seven-page questionnaire (see Appendix 4) formed part of an overall 'audit', designed to uncover the general nature of the expatriate community in Ile-de-France. In essence it was a 'fact finding' rather than analytical research tool. Concomitant with this, the survey aimed to uncover information in a number of specific areas: related to the historic evolution of British communal infrastructure, the types of contemporary organisation, their location, internal structure, social appeal, and future trajectories. These six areas and the general nature of British immigrant infrastructure are discussed in Section 4.4.

Secondly, the survey also performed what turned out to be an extremely significant 'gateway' role. It allowed me to establish formal contact with key community leaders, enabling the process of initiation/familiarisation to commence at a relatively early stage of

fieldwork. In fact, not only did the survey leave open the possibility of future contact with the organisation, it also established my name and research agenda more widely, creating fertile ground for subsequent qualitative research (see Section 3.4).

3.3.1 Overseeing the survey

The survey was a postal one, and as such had the benefits of being both convenient and relatively cheap to administer. Finding the addresses of the British and major Anglophone organisations in Ile-de-France was also quite straightforward. Prior to leaving for Paris I contacted the 'British Community Committee' (BCC), an umbrella organisation that has for decades overseen the activities of all 'official' British organisations in the region. Each year the BCC publishes the 'Digest of British and Franco-British Clubs, Societies and Institutions', which in 2000 contained details for over 67 autonomous organisations (see Figure 3.1).
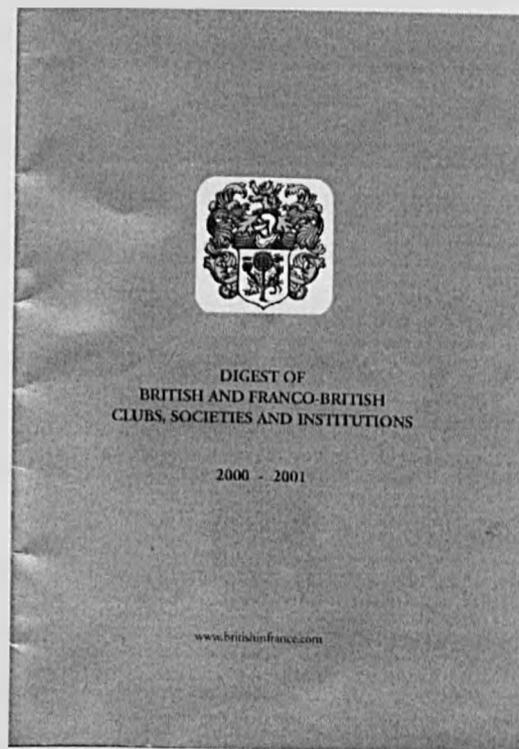
Figure 3.1: The 2000 British community committee digest

In addition to sending a survey to each of these BCC affiliates, specialist Anglophone magazines and journals were also consulted – including 'FUSAC' (French-USA Contacts), 'Irish Eyes', 'The News', 'Paris Voice', 'Living in France' and 'Time Out' (published in the French weekly 'Paris Scope'). These publications, along with a number of

expatriate web-sites, proved to be useful sources of information on English-language events and activities. From them I was then able to gather additional details of Anglophone organisations, particularly those not within the BCC sphere of influence.

Although none were explicitly British, these organisations were selected because they catered for Anglophones in general. I felt that it was unnecessary to restrict my organisational survey to just BCC affiliates when these nationally mixed/ambiguous English-speaking groups were equally legitimate sampling targets. This also helped to ensure that a mixture of respondents were consulted and not just those confined to the 'official' community core.

Unfortunately though, because the activities of these 'unofficial' groups were not detailed in a single, coherent directory, information was patchy and addresses often unknown[62]. This meant that only 43 were eventually sampled, even though I was aware, albeit vaguely, of many more. For an organisation to be contacted I needed to know its name, basic *raison d'être*, and address. In addition, if the groups did have an explicit affiliation to another English-speaking cohort, such as the Americans or Irish, then to be surveyed a multi-national membership policy needed to operate. Only when these criteria were met did I include non-BCC organisations in my survey.

Some organisations with their own premises also played host to a variety of sub-groups. These could be either dependent upon or independent from the larger parent body. In some cases it was difficult to determine which, and in order to justify inclusion an appropriate level of autonomy had to be demonstrated. In this respect, the presence of a separate name, *raison-d'être*, and organisational structure helped to distinguish the inter-from the independent.

Before distributing the survey to those 110 organisations that met my sampling criteria I contacted the BCC to elicit their official support and backing. This ensured that advance warning was given to the 67 members of the umbrella body and that the nature of the survey was explained *a priori*. In addition, considerable publicity was generated and rapport began to develop between myself and those connected to 'gossip' networks within the BCC. The survey was also shown to members of the executive before being distributed

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[62] There were a number of directories available that helped in my search for Anglophone organizations. These included the 'Yellow Pages' published in the quarterly Living in France magazine, the 'Paris Insider's Guide' (2001), 'Paris Anglophone' (Appleyard, 1995), the 'Association of American Wives of Europeans Guide to Education' (Brimbal and White-Lesieur, 1998), and the European Council of International Schools on-line directory (www.ecis.org).

in order to gain their approval. In the process of this being granted the survey was effectively piloted, something that helped remove ambiguities and enable the question wording to be fine tuned. Thus, whilst "the art of asking questions is not likely ever to be reduced to easy formulas" (Payne 1951, p. *xi*), testing can help to minimise the likelihood of confusion.

A number of other checks were also implemented to maximise successful completion and return. Stamped addressed envelopes were enclosed with the survey, and where appropriate reminders were sent out to non-respondents. A small number of questionnaires were also delivered personally, a highly successful strategy – all administered in this way were completed and returned.

As Table 3.1 shows, 45 of the 110 organisations contacted provided a useable survey (see Appendix 5). This gives a crude response rate of 41%, with a notable divide between BCC and non-BCC affiliates. However, there were 9 other questionnaires inappropriately/partially filled in, and 5 were returned 'recipient unknown'. In terms of the latter, all of these were from non-BCC organisations underlining the greater informality of these 'unofficial' and often ephemeral expatriate nodes (see also Chapter 7). This point is an important one and needs reiterating; not only was I unable to reach many organisations outside the BCC, but some of those that I did reach had either moved or closed. During my short-time in Paris I observed, like Wahlbeck (1999, p. 158), "the bewildering speed with which new (organisations) arose and old ones disappeared", though what one could do about this is another matter entirely.

Table 3.1: Survey response rates.

	BCC Organisations	Non-BCC Organisations	Total/Average
Surveys Administered	67	43	110
Crude Response Rate	48% (32)	30% (13)	41% (45)
Unusable Response	4	5	9
Old Address	0	5	5
Adjusted Response Rate[63]	54%	54%	54%

Obviously, "non-response is a problem because of the likelihood – repeatedly confirmed in practice – that people who do not return questionnaires differ from those who

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[63] Allowing for unusable responses and old addresses.

do" (Moser and Kalton 1971, p. 267-8). Nevertheless, beyond the rigorous checks detailed above little else could have been done. Access issues, and the possibility of bias surrounding them, will always be present. Furthermore, they are particularly likely when examining non-problematised and invisible migrant populations that are *ipso facto* transient and largely amorphous in communal terms. Even so, at 54%, the adjusted survey response rate is consistent with (Hoinville and Jowell 1977, p. 138; Joly 1987, p. 65) or even above (King *et al.* 2000, p. 7) levels recorded by academics elsewhere.

3.3.2 Survey design

An empirical and methodological 'diagnostic' device, the survey was relatively straightforward, and this undoubtedly helped in ensuring acceptable levels of return. It was split into seven constituent parts, the first of which consisted of a short covering letter. In it I introduced myself and my research as well as the basis and nature of the survey. The questionnaire then began with a brief section enquiring about the characteristics of the respondent and the organisation he/she represented.

In the next section of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to outline the aims and objectives of their organisation, both in an historic and contemporary sense. The structure of the immigrant organisation was then explored, along with the nature of its communal appeal. Although a generally successful section, one should be cautious with regard to the membership levels indicated (C1ii, C2). People are unlikely to want to admit, in public at least, that the organisation they help to run is unpopular, and because of this the possibility of exaggeration with regard to membership and participation rates needs acknowledging.

In addition to this 'creative accounting' issue, the question on membership type (C3) was simply not effective. Many people did not complete it, or provided only partial information, and as a result the question had to be dropped from subsequent discussion. These two problems help to demonstrate a fundamental truism of empirical research – it is always driven by the quality of data collected and is therefore dependent upon the qualities of the researcher and the tools he/she employs.

The fifth and sixth sections of the survey focused upon the activities and events taking place within the organisation and future concerns the leaders may have. Both sections proved illuminating, with the latter helping to show how some of the respondents may have been guilty of 'creative accounting', overplaying the popularity of the

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organisation they represented. This cross-checking power of the survey was purposeful, with an ability to ask about the same thing in different ways not just a feature confined to qualitative research.

The questionnaire ended with space for additional comments which also included a box to allow people to indicate their willingness to be contacted for follow-up research. As already indicated, my desire to use the survey as a gateway into in-depth enquiry was a strong one, and luckily most agreed to the possibility of future contact.

3.4 Intensive research: interviews and ethnography

Different research tools measure different aspects of the complex social world we inhabit. A unilateral philosophical approach can therefore restrict population geographers quite unnecessarily, and has in the past led to a "narrowly-defined empiricism" accompanied by the production of "low-level theory" (White and Jackson 1995, p. 112). Aware of these disciplinary limitations, I sought to interview and observe British expatriates directly, on their own terms and in their own milieu. This was to enable me to explore the complexities of the migration and settlement processes, and the multifarious socio-spatial behaviour of the immigrants themselves. Rather than tunnelling into the infinitesimal depths of secondary statistical analysis I was keen to achieve detail through the voices of the expatriate themselves. As Bruce (1986) laments:

"If you want to know what people are doing and why they are doing it, you go and ask them. They might not always know, or they might know and not tell you. But all other sources are inferior. This is a simple point but one sadly often neglected by social scientists" (in O'Sullivan 1992, p. 8).

This is why the remainder of the chapter moves away from quantitative methodologies to look instead at qualitative techniques. These provide the empirical backbone of primary data in the thesis.

3.4.1 Rapport and recruitment

During the course of the organisational survey I began my ethnographic enquiry. At first I spread myself thinly across a range of British/Anglophone organisations, with the BCC social diary particularly helpful (see Appendix 6). I adopted the role of 'participant as observer' (Gold, 1958), in the sense that I revealed the basis of my research and talked openly about the major issues involved and longer-term objectives of the project. Taking part in the activities and events of the organisations I was able to establish community-wide

contacts, identifying a number of key informants some of whom I subsequently interviewed on an informal basis.

This 'thin' ethnography, and the informant interviews that arose from it, meant that my outsider status gradually eroded, something that was also helped by the organisational questionnaire discussed above. The strategy enabled me, legitimately, to access the heterolocal nodes and networks of British expatriates in a relatively short period of time and in a non-threatening and natural manner (Hornsby-Smith, 1993). Overall, informants were co-operative and the issues raised generally helpful. Inevitably though, a number of unproductive leads were pursued.

Having established rapport and developed a broad understanding and appreciation of a diverse range of community-wide issues, the ethnographic work then became more focused, involving 'thick' description (Geertz, 1973; O'Reilly 2000a, pp. 8-16). Given what I already knew about the geography of British residential settlement (see Section 2.4), a number of both city centre and suburban organisations were targeted[64]. 'Targeting' meant that where possible events were attended, and members approached in order to be formally interviewed at a later stage. Once again it also opened up new possibilities for research both in a pragmatic and analytical sense (Fielding 1993, p. 155; Whyte 1984, p. 96).

Throughout 'thin' and 'thick' ethnographic enquiry I kept a research diary, observing to different degrees the space, actors, activities, objects, acts, events, time, goals, and feelings involved (Robson 1993, pp. 190-226). The diary also helped to focus my thinking, and develop, through an ongoing process of reflexive questioning, the truths I *thought* I had established as fact (Silverman 2000, pp. 14-29).

The strategy of focusing upon a number of formal community structures, even during 'thick' participant-observation, carries a number of important limitations. Greater ethnographic depth may well have been achieved, for instance, through focusing upon only one or two British organisations (see, for example, Seagrott, 2001). However, as already stated, I wanted to uncover the social diversity within the community, an aim concomitant to a multi-nodal ethnographic approach. Moreover, the community was somewhat 'instantiated'. Formal activities and events were quite irregular, and from a pragmatic

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[64] In Paris itself I regularly visited St George's Church, The British Luncheon, and Laughing Matters Comedy Club. In the suburbs research took me to the Standard Athletic Club, St Mark's Church, and The British School.

perspective it seemed sensible to join a number of different organisations. In fact, this is what the more communally vivacious British expatriates did themselves (see Chapter 7).

A further limitation of the organisation-based ethnography, and interviews that snowball from it, relates to the invisibility of those outside the formal community core. Immigrant case-studies, when based upon a narrow set of formal access points, can give the false impression, implicitly or explicitly, of ethno-national cohesiveness. One must, therefore, look beyond the most visible and accessible social groups, and this became one of my fundamental sampling principles. Correspondingly, almost half of the interviewees were recruited from outside of any Anglophone organisations, something that took a considerable amount of time and energy.

Transnational companies and organisations were targeted, and adverts were placed on workplace notice boards and school newsletters. Contacts were also generated randomly through 'friend of friend' networks, and the snowballing from these proved invaluable. British bars were used as research gateways, an approach similar to that adopted in studies of expatriates elsewhere (Beaverstock, 2002; King and Arbuckle, 1992; O'Reilly, 2000a). It is, however, progressively more difficult to access those further and further away from the formal core of the community.

This said, there will always be sampling issues associated with the socially marginal and/or spatially dispersed, something true irrespective of the methodological technique employed. This is a particularly important point in terms of immigrants, and can lead to erroneous conclusions being reached with regard to community-wide issues such as levels of separation, integration and assimilation. The results can be dramatic, with 'moral panics' often enveloping both popular and so-called specialist discourses – something witnessed in the aftermath of the recent English riots in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley. The methodological point I am making is therefore a profound one, with implications beyond the immediate study. Purposefully attempting to access all types of British migrant, I wanted to reveal the complexity and contradictory nature of the community. This is a strategy of which all minority community scholars should be aware .

Figure 3.2 shows the various community access points involved in this community wide sampling strategy, with 19 expatriates eventually recruited through the BCC, and 17 via other means. Overall, there was a relatively even gender balance, and interviewees led diverse lifestyles, reflecting generational, life-stage and socio-professional nuances within

the community. This scope was a strategic sampling priority, and was achieved with the additional help of secondary snowballing from BCC / non-BCC access points.

As part of this strategy, it is important to note that such community-wide recruitment is not antithetical to a concern with particular groups within the community. In fact throughout the qualitative analysis I move constantly between general and illustrative exemplars. I "celebrate the partiality of data and delight in the particular phenomena (I) inspect" (Silverman 2000, p. 39), but equally I ground this social specificity within an appreciation of wider community structures.

BCC ACCESS POINTS (19 respondents)					
General Societies Royal Society of St George	Religion St Mark's and St George's	Women's Groups British and Commonwealth Women's Association (BCWA)	Sport Standard Athletic Club (SAC)	Education British School, and British School Society (BSPS)	Business British Luncheon (1916)

Systematic Snowballing

NON-BCC ACCESS POINTS (17 respondents)				
Other Anglophone Organisations Laughing Matters and Live Poets Society	Transnational Firms / Organisations	Adverts	British Bars	Friend of Friend Contacts

Systematic Snowballing

Figure 3.2: Community-wide interview recruitment

3.4.2 Interview diversity

With 'thick' ethnographic work underway, I began interviewing British expatriates in January 2001 and continued until June of that year. Initially it was hoped that insights derived from the 1990 and 1999 census would help inform the interview frame. However, with the 1990 data delayed and 1999 material unavailable, I was forced to rely upon thin ethnographic work, informant conversations and early survey returns. The skilled migration literature also provided guidance, particularly in terms of the various expatriate groups to expect (see Section 2.3). Combining these four sources of information I initially developed, albeit tentatively, three to four 'ideal' expatriate types and as the interviews/ethnography

evolved this framework gradually expanded to encompass six lifestyle types (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: The six expatriates types (number of Interviewees).

Type 1. 'Established British Families' (8)	Type 4. 'Graduates' (4)
- Empty-nest and/or retired professional British family - Suburban-based - Permanent	- Young unmarried graduate British, with tertiary education but not yet in professional employment - City-based - Transient
Type 2. 'Young British Families' (3)	Type 5. 'Bohemians' (6)
- Professional British family with children of school age - Suburban-based - Transient	- Older bohemian British group, with tertiary education but not in professional employment - City-based - Permanent
Type 3. 'Professionals' (6)	Type 6. 'Mixed-Relationship Movers' (9)
- Professional British with partner (no children), or single - City-based - Transient or permanent	- British living with French partner, often with children - City-based - Permanent

This taxonomy was derived inductively over the course of nine months fieldwork in Ile-de-France and is contingent upon the internal community fissures of generation, life-stage and socio-professional status (see Section 5.2). The profiles of the interviewees that make up each type are contained in Appendix 7, and this is useful in that it provides a very basic rationale/justification for the taxonomy.

The professional British families (types 1 and 2) were the most ostensibly British of all the expatriates, and lived mainly in the high-status suburbs to the west of Paris. In contrast, those professionals without children and/or a partner (type 3) tended to live more centrally, their lifestyle reflective of familial difference and the elevated importance of prestigious, well remunerated employment.

Away from the professional sphere, younger graduate migrants (type 4) led very different lives, their freedom and youthfulness key components to this. The fifth group, the 'bohemians' (type 5), were the most diverse of all and this individualism was in itself illuminating. Furthermore, many in this cohort were culturally and artistically active, and their employment often reflected this, or was secondary to broader lifestyle concerns.

Finally, the most Francophile of expatriates were those who had married, or were living with, French partners (type 6). This mixed-relationship factor was critical in determining immigrant behaviour, providing instant and easy access to a French socio-

cultural milieu. The most integrated and assimilated of all, this group will be juxtaposed against type 1 and type 2 respondents later in the thesis, respondents with whom they shared little in common (see Chapter 7).

Obviously, there is a degree of overlap between groups, and likewise, the potential for movement amongst them exists. Furthermore, the taxonomy makes no claims to be exhaustive, and undoubtedly leaves a degree of intra-community variation unexplained. Nonetheless, whilst my research does not preclude the possibility of other lifestyle types emerging, the six lifestyle groups encompass the majority of the British in Ile-de-France. Revealed initially through ethnographic work, informal interviewing, and survey returns, and expanded during the course of in-depth interviewing and 'thick' ethnographic enquiry, the framework essentially provides the methodological basis upon which my analysis is based. The six-fold typology, in effect, represents *the* 'British' population subject to intensive investigation.

3.4.3 Interview sampling

Ideally, qualitative research would have commenced with this sampling framework in place. However, given that no community-wide examination of skilled, global-city mobility existed in advance of this study, a certain degree of uncertainty was inevitable. In fact, the very way in which the interview frame was allowed to evolve as a result of such uncertainty was in itself advantageous. Taken-for-granted assumptions were limited, and sampling fluidity prevented a narrow-minded recruitment strategy. Flexibility, although a necessity, was also a strength of the inductive framework.

In total 36 people were interviewed, with 19 males and 17 females ensuring a relatively even gender balance. Table 3.2 indicates the number sampled from each of the six lifestyle types. The spread between them is not even, reflective of the different complexities of each group, the inductive nature of the taxonomy, fieldwork constraints and various access issues. Given the benefit of hindsight some additional interviewing may have aided analysis. However, I do not believe it would have changed the overall shape of the lifestyle types and am happy with the coverage achieved.

Only 'permanent' residents – those with their main home in Ile-de-France for a year or more – qualified for interviewing[65]. As this is a study of working age mobility, I also sought first-generation migrants who had moved to Ile-de-France after secondary education

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[65] Within this group, one can also distinguish between various types of permanent migrants (see Figure 2.1).

/ first-degree, but before retirement. Furthermore, despite the diverse access points (see Figure 3.2), all interviewees turned out to be 'skilled' in the sense that they had a university degree and/or were professionally employed.

In line with global-city theory and the high-status nature of British migration to France (see Chapter 5), most respondents came originally from the South East of England, the UK's principal 'escalator' region (Fielding, 1992)[66]. Alongside this, almost half of expatriates had arrived in Paris via a third country, or from elsewhere in France. This is a key finding (see also Section 4.3.5), and suggests the need to conceptualise migration as a non-linear process rather than a single time-space event. In terms of where immigrants settled, only one of the 36 respondents lived outside of central Paris or the high-status Western suburbs (see Chapter 6). Finally, and only because it was conspicuous in its absence, there is the race issue – during fieldwork I met only one non-white expatriate, something I found quite surprising given the overall composition of the UK population.

In summary, although methodological sensitivity to British community diversity was a prime concern, a measured degree of sampling coherence was still imparted upon the interview frame. All those chosen were permanent, first-generation migrants who had moved to Paris whilst of working-age with a relatively high skill and/or status level. Furthermore, an even gender balance was achieved and diverse social access points used to recruit respondents. Less planned were the geographical and racial consistencies that emerged, but they did so as a result of the nature of British migration to Ile-de-France.

3.4.4 Interview structure

All interviews were 'guided' in the sense that various prompts were used throughout the course of the conversation in order to explore a number of pre-determined topics:

- Personal Details
- Residential Behaviour
- Community Involvement
- Links with the UK

- Migration – before, during and after
- Integration and Assimilation
- Place-Based Identity
- Second-Generation Concerns

These areas directly connect to the overall aims and objectives of the thesis (see Chapter 1), and the most important prompts associated with them were included in an interview schedule (see Appendix 8). Not always consulted, nor strictly adhered to, this functioned as

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[66] Although London and the South East dominated, Northern Ireland was in fact the only UK region not represented amongst the 36 interviewees.

a conversational guide. It directed discussion towards the eight areas and thereby ensured that the principal research issues of migration, settlement, community and identity were addressed.

As interviewing progressed the *aide mémoire* evolved in accordance with my growing appreciation and intricate knowledge of the research project. At the same time, however, I also became less reliant upon it and more willing to think 'on my feet'. Whether through the schedule or memory, the need to achieve a balance between deference and intrusion was foremost in my mind.

Interviewing began with a personal introduction; I presented myself and my research, before asking the interviewee to provide some basic facts about him/herself. This helped respondents acclimatise, enabling them to feel at ease and ensuring that they had the confidence necessary to contribute in an open and relaxed manner. Nevertheless, one can never fully legislate for nerves, and some encounters did begin quite tentatively.

Following the introductory 'cushioning' phase, expatriates were then asked about their migratory decision and the broader biographical sequence of events leading up to their move to Ile-de-France. Having piloted the interview on friends, it was found that these first two sections complemented each other particularly well, and I therefore decided to preserve this opening sequence for all of my interviews.

The other six areas were not so rigidly structured, and in no particular order the interviews would 'ebb and flow' in an informal manner. Furthermore, direct questions were rarely used as prompts, and in most cases it was enough to offer examples of, express interest in, or ask for clarification on areas in need of explication. Even so, the schedule proved an essential aid, particularly during the early stages of interviewing when I was still some way from becoming an accustomed social researcher.

Whilst conversations mainly took place in the respondent's home, so as to minimise inconvenience and to gain insight into the lifestyles of expatriates, other locations were occasionally used[67]. Some working professionals, for example, preferred being interviewed either in, or adjacent to, their place of work. Similarly, whilst most discussions lasted for approximately an hour, the length depended upon expatriate circumstance. Most notable in

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[67] The unspoken can be important in confirming/challenging what is said during the interview, and in influencing the balance of questions that are asked. At the suburban home of Mary and Cecil Hobbs (type 1), for example, I was invited to have afternoon tea before the interview, with Hannah (type 3) it was the large collection of British videos that I found interesting, whilst my interview with Rosalyn (type 5) took place in her artist's studio. Signs, symbols, routines and rituals are a vital, albeit unspoken, part of the social interview.

this respect were retirees, who were often willing to talk for a whole afternoon, or even longer! In contrast, the daily schedules of professionals often precluded the possibility of a lengthy interview. The need to accommodate but not pander to the demands of so-called 'elite' respondents was something that I was acutely aware of, and I adapted my interview technique accordingly (Dextor, 1970; Environment and Planning A, 1998; Geoforum, 1999; Healey, 1991; Richards, 1996).

All but one of the interviews were taped and transcribed verbatim[68]. During the unrecorded session, notes were made that were then given to the respondent concerned in order to remove the inaccuracies of shorthand. None was found.

3.4.5 Methodological considerations

At every stage of research the data generated is contingent upon a fluctuating researcher-researched dynamic. Whilst this dynamic also impacts upon the generation of quantitative data[69], it assumes an added saliency in qualitative research. Most notably, even though my status as a newly arrived 'outsider' gradually subsided, I remained aware of some pervasive social differences between myself and those I studied. Having been through an initiation period, the process of fitting-in via ethnographic empathy and interview rapport was far from straightforward or assured, even though we were all UK emigrants living expatriate lives in Ile-de-France.

Certainly, some degree of objective detachment can be helpful, and in certain respects I found it advantageous to retain my 'participant as observer' status (Delamont 1992, p. 34; Herod 1999, p. 322). Nevertheless, one must be reflexive about this, and as far as possible identify the likely influence that any social detachment may have.

The most prominent epistemological gulfs related to differences in geographical origin, socio-professional status, age, life-stage and gender. In certain settings and during particular discussions these grew in prominence. Even so, at only one organisation did an atmosphere of initial insularity hamper my research. Furthermore, beyond being reflexive, it is questionable as to the benefit gained from seeking to bridge the researcher-researched divide. Add to this the practical issue of how exactly the gap may be breached, and even

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[68] Some argue that the use of a tape-recorder can influence the interview dynamic in a negative manner (Western 1992, p. xiv). On balance, though, I believed the disadvantage to be a necessary sacrifice.
[69] Official statistics provide us with socially constructed data, as the evolution of the 'ethnicity' question within the British census testifies (Coleman and Salt, 1996; Ní Bhrolcháin, 1990; White, 1990).

how it may be recognised at all, and the "impossibility of transparent, reflexive positionality" (Rose 1997, p. 311) becomes apparent.

Alongside the need to reflect upon my own positionality, a number of other methodological issues need considering. Three of the interviews, for example, were 'paired', with husband and wife jointly contributing, and although none were planned for, the group dynamics involved influenced the dialogue ultimately generated. Nevertheless, these were compromise arrangements, made upon arrival at the request of the expatriates themselves. They were vital to ensure complete co-operation, and in the event the synergistic effect elicited more discussion than any of the other interviews.

The 'elite' factor, permeating a significant number of the professional interviews, also needs acknowledging. Alluded to in the previous section, this changed the power relations of the interview. As a young postgraduate student I felt in some ways supplicant to the wealthy, well-educated and powerful, whose time I had been preciously granted. True, there is a degree of oversimplification here, but the basic point remains – many, although not all of the professional respondents, due to the nature of their everyday life and interaction, confidently entered the interview context on their own terms. In doing so, the nature of the interaction changed, with 'elites' communicating fluently in their own more formalised and often truncated conversational style.

Finally, separate from the 'paired' or 'elite' issues, was the fact that no return visits were made. Quite simply, there was not enough time to return to even a small proportion of the respondents. This was regrettable, as additional interviews would have enabled me to explore particular areas and themes in greater depth, and address omissions and inconsistencies in the data.

3.4.6 Data issues

An alertness to the way in which one arrives at the qualitative 'facts' must also be accompanied by a concern with the facts themselves. For instance, the chapter outlining why people migrate (Chapter 5) is reliant upon the ability of the migrant to articulate a myriad of conscious and subconscious decision-making processes. Establishing the broad biographical context that surrounds mobility is perhaps the best way to explore this instantiated act (Findlay and Li, 1997; Gutting, 1996; Halfacree and Boyle, 1993; White and Jackson, 1995), and in a very basic sense this is what the first two sections of my interview sought to do.

Nevertheless, "migration decisions are notoriously difficult to reconstruct" (King *et al.* 1998, p. 100), and the rationalisations offered suffer from a number of potential weaknesses. Many interviewees had moved to Ile-de-France years previously and the possibility of selective memory recall was a strong one. Moreover, in looking back on and explaining discrete events there is always the danger of *post-hoc* rationality. Related to these areas of cognitive dissonance, is the more general divide between the discursive and practical consciousness (Giddens, 1984). Biographical approaches are able to bridge part of this gap, and propel what is known but not necessarily connected to a particular event into the domain of that event. Nevertheless, during the interview elements of the real-world we seek to uncover will always remain hidden; this is why so many interviews are needed and why triangulation is so important.

The inability to discuss and relay variables underpinning human action can be more apparent when faced with those unused to or perturbed by the interview context. Thankfully, all expatriates in Ile-de-France were well educated, knowledgeable and generally used to, or at least aware of what to expect from the in-depth interview. This, though, has the potential to create further problems. Not only are skilled interviewees alert to what is said and how it is delivered, they also seem more able to control what is left undisclosed. Useful in this respect is Goffman's (1959) distinction between the public and private self, and for those with an ability to articulate and yet control the unspoken, this represents a crucial qualitative data issue.

Aware of this dynamic, I also wanted to move into the less refined and more controlled private realm. The informality of the conversation, my own reflexive awareness, the interview setting, and the use of prompts rather than direct questions partially helped to achieve this. Nonetheless, there were definitely times at which interviewees became guarded. One or two of the more ostensibly British respondents, for instance, were conscious of their lack of integration/assimilation and seemed to 'talk-up' their Francophile life, even though this produced some glaring inconsistencies. Conscious of the social stigma attached to enclavism, and the cultural cachet of going native *à la* Peter Mayle, they were reigning in the public display of their private self.

Clearly, then, there is an array of data beyond verbatim transcription. Not all information will be revealed during the course of the interview, nor will all that is be entirely accurate. This said, the well-crafted interview can encroach on the practical consciousness as well as open up more of the respondents private self. Similarly,

triangulation can help illuminate the world beyond the orator, validating or contradicting that which he/she articulates as fact.

3.4.7 Interpretation and analysis

After the planning, implementation and production phases of qualitative enquiry, I left the field to begin the process of 'truth' re-creation. Another highly subjective activity, this stage involved a number of interpretive and analytical filters. These will now be discussed in order to illuminate the final stages in the transformation of raw data into legitimate scientific 'fact' (for a review, see Robson 1993, p. 370-407).

Initially, I immersed myself in the 36 interview transcripts and diverse ethnographic material contained in my research diary. This period of familiarisation allowed 'executive summaries' to be produced, with the material then re-read and loosely coded. This created a very tentative framework upon which the qualitative findings could be ordered and managed.

With initial codes in place, I then ensured that the areas chosen for analysis were suitable in the sense that they tied in with the aims and objectives of the research as well as the primary data itself. A re-evaluation stage therefore followed, which involved balancing my own ideas with those of the literature, whilst at the same time remaining connected to the qualitative material at hand. This was a difficult task; blind-alleys were followed and mistakes made, although these were not always unproductive and helped in some cases to actually redirect my attention when most needed.

Re-evaluation was possibly the most difficult of the filtering stages, but unquestionably represented one of the key moments in my research. It provided in-depth insight, yet also enabled broader research narratives to develop. In the process certain themes were discounted, new ones introduced and, where necessary, existing codes disaggregated or merged. This provided clarity and structure, a basis from which I began to contemplate the final thesis order (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997; Gilbert, 1993; McCracken, 1988; Silverman, 2000).

Although the ordering gradually evolved and became more enshrined as data interpretation and analysis progressed, the research strategy was open-ended. It allowed for continual conceptual and theoretical developments, "neither 'top-down' nor 'bottom-up' but somewhere in the fusion of ideas and research experience, 'in the middle'" (Ackers

1998, p. 6). Correspondingly, the writing stage that followed was also non-linear, involving large amounts of editing, re-reading and re-evaluation.

Finally, in relation to the reproduction of material from the transcripts and my own research diary, pseudonyms were used to ensure that no 'harm' came to those studied. Quotes were also 'cleaned' to remove researcher prompts, insignificant 'ums and ers' were omitted, and although some extracts were 'clipped', their sequence was never re-arranged between the transcript and the text.

3.5 Conclusion

There is no 'truth' out there for scholars to replicate, only truths to represent in order to allow others to interpret. The idea of untainted data is a fallacy:

"There are few facts…there are only factialities or concrete social experiences given different definitions by the same and different individuals over the course of time". (Denzin 1992, p. 125)

Having said this, one must still strive for accuracy, a necessary part of which involves the explicit appreciation of subjectivities at every stage of data collection and analysis. Only by accepting that "the 'personal' affects the way in which we do research, the questions we ask, the ways in which we interpret answers to those questions, and what we do with our research results" (Madge 1997, p. 89), can we be confident of the reliability of our data and be sure that our own conclusions are valid.

Beyond this basic principle, the choice of methodologies is another vital factor. In examining the British, I chose to adopt a mixed-method, multi-level research strategy. Official statistics and survey returns provide a community overview, but little in the way of analytical depth (see Chapter 4). This I left to qualitative techniques to achieve, using them to explore particular themes, issues and internal social divides within the community (see Chapters 5-8). Moreover, all of the four techniques used as part of this extensive-intensive research strategy were complementary, thereby allowing for triangulation. It is in fact difficult to envisage how else the diverse aims and objectives of this immigrant case-study could have been met. Granted, there have been a number of difficulties along the way, but these have been outlined above, with none severe enough to undermine the integrity of the six chapters that remain.

CHAPTER 4. The British in Ile-de-France: A Statistical Overview

4.1 The scale of community

Assessing the size of the British presence across Ile-de-France was not easy. Issues associated with the key statistical tools, and their supposed objectivity, have already been identified (see Chapter 3), with most informants also keen to forward their own casual population estimates. Having said this, I will use the brief introductory section that follows to assess the scale of the British community in Ile-de-France, consulting both stock and flow data from three data providers: INSEE, the French Interior Ministry and National Statistics.

4.1.1 Flow data

Globally, Ile-de-France is one of the most significant destination regions for working-age British emigrants. Unfortunately, though, data examining population flows between the UK and France tends to focus upon the national as oppose to regional level. The International Passenger Survey is one such data source, which although subject to sampling and non-sampling error due to the small survey size, provides a useful insight into UK migratory patterns and processes[70].

At a very broad level, it shows that the UK experienced a loss of native citizens throughout the 1990s, 1994 being the only exception. Thus, although overall, more people entered the UK than left, this was not the case for British citizens, with out-migration the dominant trend (National Statistics 1999, p. ix). In terms of where those leaving the UK chose to settle, an average of 31.4% opted for an EU member state in 1997-99, with almost a quarter (23.4%) heading to France (see Appendix 9). Moreover, flows to the UK from the EU as a whole and France in particular were equally strong, indicating the presence of an exchange-based, rather than a one-way, migratory system (see Section 2.2).

In addition to IPS data, the French Interior Ministry publishes regular information on the number of foreign nationals acquiring resident permits each year in France. Known as a 'Carte de Séjour' (CdS), 17,062 were issued to British citizens in 1998, falling to

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[70] The standard error calculations for the International Passenger Survey are included in Appendix 9.

15,473 a year later. This gives an average annual inflow of 16,268 in 1998 and 1999, a figure that is almost identical to the 1997-99 three-year IPS average of 16,333[71].

Of the 15,473 CdS issued in 1999, 40% were for one year only, pointing towards the relative transience of the incoming British, *vis à vis* more traditional European minorities (see Table 4.1). This permanent/transient divide according to country of origin becomes even clearer when looking at the proportion of CdS issues designated 'first-time'[72] (see Table 4.2). Amongst the British, almost 10,000 of the 15,473 permits in 1999 were given such a classification, the highest proportion of any EU country[73].

Table 4.1: Type of '*Carte de Séjour*' issued to the five most important EU groups, 1999.

	UK	Portugal	Italy	Spain	Germany
One-year European CdS	6184	3659	4740	5218	6873
Five-year European CdS	3239	1145	1335	779	3394
Ten-year European CdS	5995	36028	17352	11781	6330
Other CdS	55	33	21	25	19
4.1.1.1 Total	15473	40865	23448	17803	16616

Source: *Ministère de l'interieur*, 2000

Table 4.2: Proportion of 'first-time' '*Carte de Séjour*' issues to the five most important EU groups, 1999.

	UK	Portugal	Italy	Spain	Germany
Total CdS Issues	15473	40865	23448	17803	16616
First-Time Issues	9809	8834	6859	5945	9899
First-Time as % Total	63%	22%	29%	33%	60%

Source: *Ministère de l'interieur*, 2000

Thus the pattern emerging from the CdS data is one of dynamism in terms of British flows to France, with relatively high numbers of temporary permits being issued, the majority for the first time. Focusing more closely upon this 'first-time' data, two additional points are worth highlighting. Firstly, a gender effect is evident, with 5,537 (56%) of the

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71 Comparing IPS and CdS flow data on a one-year basis would have been problematic given the different dates of data collection and the small IPS sample size. Therefore, a three-year average was sought, but this was not possible for CdS data as figures were only available for 1998 and 1999.

72 People may be issued with a new resident permit for a variety of reasons. For example, apart from first-time issues, renewals of and modifications to existing permits are also counted. Thus, when talking of population 'flows', one should really focus upon first-time issues.

9,809 first-time permits issued to female expatriates. In addition, 3,078 (31%) of the first-time permits were issued to students, once again underlining the temporary nature of the British immigrant inflow. Furthermore, it is probable that, had these flow data been specific to the Ile-de-France region rather than France as a whole, the fluidity uncovered would have been even greater.

4.1.2 Stock data

4.1.2.1 British citizens

Although providing extremely up-to-date insight into community dynamics, flow data do not explicitly answer the question of 'how many' British there are. For this one must turn to stock data, in the form of either 'valid' CdS holders or French census returns. In relation to the former, figures show the British to be the ninth largest permit holding group in France. Focusing simply upon permit holders from EU countries, Britain become the fifth most important sending country after Portugal (47.2%), Italy (17.2%), Spain (14.2%) and Germany (6%), accounting for 5.4% of all CdS's held in 1999.

In terms of geography, of the 66,000 British registered as living in France by the interior ministry, approximately 19,000 (30%) live in Paris and the surrounding *départements* (see Table 4.3). This makes Ile-de-France by far the most significant destination region, with Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur (12%) the only other to reach double figures. Thus, not only are the British important numerically in France, but their regional skew is also considerable.

Table 4.3: British *'Carte de Séjour'* holders, 1994-1999.

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Ile-de-France	19694	19878	19522	19048	18965	19265
France	63522	65217	67588	67997	65286	66050
Ile-de-France as % France Total	31%	30%	28%	28%	29%	29%

Source: *Ministère de l'interieur,* 2000

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73 It is worth noting that both in terms of CdS 'type' and the proportion that were 'first-time', British figures are closely aligned with those of Germany.

Transferring attention to more detailed census data, it becomes possible to chart the temporal evolution of the British over the last quarter century[74] (see Table 4.4). At the national level, the British population has more than trebled, and whilst growth has also occurred in Ile-de-France it has been less spectacular, with a population of 11,205 in 1975 growing to approximately 19,000 by 1999. This spatial variability has resulted in the importance of Paris and surrounding *départements* declining relative to the rest of the country, something undoubtedly associated with the growth in tourism, second-home ownership, and retirement migration observed in rural and semi-rural France (Buller and Hoggart, 1994a, 1994b; Chaplin, 1999; Hellen, 2001; Serafini, 2000). Nevertheless, even with this counterurbanisation trend, the Ile-de-France region still accounts for 1 in 4 of all of the British census returns.

Table 4.4: British citizen census returns, 1975-1999.

	1975	1982 *(average annual change 1975-82)*	1990 *(average annual change 1982-90)*	1999 *(average annual change 1990-99)*
IDF	11,205	15,044 *(+4.9%)*	17,704 *(+2.2%)*	18,984 *(+0.8%)*
France	24,850	34,180 *(+5.4%)*	50,422 *(+5.9%)*	76,683 *(+5.8%)*
IDF as % Total France	45%	44%	35%	25%

Source: *Ministère de l'interieur*, 2000

Progressing down a scale, the census also allows one to calculate changes in the number of British living in the eight constituent *départements* of Ile-de-France (see Figure 4.1). All show increases in absolute terms at each of the last four census counts, with some interesting relative variations also evident (see Table 4.5). Most notably, Paris and the adjoining *département* of Hauts-de-Seine have seen their share of the British population decline slightly, whilst the importance of Yvelines further to the west has increased. There is also evidence of dispersal to the other five *départements* of Ile-de-France, with each increasing in relative importance during the twenty-five year period. Seine-et-Marne to the east of Paris led this change, with the presence of a large international business school and Euro-Disney two likely explanatory factors (see also Marcoulet, 2001).

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[74] These stock figures from the census include the *'hors ménages ordinaires'* group, and this is also the case throughout Section 4.1. However, from Section 4.2 onwards the geographic and socio-demographic figures

Table 4.5: British citizen census returns, by *département* of Ile-de-France 1975-1999.

DÉPARTEMENT	1975	1999	% Ile-de-France Total 1999 (1975)	1999 CdS Holders[75]
Paris	5005	7355	39% (45%)	8471
Petite Couronne				
Hauts de Seine	1940	2463	13% (17%)	2417
Val de Marne	530	1050	6% (5%)	962
Seine Saint Denis	310	755	4% (3%)	659
Grande Couronne				
Yvelines	2165	4245	22% (19%)	3634
Essone	450	963	5% (4%)	934
Seine et Marne	435	1387	7% (4%)	1430
Val d'Oise	370	766	4% (3%)	758

Source: INSEE, 1975, 1999

Ministère de l'interieur, 2000

Overall, though, such realignment has been slight, and the dominance of Paris, Hauts-de-Seine and Yvelines has continued unabated; these three *départements* accounted for 81% of all expatriates in Ile-de-France in 1975, a figure that had fallen only slightly to 74% by 1999. The picture, then, is one of remarkable residential stability, allied with an as yet embryonic suburbanisation/dispersal trend.

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are adjusted to remove the *'hors ménages ordinaires'* influence from analysis (see Section 3.2).

[75] Carte de Séjour figures are included for comparative purposes, the main difference between the two measures being the relative importance of Paris *vis à vis* Yvelines.
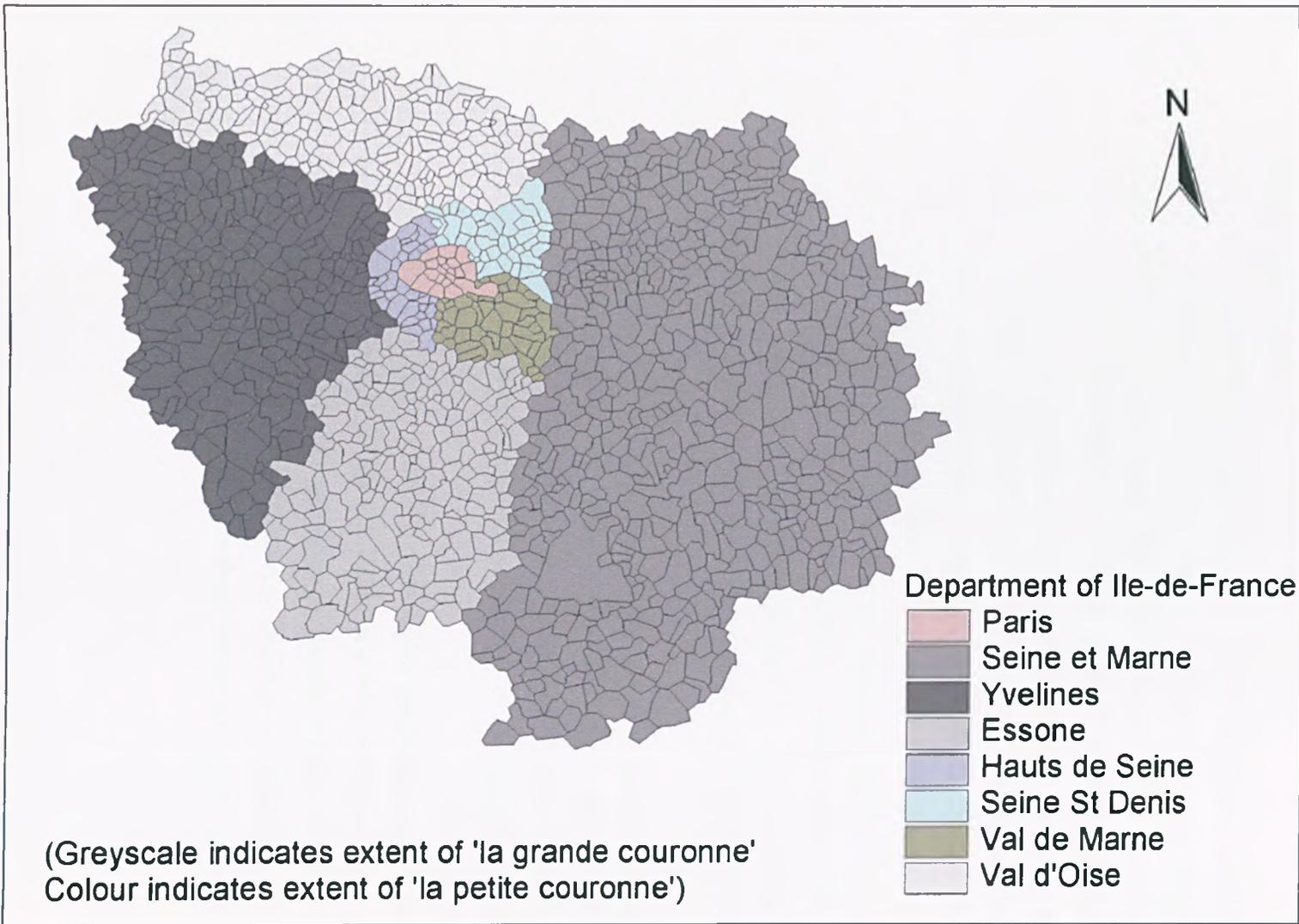
Figure **4.1**: The Ile-de-France region

Department of Ile-de-France

- Paris
- Seine et Marne
- Yvelines
- Essone
- Hauts de Seine
- Seine St Denis
- Val de Marne
- Val d'Oise

(Greyscale indicates extent of 'la grande couronne'
Colour indicates extent of 'la petite couronne')

4.1.2.2 The naturalisation issue

With 19,265 British citizens in possession of valid CdS, and 18,984 recorded by the census, one could be forgiven for believing that the 'how many' question has been answered. However, these figures fail to take into account those British immigrants living in Ile-de-France who have taken up French citizenship. This distinction, between the '*Français par acquisition*' and the '*Étrangers*' immigrant categories is an important one. The French, in particular, have historically adopted a model of integration based upon the assimilation of immigrants into a republican nation-state (Castles 2000, pp. 187-202; Castles and Miller, 1993). Whether or not this civic republican tradition has had any impact upon the social reality of everyday immigrant life is questionable (see, for example, Weil and Crowley 1994), however in a statistical sense its impact is clear. As White (1998) observes: "France still has one of the more liberal naturalization regimes in Europe" (p. 152), something that ensures citizenship acquisition proceeds at almost three times the rate of neighbouring Germany (Horowitz 1992, p. 12).

Aware of the implications of this, figures for the number of naturalized British in France between 1975 and 1999 were calculated (see Table 4.6). With a little over 6,000 naturalised British in the Ile-de-France region, and just under 11,000 across France as a whole, this group represents an extremely significant segment of the overall immigrant population.

Looking at inter-census changes, Table 4.6 also shows substantial growth in the naturalized population of Ile-de-France during the 1980s and 90s. To some extent, this pattern is replicated across France as a whole, although growth during the 1980s was almost entirely reversed over the course of the following decade. As a result of this, the importance of Ile-de-France as a locus for the naturalised British has grown, with almost 60% this group now resident in the region.

Table 4.6: Naturalised British census returns, 1975-1999.

	1975	1982 (average annual change 1975-82)	1990 (average annual change 1982-90)	1999 (average annual change 1990-99)
IDF	4080	4160 (+0.3%)	5088 (+2.8%)	6332 (+2.7%)
France	10165	10396 (+0.3%)	13686 (+4.0%)	10836 (-2.3%)
IDF as % France Total	40%	40%	37%	58%

Source: INSEE, 1975, 1982, 1990, 1999.

This pattern directly contrasts to that observed for British citizens, where the dominance of Ile-de-France has been declining (see Table 4.4). In fact, whilst there were three British citizens in Ile-de-France to every one naturalised British in 1999, the ratio was over 7:1 across France as a whole. This means that whilst Ile-de-France is clearly the most significant destination region for both British groups, it is relatively more significant for those expatriates who have naturalised.

In terms of where this naturalised group live within Ile-de-France (Table 4.7), trends are remarkably similar to those identified for British citizens (Table 4.5). Once again Paris and Hauts-de-Seine have witnessed a slight decline in importance relative to Yvelines further west, and Seine-et-Marne to the East. In addition, the northern *département* of Val D'Oise has also seen its naturalized share rise between 1975 and 1999, an area not normally associated with high-status immigrant groups.

In summary, then, the question of how many British people live and work in Ile-de-France cannot be answered by a single 'magic number'. Instead, various types of stock and flow data are needed, spanning a range of datasets. These statistics highlight a number of important temporal, spatial and social dynamics within the British community in Ile-de-France. *Carte de Séjour* figures, for example, indicate the presence of a sizeable transient cohort, whilst the census is able to distinguish between the British '*Étranger*' and '*Français par acquisition*' populations. It also allows one to examine the changing balance between the Parisian region and France more generally, something that has proved highly illuminating.

Table 4.7: Naturalised British census returns, by *département* of Ile-de-France 1975-1999.

DÉPARTEMENT	1975	1999	% Ile-de-France Total 1999 (1975)
Paris	1605	1864	29% (39%)
Petite Couronne			
Hauts de Seine	725	914	14% (18%)
Val de Marne	330	535	8% (8%)
Seine Saint Denis	295	437	7% (7%)
Grande Couronne			
Yvelines	490	1013	16% (12%)
Essone	305	511	8% (7%)
Seine et Marne	140	577	9% (3%)
Val d'Oise	190	481	8% (5%)

Source: INSEE, 1975, 1999

4.2 The geography of community

From the above, introductory analysis, the basic geography to British settlement in France should now be apparent. This section will explore the issue further, focusing on the contemporary spread of British citizens across Paris and the eight surrounding *départements* (see Figure 4.1). Levels of congregation and concentration will be assessed, and the most popular expatriate *communes* will be identified. Firstly, however, the distribution of the British across Ile-de-France will be compared with the residential spread of three other analogous expatriate groups: the Americans, Germans, and Japanese[76].

4.2.1 The distribution of high-status minorities

In terms of the spatial distribution of the British, there is a quite pronounced pattern of urban/suburban settlement (see Figure 4.2). Not only is there the usual clustering around the city of Paris, particularly the *beaux quartiers*, with a gradual urban to rural decline. There is also evidence of a sizeable suburban population in *la banlieue ouest*. As Table

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[76] This section uses data from the 1990 French census and looks only at the spread of British citizens across Ile-de-France (removing those *'hors ménages ordinaries'*). *Commune* level data for the 1990 naturalised population was unobtainable, and for the 1999 census it was no longer available (see Chapter 3).

4.11 indicates, this secondary skew centres around the *départements* of Yvelines and Hauts-de-Seine, with a number of high-status *communes* particularly significant.

Table 4.8: Top ten *communes* for British citizens in Ile-de-France (excluding Paris).

1. Neuilly-sur-Seine	2. Boulogne-Billancourt
3. St-Germain	4. Le Vésinet
5. Croissy	6. Ville d'Avray
7. Noisy-le-Roi	8. St-Nom-le-Breteche
9. Le Pecq	10. Versailles

As indicated in Chapter 3, the Germans, Americans and Japanese are similar to the British in a number of respects and represent useful comparison groups. Looking at how their geographies of settlement resembled those of the British, analysis uncovered striking similarities (see Figure 4.3). Of all the groups, the Germans were most closely aligned to the British. In contrast, the Japanese were relatively confined *vis à vis* their European counterparts, with the Americans the median group.

This said, the consistencies between the four skilled migrant populations were remarkable, and it seems that, as well as talking in terms of group-specific 'ethnoburbs' (Li, 1998; Wagner, 1998), one should also conceptualise high-status settlement in amalgam. Common explanatory variables, operating in a broadly similar direction, clearly channel British, German, American and Japanese immigrants into particular property classes and particular residential areas. The extent to which these spatial consistencies underpin a truly transnational, as opposed to a mono-national, suburban community remains to be seen. (see Chapters 6-8).
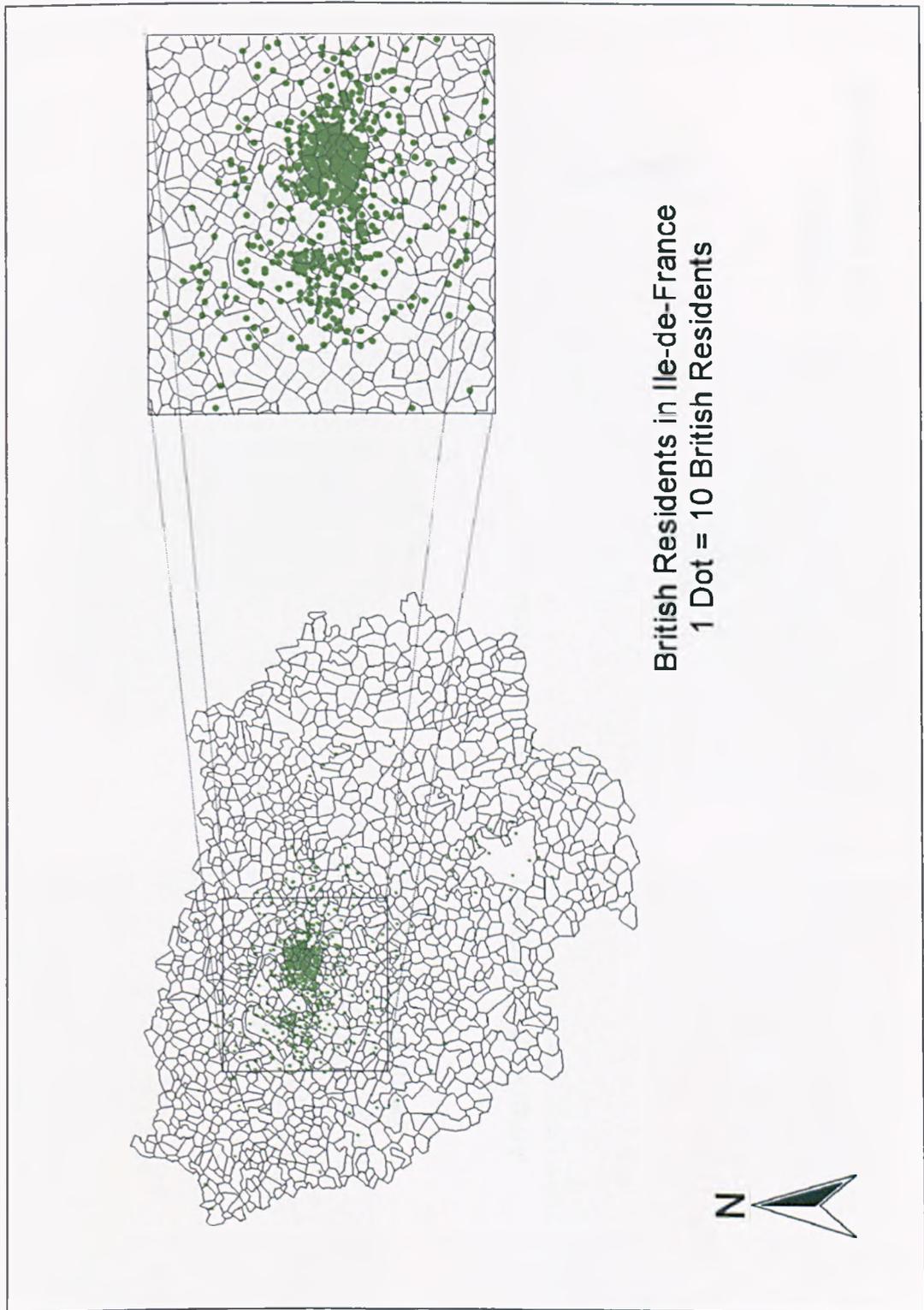
Figure 4.2: The distribution of British citizens across Ile-de-France
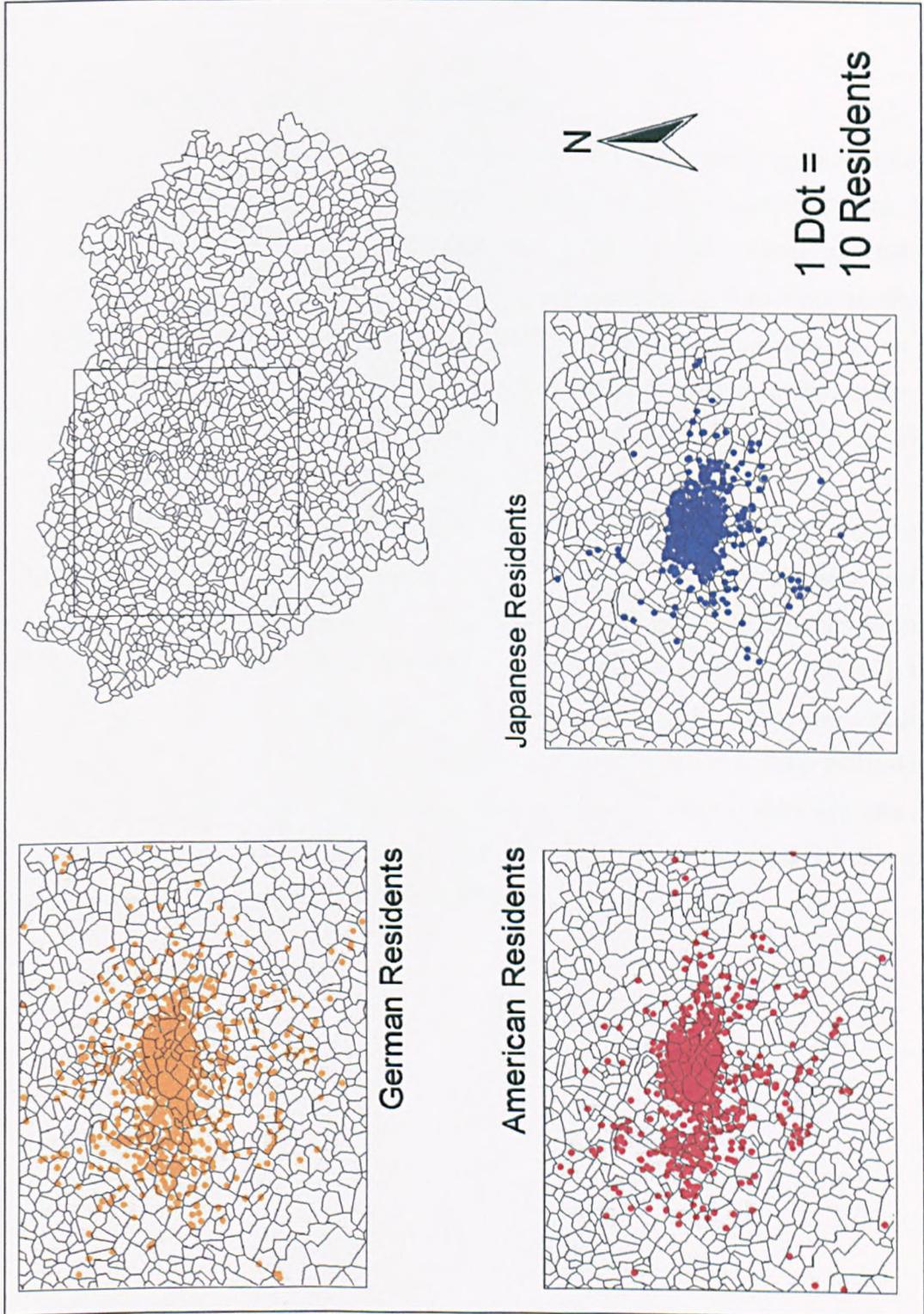
Figure 4.3: The distribution of analogous high-status groups across Ile-de-France

4.2.2 Congregation and concentration

In terms of British congregation – those *communes* playing host to large proportions of the total expatriate population – central Paris is obviously extremely significant. The high-status 15th and 16th *arrondissements* are the most prominent in this respect, and between them they account for 10.5% of all British expatriates in the Ile-de-France region. Further to the west, a number of *communes* in Yvelines and Hauts-de-Seine are also worthy of note (Figure 4.4). The top five areas of suburban British concentration, in ascending order, are: Croissy-sur-Seine (1.25%), Le Vésinet (1.32%), St-Germain-en-Laye (1.39%), Boulogne-Billancourt (1.60%) and Neuilly-sur-Seine (2.16%).

Looking at the issue of concentration – those *communes* with large numbers of British relative to their overall population – the importance of central Paris understandably diminishes[77]. In contrast, the western skew is magnified, and the urban/suburban pattern of settlement identified in Figures 4.2 and 4.4 becomes less pronounced (see Figure 4.5). In its place a dominant suburban foci appears, with levels of expatriate concentration exceeding 2 per 100 in the *communes* of Feucherolles (2.09%), Croissy-sur-Seine (2.4%), Noisy-le-Roi (2.39%), St-Nom-le-Breteche (3.78%) and Chavenay (4.6%)[78]. Having said this, one must be slightly cautious when discussing levels of concentration because of the small population size of many of the *communes* and the 1 in 4 census sample.

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[77] This measure is useful in that it effectively controls for the fact that highly populated areas, by definition, attract larger numbers of immigrants, and looks instead at the relative dilution of the British. There is, however, a sampling issue associated with this and a filter was used in figure 4.7 to remove *communes* with extremely small total populations (<100 inhabitants) where the 1 in 4 census sample could have been problematic.

[78] This compares to 6.9 British per 10,000 recorded by King and Patterson (1998) in Tuscany.

Finally, it is also worth noting the concentrations of British expatriates in central Paris. Although less spectacular in absolute terms, the 16th (0.54%), 8th (0.54%), 3rd (0.66%), 4th (0.71%), and the 7th (0.74%) *arrondissements* are significant relative to the rest if the city. What is more, these are either central (3rd and 4th), or centre-west (7th, 8th and 16th) areas, all of which are either prestigious and/or fashionable neighbourhoods to live in.

There appears, therefore, to be a westerly axis of expatriate settlement running from central Paris and its *beaux quartiers* through to the high-status suburbs of Hauts-de-seine and Yvelines. These represent two very different residential areas, and in terms of the suburbs the appeal clearly extends beyond the British to encompass analogous immigrant groups. What exactly lies behind this international appeal, and whether or not it underpins any deeper form of transnational suburban communion is an important supplementary question. Attention here, though, will remain focused upon descriptive statistical data, with issues of settlement and neighbourhood cohesiveness visited later in the thesis (see Chapter 6).

British in Commune as % of Total British in Ile-de-France

- 0 - 0.15
- 0.16 - 0.5
- 0.51 - 1.5
- 1.51 - 3.5
- 3.51 - 5.26
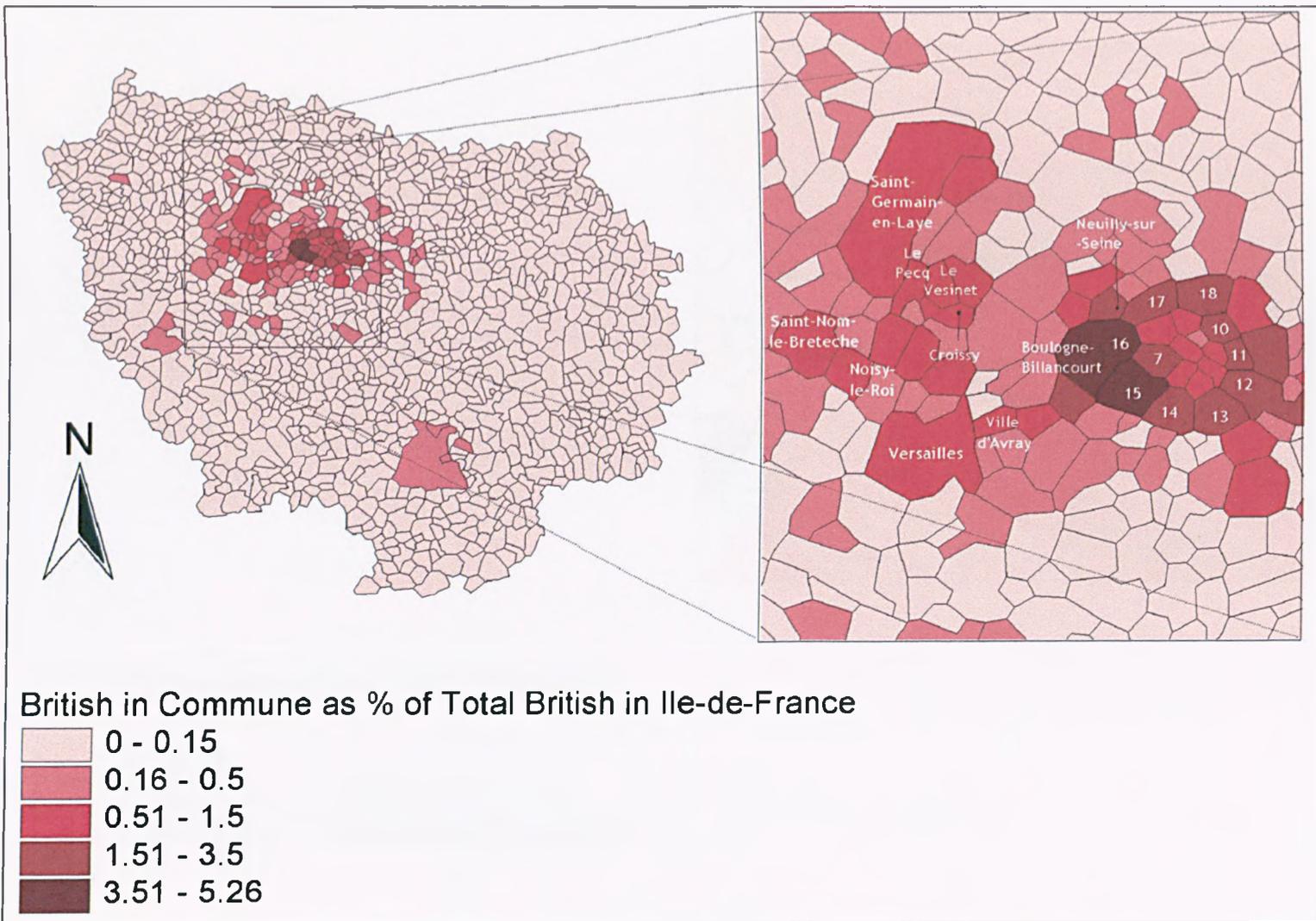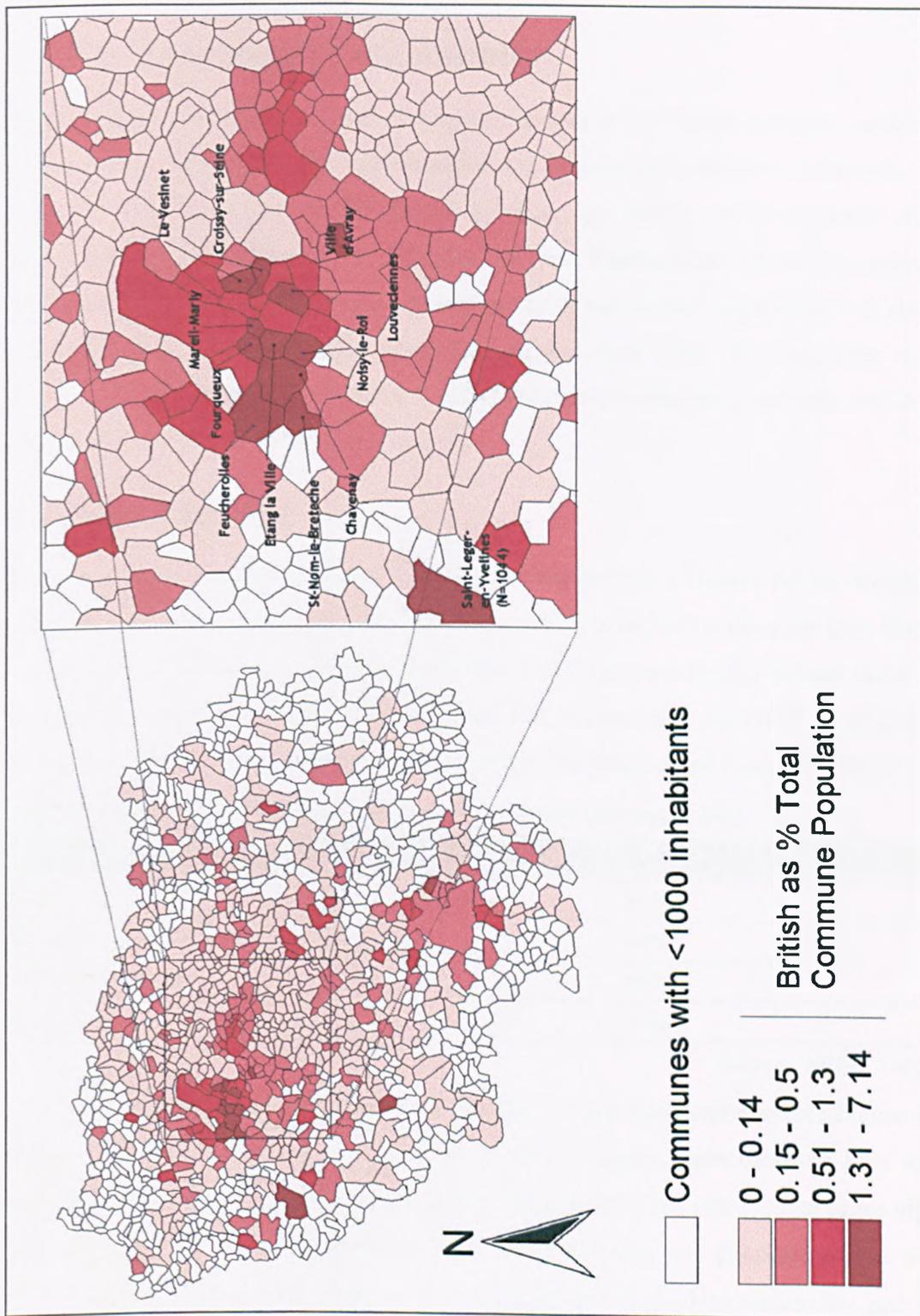
Figure 4.5: British concentration

4.3 The sociology of community

Having examined the numerical and geographical extent of the British presence across Ile-de-France, the socio-demographic parameters of the community will now be explored. This will involve a consideration of the gender balance, age profile, socio-economic status, migratory history and housing class of British citizens. Furthermore, where data permit, a parallel investigation into the *Français par acquisition* naturalised population will also be conducted. Unfortunately, though, socio-demographic data were only available at the regional level, and so potential geographical differences, particularly between urban and suburban communities, could not be explored.

4.3.1 Gender balance

Whilst traditionally migration has been seen as a male preserve, figures for the British, in the form of CdS flow data, have already shown the reverse to be the case (see Section 4.1.1), with census returns uncovering a similar, albeit less spectacular gender skew (see Table 4.8). Having said this, it should be noted that comparative figures for the German, American and Japanese communities show a much more pronounced female presence.

Table 4.9: Gender balance, by citizenship - Ile-de-France, 1990.

	Women as Proportion of Total Population
British	51%
German	60%
American	53%
Japanese	54%

Source: INSEE, 1990

The female bias amongst naturalised British is much more extreme (see Figure 4.6). Women account for three out of every four in this category, demonstrating how much naturalisation depends upon social circumstance. Exactly why the rate is three times higher amongst women than men is difficult to determine, although two possibilities are worth noting. Primarily, women may simply be more willing to change their nationality, and may not feel as tied to national labels/ideologies as men. Secondly, the gender bias could also reflect differences in the type of migrants living in Ile-de-France. Women are possibly more likely to move to unite mixed-nationality relationships, and this in turn will shape their willingness to change their own legal status to allow it to concur with that of the spouse.

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This hypothesis finds considerable support later on in the thesis, where relationship-based migration is shown to be gender specific; invariably it is the women who moves in order to join her French partner (Chapter 5), something that impacts upon integration and assimilation (Chapter 7) and is, therefore, also likely to affect propensity to naturalise.

Figure 4.6: British gender balance - Ile-de-France, 1990
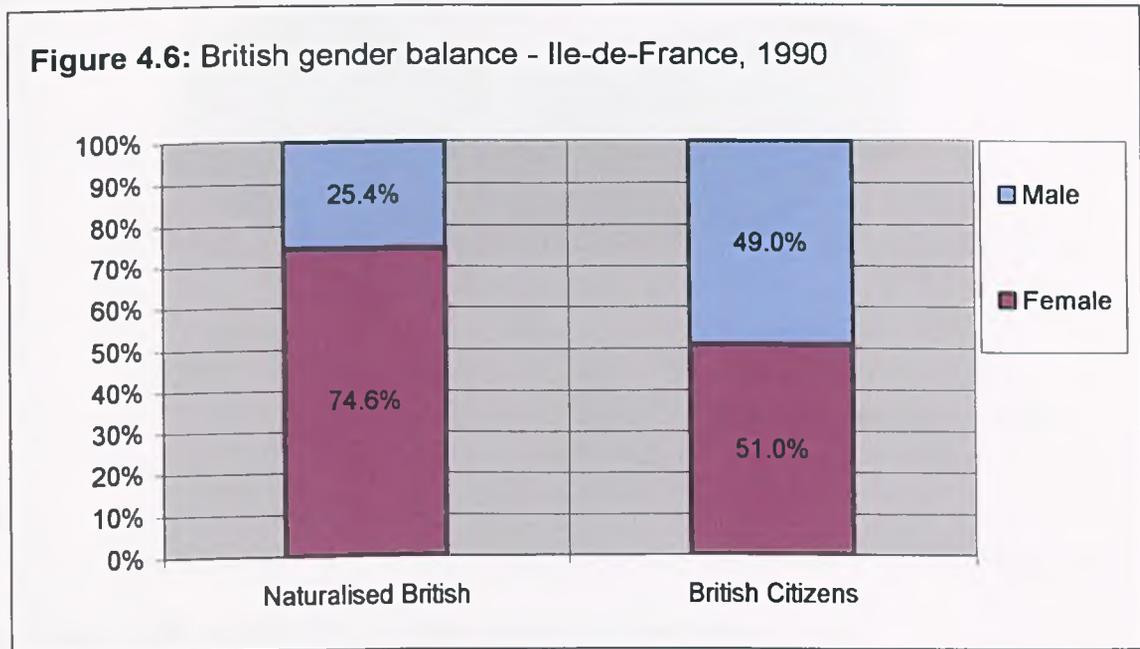
4.1.1 Age profile

Looking at the age range of the expatriate community (see Figure 4.7) three important issues emerge. Most notably, the 25-59 cohort is significantly larger than average, something that is not only true of the British, but also of the Germans, Americans, and Japanese (see Table 4.9). One-third bigger than the equivalent figure for the French, the size of this 25-59 cohort underlines the significance of working-age mobility for the British and analogous skilled migratory groups.

Figure 4.7: Age Profile of British Citizens - Ile-de-France, 1990
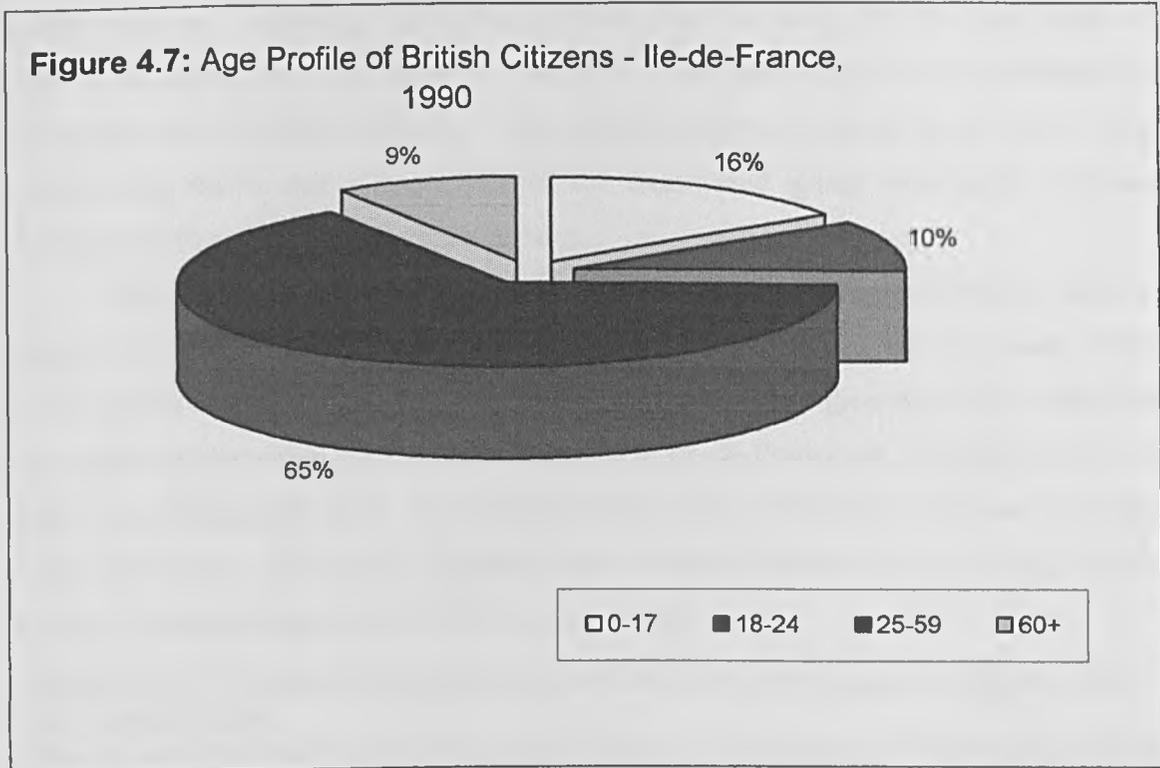
Table 4.10: Age profile, by citizenship - Ile-de-France, 1990.

	0-17	18-24	25-59	60+
French Average	23%	11%	49%	17%
British	16%	10%	66%	9%
German	10%	13%	69%	9%
American	16%	9%	65%	10%
Japanese	20%	5%	74%	2%

Source: INSEE, 1990.

The antithesis to the 25-59 category, British citizens over sixty are relatively insignificant. Those living in Ile-de-France are clearly not part of the more well documented phenomenon of British retirement migration (International Journal of Population Geography, 1998; King *et al*. 2000; O'Reilly, 2000a). Furthermore, it is also probable that some expatriates will move away from the Paris as they age, with their senior career-path tending to take them back to their country of origin.

There is also a desire for a rural idyll that often follows retirement, and as far as this 'life-stage effect' is concerned, migration may involve return to the UK, resettlement within France, or even movement elsewhere in Europe. Compounding the numerical insignificance of the 60+ age group is a naturalization effect. This relates to the fact that as

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people age, and increasingly integrate/assimilate, they are likely to seek legal parity with their hosts through the acquisition of citizenship. This inevitably leads to a diminution in the number of older British citizens, whilst the equivalent naturalised group swells. In fact, census data shows that almost 30% of the naturalized group were aged over sixty, compared with a mere 9% of British citizens.

There is also a gender dimension to this age-naturalisation phenomenon. Table 4.11 shows that just a quarter (25%) of those aged over sixty and naturalised were male, whereas in the British citizens cohort men accounted for 52% of those aged 60 or over. This means that older women within the British community in Ile-de-France are much more likely than their male counterparts to be 'Français par acquisition', whilst older men are more likely to be classified as 'Étrangers'. Any discussion of immigrant communities must, therefore, be alert to the gendered complexities of naturalisation.

Table 4.11: The gender-age-naturalisation dynamic amongst the British in Ile-de-France, 1990.

		Female	Male	% Female
BRITISH CITIZENS	0-17	1324	1372	49%
	18-24	1072	656	62%
	25-59	5652	5652	50%
	60+	796	796	48%
NATURALISED BRITISH	0-17	124	100	55%
	18-24	144	72	67%
	25-59	2420	760	76%
	60+	1076	352	75%

Source: INSEE, 1990.

The third main issue to emerge from Figure 4.7 concerns the 18-24 British citizen group. Although an unspectacular cohort, in the sense that its size paralleled that of the native French (see Table 4.10), this apparent normality masks an important and illuminating gender dimension. The balance between men and women in the 0-17, 25-59 and 60+ British citizen categories is relatively even, whereas a striking 62% of British 18-24 year olds in Ile-de-France are female (see Table 4.11).

Accounting for this youthful female presence, two explanations seem likely. Firstly, there is the university effect, with females traditionally favouring language courses and associated European year-abroad schemes. This education and experience is in turn likely to influence levels of migration amongst graduates, in fact this is actually an explicit aim of

the ERASMUS/SOCRATES scheme. Secondly, young women may also be more inclined than their male counterparts to relocate internationally for relationship reasons. Once again this will relate to previous linguistic training and overseas experience whilst at university. Furthermore, it will also be a function of the capitalist-patriarchal model of career-path / trailing migration (see Section 2.3).

4.1.2 Socio-Professional Status

In the thesis the British have been termed a relatively 'high-status' and 'elite' immigrant group, with their pattern of settlement supporting this contention. Turning to the census for further validation, there are two main classificatory systems one can consult. The first refers to 'socio-professional' status, and is the more direct and useful of the two. For the sake of clarity the 42 different classes that make up this socio-professional measure have been collapsed into their eight parent fields (see Table 4.12). The relative importance of these fields, both in terms of British citizens and those who have naturalised, can be seen in Figure 4.8, with three main issues emerging.

Table 4.12: Socio-professional classes in the 1990 French census.

1. People outside employment	2. Retirees	3. Manual workers
4. Clerical, office and service workers	5. Mid-level professionals	6. Executives, managers and other high-level professionals
7. Craftsmen, shopkeepers and company directors	8. Agricultural workers[79]	

Firstly, the professional and managerial presence within the community is clearly apparent. Combined, the mid and high-level occupational fields (5 and 6) account for just 23% of the overall French population, a relatively low proportion when positioned alongside the equivalent value for British citizens (43%). In fact, even the naturalized cohort registered a level of professionalisation well above the French average, with 35% employed in mid or high-level occupational fields. The question that now arises is whether other, seemingly comparable, national groups, exhibit similar levels of professionalisation.

The answer to this is contained in Figure 4.9, which looks at the proportion of selected national groups employed in mid and high-level socio-professional fields. Not only

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[79] This category was not included in analysis given its negligible importance for those living within the largely urban Ile-de-France region.

is the high-status nature of the British immigrant presence striking, but professionalisation amongst the German, American and Japanese populations is also revealed. These minorities, like their British counterparts, are concentrated within the upper echelons of employment, indicating the presence of an elite class of migrants from across the developed world.

Figure 4.8: Socio-professional fields, by citizenship - Ile-de-France, 1990
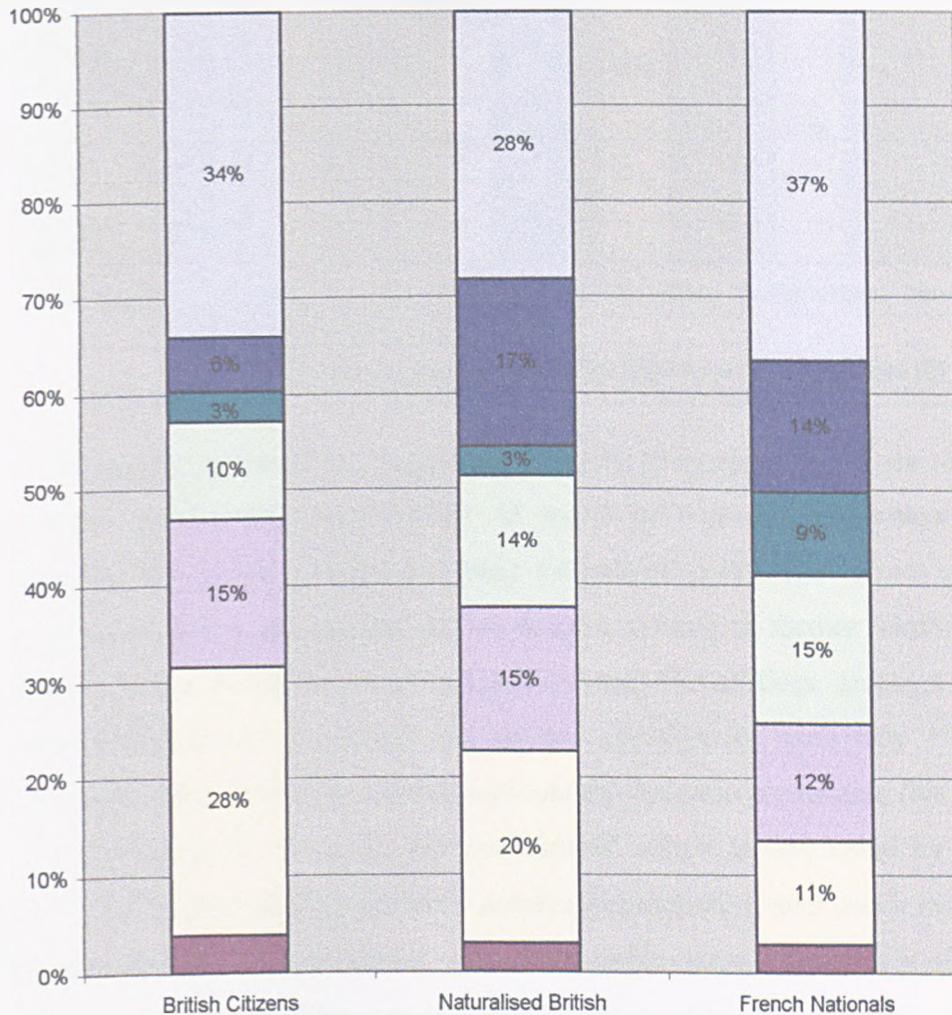
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Figure 4.9: Mid and high-level socio-professional fields by citizenship - Ile-de-France, 1990
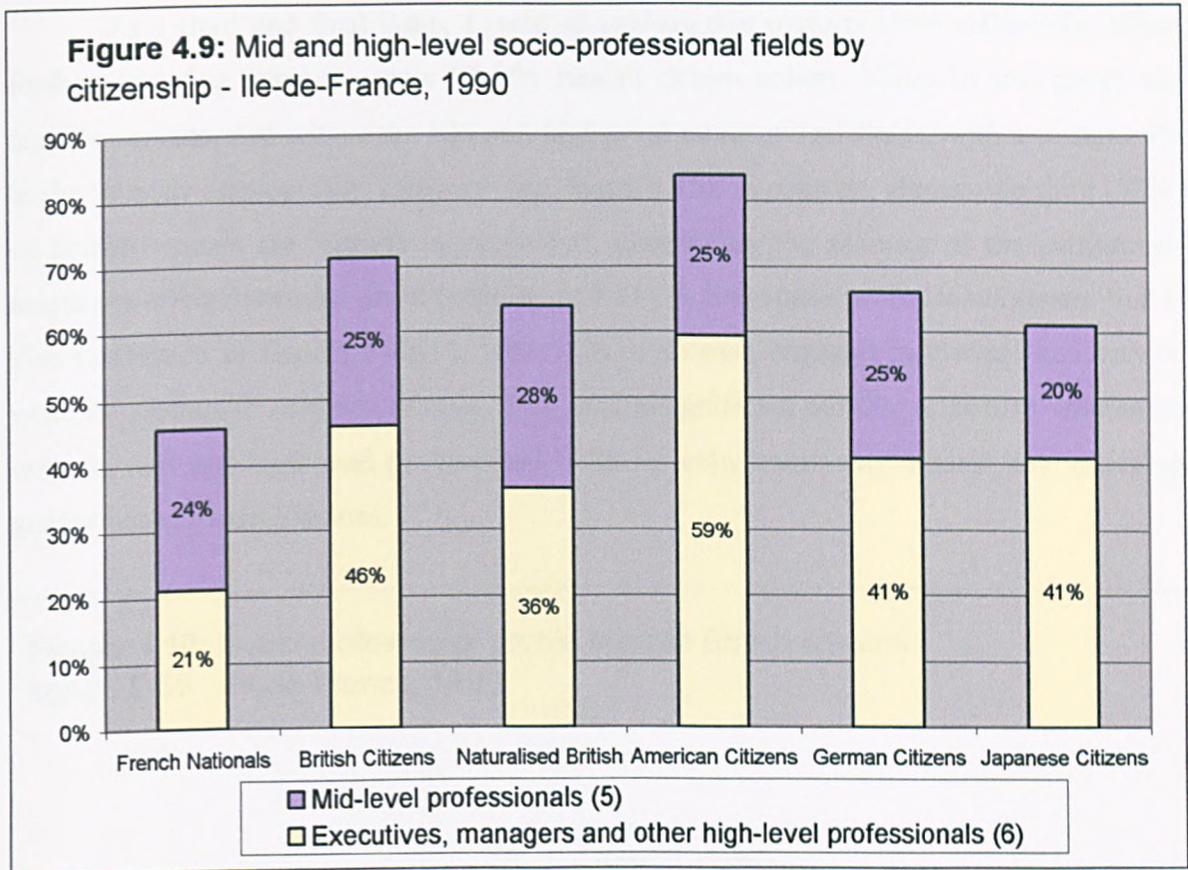
The second key finding in Figure 4.8 concerns the lack of expatriate representation in low-status socio-professional sectors. In terms of manual employment, levels are negligible for both British citizens and their naturalized peers. The former group is also underrepresented in the clerical and service sectors, serving to further reinforce the high-status nature of the British presence in Ile-de-France. Nonetheless, amongst those in the naturalized cohort levels of clerical and service employment were only 1% below the French average, indicative of the capitalist-patriarchy dynamic permeating this group.

To elucidate, the '*Français par acquisition*' cohort is dominated by women (see Table 4.10), and women tend to perform domestic/reproductive roles much more than men. This curtails career-path advancement, and where employment is found it is often part-time and relatively low-status. This gender effect is magnified for migrants, with females tending to sacrifice their own careers in order to 'trail' professional husbands or unite mixed-nationality relationships (see Section 2.3). Low-status employment may, therefore, be the preferred or only professional option for British immigrants sacrificing their own career for the sake of their partners.

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As a third and final issue, I want to explore this socio-professional/gender effect further, focusing upon the main 25-59y British citizen cohort. Males in this group are heavily concentrated within the mid and high-level occupational fields, with a meagre 4% in the 'outside employment' category (see Figure 4.10). In contrast, almost one-third (32%) of British women are 'outside employment', underlining the saliency of the patriarchal-migratory effect discussed above (see Figure 4.11). A low-status professional/gender link is also reaffirmed in figures 4.12-13, with 18% of women engaged in clerical and service work in contrast to only 5% of men. This said, a significant number of British women do work in mid and high-level professional fields, thereby cautioning against any sweeping gender-based generalizations.

Figure 4.10: Socio-professional profile of male British citizens aged 25-59 - Ile-de-France, 1990
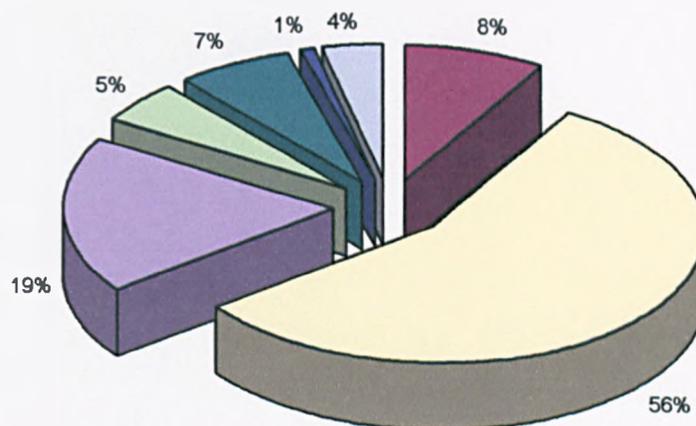
■ Craftsmen, shopkeepers and company directors (7)
□ Executives, managers and other high-level professionals (6)
□ Mid-level professionals (5)
□ Clerical, office and service workers (4)
■ Manual workers (3)
■ Retirees (2)
□ People outside employment (1)

Figure 4.11: Socio-professional profile of female British citizens aged 25-59 - Ile-de-France, 1990
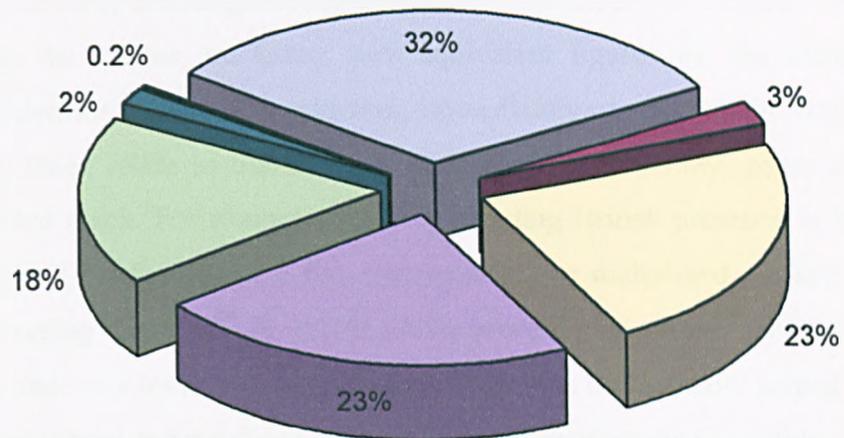
- Craftsmen, shopkeepers and company directors (7)
- Executives, managers and other high-level professionals (6)
- Mid-level professionals (5)
- Clerical, office and service workers (4)
- Manual workers (3)
- Retirees (2)
- People outside employment (1)

4.1.3 Economic activity

The second system of classification offering insight into the socio-economic status of the British, uses economic activity as its variable. This records the activity of the establishment where people work, rather than the actual profession they are employed in. The economic activity category is, therefore, very different to the socio-professional one examined above. Two British expatriates may, for example, work at UNESCO in Paris, one as a senior director and the other as secretary. In socio-professional terms there is clear distinction between the employees; however, in respect to economic activity both would be registered as working for an international organization. Nonetheless, this second variable serves as a

useful adjunct to the preceding analysis by indicating the type of work environment in which the British spend the majority of their time. It enables one to uncover the sectors of the economy that disproportionately draw in high status immigrants, and to gain insight into the international, and professional nature of these employment fields.

There are a total of one hundred discrete classes of economic activity in the 1990 French census, but many are insignificant as far as the British are concerned. Therefore, in Table 4.12 only the top-ten are listed, with equivalent figures for the overall French population provided for comparative purposes. Immediately apparent is the fact that many of the activities listed relate to transnational sectors of the economy, possessing a pan-European or global reach. For example, the long-standing British presence in Paris based upon journalistic (8) and diplomatic (4) representation is underlined, as are traditional Franco-British trading relations[80] (9 + 10). Furthermore, Paris' world-city status, and the role of Ile-de-France as a transnational escalator region, has undoubtedly helped ensure the presence of international organisations (4) and financial institutions (7) within the top-ten. As a by-product of this, we also see the elevated position of commercial teaching (2), with those at the upper-echelons of the global economy requiring a good working knowledge of English.

The relative importance of the hotel and catering (3) and leisure and culture (6) sectors came as somewhat of a surprise. Having said this, these work environments are inherently transnational, and actually contain a substantial number of professional and managerial employees. Finally, as expected the number one British economic activity was also the top activity amongst the French – the 'activités d'études, de conseil et d'assistance' (1) category is very broad and encompasses a range of occupational fields and a large number of employees.

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[80] The UK was the third most important seller to Ile-de-France, behind Germany and the United States, accounting for 10% of all its imports in 1998. It was also the fourth most important buyer in that year, behind Spain, Germany and the United States, taking 8.4% of the regions exports (www.finances.gouv.fr).

Table 4.13: Top-ten economic activities amongst British citizens in Ile-de-France, 1990.

	BRITISH CITIZENS		FRENCH NATIONALS	
	Rank of 100	% of Total	Rank of 100	% of Total
Education, Information and Advice	1	18.2%	1	9.0%
Private Teaching	2	7.7%	46	0.5%
Hotels, Cafes and Restaurants	3	6.9%	8	3.3%
Diplomatic Representation and International Organizations	4	6.5%	70	0.1%
Public Teaching	5	6.2%	4	6.3%
Leisure, Cultural and Sporting Services	6	4.1%	15	1.7%
Financial Organizations	7	3.6%	6	4.0%
Press, Printing and Publishing	8	3.3%	10	2.3%
Non-Food Wholesale and Commerce	9	3.0%	13	2.2%
Inter-Firm Trade	10	2.8%	12	2.3%

Source: INSEE, 1990

Looking at the percentages in Table 4.12, British representation is particularly marked in the first, second, third, fourth and sixth ranked sectors. Understandably, whilst only 0.1% of the French population are diplomats or involved in international organisations, the figure for British citizens rises to 6.5%. Similarly, only 0.5% of French nationals work in the private education sphere compared with 7.7% of British citizens. However, exactly why these economic activities are so 'British' in flavour is difficult to determine based on census data alone. Nonetheless, the general pattern seems to be one where the British trade upon their labour market advantage as immigrants and as English speakers, and enter transnational spheres of employment. Interestingly, though, the economic activities engaged with are both service-based and higher-status professional.

4.1.4 Residential mobility

Having examined the socio-economic nature of the British community in Ile-de-France, I now want to look at evidence of urban, national and international residential mobility. In terms of the latter process, at the time of the 1982 French census over half of the 1990 British respondents were living outside of France (see Figure 4.12). Although a substantial figure, the significance of this inter-census influx diminishes somewhat when equivalent

American and Japanese data is consulted. In other words, amongst the British (and German) communities there is relatively more internal migration and residential stability, indicating the presence of a significant established expatriate population (see Section 5.2).

Figure 4.12: Inter-census mobility, by citizenship - Ile-de-France, 1990
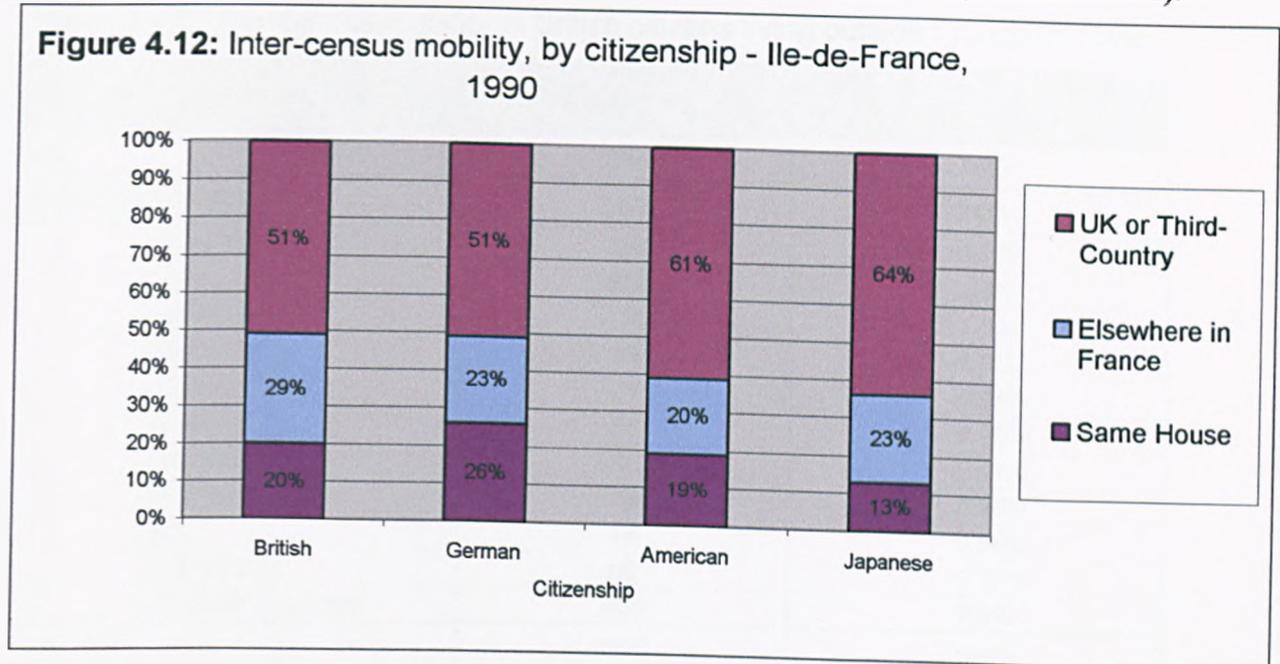
Looking at the international origins of those expatriates who lived outside France at the time of the 1982 census, figures show that 76% (6,700) were living in the UK (see Table 4.13). This indicates that large numbers of expatriates in Ile-de-France are likely to have moved there directly from the UK[81]. This said, approximately one in four (2,128) of those living outside France in 1982 were also living outside the UK, demonstrating just how complex and multi-dimensional migratory processes can be. Hong Kong, the USA and Germany were the most significant third-countries, and there was also a strong EU presence. In addition, a Commonwealth effect was discernible, but beyond this the variety was striking - in all 69 different nations were represented amongst this sizeable group of non-linear migrants.

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[81] It should be noted that being resident in the UK in 1982 is no guarantee that an expatriate followed a linear migratory path. Between 1982 and 1990 he/she may have lived in any number of countries before eventually settling in Ile-de-France in time for the 1990 census count. The large number of people living in the UK in 1982 and in Ile-de-France by 1990 simply suggests that linear migration is likely.

Table 4.14: Inter-census mobility of British citizens living outside France in 1982.

Place of Residence in 1982	Frequency	Percent
UK	6700	76%
THIRD-COUNTRY	2128	24%
Hong Kong	*324*	*3.7%*
USA	*252*	*2.9%*
Germany	*136*	*1.5%*
Switzerland	*88*	*1.0%*
Australia	*84*	*0.95%*
Belgium	*84*	*0.95%*
Canada	*80*	*0.91%*
Ireland	*76*	*0.86%*
Italy	*76*	*0.86%*
Netherlands	*68*	*0.77%*
Other 59 Countries	*860*	*9.8%*
TOTAL	8828	100%

Source: INSEE, 1990

As already noted, figure 4.12 indicates a remarkable degree of residential stability, with one in five (3,428) British citizens living at the same address in 1982 and 1990. This suggests the presence of a well established, and ageing expatriate cohort, without any overwhelming desire to return to the UK, something that tends to be overlooked in skilled migration literature, where relocation is seen as contingent upon relatively short-term economic goals.

For the 5,000 (29%) or so expatriates in Ile-de-France who moved house between 1982 and 1990 (see Figure 4.12), four types of internal mobility were evident:

- Movement within the same *commune* (36%)

- Movement to a different *commune* within the same *département* (16%)

- Movement to different *départements*, but within Ile-de-France (41%)

- And movement into Ile-de-France from another region (8%)

Once again, there is a remarkable degree of stability, with over one-third of moves taking place within the same local area. This contrasts with the meagre 8% of British citizens in Ile-de-France who were living outside the region but elsewhere in France in 1982.

4.3.6 Housing class

Housing status was the final variable taken from the 1990 census. As Table 4.15 shows, British citizens in Ile-de-France are spread across four main housing classes; owner-occupation, private renting, public housing, and a residual 'other tenure' sector. Like almost all immigrant groups, the level of renting amongst expatriates is high, with the small size of the furnished property market in Paris reinforcing the dominance of the unfurnished sector. Having said this, when one compares levels of furnished renting amongst the British and the French, the significance of this, albeit small property sector is marked. In fact, British immigrants are almost eight times more likely to live in furnished rental accommodation than their French counterparts, a quite remarkable statistic.

Table 4.15: Housing tenure, by citizenship – Ile-de-France, 1990.

		French	British	German	American	Japanese
Owner Occupier		49.2%	38.0%	34.6%	25.9%	18.2%
Private Rented		24.1%	52.6%	52.1%	61.8%	74.0%
	Unfurnished	*23.3%*	*46.4%*	*48.8%*	*55.0%*	*64.0%*
	Furnished	*0.8%*	*6.2%*	*3.3%*	*6.8%*	*10.0%*
Public Housing		21.8%	3.4%	6.5%	3.0%	2.2%
Other		4.8%	6.0%	6.8%	9.3%	5.5%

Source: INSEE, 1990

Within the two rental sectors there are likely to be a diverse range of expatriates, from either ends of the property ladder and socio-economic spectrum (see Section 2.4). There will also be permanent as well as transient groups, particularly given the exorbitant cost of owner- occupation in world cities such as Paris. Furthermore, one cannot ignore the geographical/ecological dimension to private renting in Ile-de-France, with properties generally concentrated towards the central city. This said, anecdotal evidence also pointed towards the presence of a high-status rental market in the western suburbs, often accessed (directly or indirectly) through transnational employers and work colleagues. Although tentative, this indicates the presence of an important socio-geographic contour within the private rental housing sector.

Owner-occupation was the second most important British tenure category, with levels particularly high in relation to those registered by the American and Japanese cohorts. Like the residential mobility data discussed above (Section 4.3.5), these figures

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also point towards the presence of a relatively settled and well established expatriate community, something that is likely to have a positive impact upon communal behaviour[82]. Furthermore, the figures underline the high-status nature of a significant proportion of the population, as well as demonstrating the well known cultural affinity the British have towards home ownership. Once again, anecdotal evidence pointed towards a geographical / housing-class link, with owner-occupiers appearing to favour the high/status western suburbs (see Chapter 6).

In summary, not only is there a large rental sector catering for both temporary and permanent expatriates who are likely to be located at diverse points along the property ladder. There is also a significant level of owner-occupation, indicative of a relatively established, high-status and suburban British community.

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[82] As Putman (2000, p. 204) notes "...because of their greater rootedness, homeowners are substantially more likely to be involved in community affairs than renters".

4.4 The fabric of community

In this final part of the chapter, results from the organisational survey will be used to examine the community infrastructure catering for British expatriates in Ile-de-France (see Section 3.3). The intricacies and complexities of this expatriate 'social glue' will be examined through reference to six main themes; relating to the historical evolution, contemporary *raison d'être*, and geographical spread of the immigrant organisations, as well as their internal structure, membership appeal, and future concerns. However, prior to embarking upon this community overview, some important caveats need inserting. Principally, these stem from the privileging of social networks in their institutionalised form, thereby ignoring potentially significant forms of less structured interaction.

Looking first at the institutional vista provided by the questionnaire, it is important to recognise that the balance between formal and informal communality is extremely variable, and as a result, the view that one is offered by this type of data is itself a changing one (see Section 2.5.2). Comparative studies indicate, for example, that differences clearly exist between ethno-national groups in terms of their associational vigour (Jenkins, 1988; Sassen-Koob, 1979). In fact, there are even cases when evidence of communal interaction is almost entirely confined to the private realm and/or to informal friendship and acquaintance networks (Ansari, 1992; Markowitz, 1993; Shokeid, 1988). Thus, from the outset, one must recognise that there are other intangible dimensions to expatriate communality that cannot be reached through the standardised organisational survey.

This said, the social, residential and commercial invisibility of the British, *vis à vis* more traditional immigrant groups, implies that the community is best accessed through its institutional window, however restricted the view may be. Very simply, when no ghetto, enclave or 'street corner society' exists, then the tangible organisation becomes the most obvious gateway into civil society. Moreover, if scholars are to begin their encroachment into "the under-researched area of the Anglo-ethnic majority" as Mac an Ghaill (2000, p. 145) suggests, then the importance of this approach is likely to grow. This, however, leads on to another acknowledgement, related to the practical impossibility of only examining those social fields tied to immigrant organisations. There is simply no clear-cut formal-informal division; immigrant infrastructure evolves from casual interaction (Soyer 1997, p. 50), just as casual interaction evolves from immigrant infrastructure (Breton 1964, p. 201). Real world minority distinction, therefore, is not easily distilled into formal or informal

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realms, with the two manifestations of community recursively intertwined in the lifeworlds of expatriates.

Nevertheless, for the sake of clarity the British community has been 'parcelled off', and the remaining analysis will only examine institutionalised forms of British sociability. Even this, though, does not ensure internal sampling consistency. Most notably, problems revolved around the Anglophone, rather than explicitly British, appeal of many organisations, and the presence of quasi-independent bodies operating within larger parent establishments. In addition, the general transience of both the community and its infrastructure ensured that crude response rates were artificially low. All of which raise important questions; the first two related to the national and technical legitimacy for inclusion in / exclusion from the survey, and the last to the longevity of findings from often quite ephemeral community structures. Thus, not only is the balance between formal and informal sociability variable and blurred, even within the discrete organisational realm there are considerable sampling complexities. Aware of these issues, it is now time to review the British infrastructure in Ile-de-France, beginning with a general appreciation of formal community interaction.

4.4.1 A 'place' in France

Following migration, there is a desire amongst many to try to reproduce familiar social contexts, with immigrant organisations one of the key spaces in which this occurs. Participants are drawn to the communal stage by a combination of factors. These may be specific, involving identity resonance with the unique socio-cultural setting of the organisation, or they may be broader, related to general ethno-national and immigrant cues. In terms of the former, we see that individuals perform within particular organisations for a variety of reasons, with social stratifiers such as gender, generation, life-stage and class extremely important in accounting for this fragmentary appeal. In contrast, the second type of appeal is a more general one, relating both to the imagined community to which the 'British' belong, and to the unsettling effect that migration has upon identity and social connectivity. At its very core, therefore, British distinction centres upon the spatial and temporal confluence of social, ethno-national and immigrant facets of expatriate identity, and whether focusing upon formal or informal communality, it is vital one recognises the salience of these (see Chapter 7).

Also vital is the confluence between the participant, the group and the interactional space, as it is this recursive relationship that creates and recreates the British 'places' examined in the thesis. Essentially, there is a dynamic and mutually constitutive 'actor-cast-stage' nexus to immigrant distinction. It is this that imbues community space with meaning, allowing the ethnic, national and social identities of expatriates to evolve accordingly. In other words, British infrastructure in Paris shapes, and is shaped by, individual actors in a structure-agency dualism. This dualism manifests itself in the recursive relationship between place and identity, a relationship common to all institutionalised forms of conviviality and explored in-depth throughout the thesis.

Unfortunately, however, examining the social, ethno-national and immigrant appeal of the expatriate organisation, as well as the way in which this appeal is temporally and spatially constructed and reconstructed, is outside the remit of the present chapter. As already stated, this section offers an overview of the British community, with internal complexities left to one side. Discussion will commence with an examination of the historical evolution of the British community in Ile-de-France. In addition, the link between migration and community will be identified, with contemporary displays of Britishness shown to be contingent upon past immigrant influxes.

4.4.2 Church, charity, colony and committee: the evolution of the British community

In 1820 there were estimated to be 19,020 of 'les Anglais'[83] living in Paris, representing the biggest foreign presence in the city (St George's Anglican Church 2001, p. 1). However, this numerical dominance does not appear to have been accompanied by any institutional blossoming, with extensive community infrastructure developing much later. This said, the nineteenth century did witness the gradual emergence of particular types of British organisation, most notably ecclesiastic. For example, in 1834 St Michael's Anglican church was born, and this was followed by the emergence of the Scots Kirk (Presbyterian) in 1858. By 1863 St Joseph's Catholic church had been consecrated, with the opening of a second Anglican church (St George's) in 1889. Outside of Paris, the establishment of British horseracing as a favoured leisure pursuit underpinned other ecclesiastical developments at Chantilly (1865) and Maisons-Laffitte (1902). Throughout the nineteenth century,

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[83] This figure for 'les Anglais' also incorporates the Irish, Scottish and Welsh.

therefore, religion was the main immigrant 'glue', acting as the non-work focal point for British residents in both urban and suburban locations across Ile-de-France.

The hegemony of the church continued well into the twentieth century; before the onset of the first world war, for example, the register at St George's recorded 713 communions and eight services on a single Sunday (St George's Anglican Church, p10). Similarly, memoirs from a St George's parishioner during the 1920s and 30s reveal how religion offered one of the only real social outlets from an otherwise all-consuming working life (Trippas, *date unknown*). Nevertheless, the financial crisis of the 1930s, allied with the upheaval of the second-world-war, resulted in the number of British expatriates falling quite dramatically to approximately 5,000 by 1949 (St George's Anglican Church 2001, p. 15)[84]. This had a devastating effect on the formal community, and it is remarkable how any of the churches survived. Most, though, overcame the hardships of the 1930s, 40s and early 50s, but, as will become apparent later, their battle for survival had only just begun.

Allied with the ecclesiastical infrastructure, the nineteenth century was also an era in which British philanthropy blossomed. The altruistic leanings evident throughout the UK at the time soon crossed the channel, with Sir Richard Wallace the most famous exponent of this, pivotal in establishing both the Hertford Hospital and St George's Anglican church (see Box 4.1). Similarly, in 1823 the British Charitable Fund was founded, its remit to assist 'the lower classes of the English in Paris', and by 1881 the Salvation Army had begun work, headed by Catherine Booth daughter of the founder.

Moving into the twentieth century, from 1903 onwards the hundreds of British girls working tirelessly on the Paris stage were being supported by the 'Cardew Club', and a few years later the first Scout Troup in continental Europe was formed. This period of philanthropy and religious adherence was an extremely vibrant one in terms of British communal infrastructure, and as Hart and Barbin (2000, p. 4) acknowledge:

"If there is one enduring aspect of the British presence in Paris since 1815, it is the tireless dedication of British residents in Paris to works of charity"

However, as already alluded to, war and the Depression took their toll, with the 1950s signalling the beginning of a new era for the British.

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[84] This figure appears to be a 'best guess' rather than an official statistic.

Box 4.1: St George's Church and the Cardew Club

Founded in 1889, but with origins back to 1824, St George's is an Anglican church located at the very heart of Paris. Services are conducted in English every Sunday, with the mid-morning worship followed by a lunch for those wishing to socialise. When regular parishioners eventually move on, as many do, there is usually a small leaving ceremony over lunch.

In addition to its four paid members of staff, St Georges's relies on numerous volunteers to help run its religious and non-religious activities and events. Christmas and Easter are particularly busy periods, as are the expatriate christenings, weddings and funerals that the church plays host to. There is also a social side, with the activities of the St George's drama group illustrating the point that religion is only one dimension of the churches broader immigrant appeal.

The Cardew Club (established 1903) is housed within the church and is open Friday to Sunday evenings as a meeting place for young, newly arrived expatriates. It was once a highly valued resource for young British dancers working on the Paris stage, but over recent decades its popularity has waned. In fact, with only a handful of members, the very future of the Cardew club is now under question.

In the post-war period, the much-needed revitalisation of expatriate infrastructure took place, only accompanied by new and more diverse developments. The dynamism and communal vigour underpinning these changes undoubtedly stemmed from the optimism of the 1950s and 60s, with profound social, cultural, economic and political changes taking place. Alongside this, new professional migratory channels between the UK and France opened up (see Section 5.2.1.1), with an incoming population very different to that of the 1930s. Furthermore, bearing in mind the comments of Davies and Townshend (1994, p. 1759):

"...the initiatives or agency of the residents in the various communities provide the crucial explanatory factors which must account for the differences in structure and functions of community associations",

the community structures gradually adapted to reflect this socio-migratory upheaval.

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Most obviously, the 'British Colony Committee' (BCC) emerged, an umbrella organisation designed to unite disparate British residents and organisations based in Ile-de-France. One of its first major tasks was to act as a source of information exchange, something imbued with added urgency following the closure of the Continental Daily Mail (see Figure 4.13). Furthermore, the committee was also able to host large community-wide events, that would have previously been too large for any one organisation to arrange (see Figure 4.14). Not only did it represent the main focal point for organisations serving the needs of post-war expatriates, it also came to symbolise the onset and advancement of a new era of communal vitality.

Today, the BCC still remains, as the 'British *Community* Committee'. The colonial underpinnings removed as the actor-cast-stage relationship evolved to reflect changing structural circumstance both inside and outside the expatriate community.

Consistent with the BCC's rise to prominence, the 1950s, 60s and 70s bore witness to a burgeoning communal presence across Ile-de-France. It was the era of the British 'social entrepreneur', with pre-war facilities rejuvenated and new organisations established; during this period, for example, the Franco-British Chamber of Commerce was restructured, the Standard Athletic Club revived, and many of the churches literally rebuilt. A number of new organisations were also founded, including the BCWA (see Figure 4.15), SOS Help and the British church at Fontainebleau.

Stemming directly from the new channels opening up between the UK and France, the majority of people involved in this growth were part of the professional *career-path /* *trailing-spouse model* of migration (see Section 2.3 and Chapter 5). The British middle-classes were, in effect, seeking to reproduce the social milieu to which they had become accustomed in their home country, a milieu that was particularly important at a time when relocation was still largely indefinite or permanent as oppose to circulatory.

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THE BRITISH COLONY COMMITTEE FOR PARIS AND DISTRICT
6, rue Halévy - PARIS

30 October 1958

Dear Delegate,

It has been felt for some time, since the Continental Daily Mail ceased publication, and the British Colony Notes which it published weekly disappeared, that some effort should be made to inform the British Community in Paris and District of what is available to them in the way of recreational and other facilities, as many newcomers to Paris are unaware of the various organisations in existence.

The British Colony Committee therefore proposes to issue a broadsheet annually, free of charge, containing information concerning the various British organisations functioning in Paris, and other useful information. Naturally, the success of this broadsheet will depend on its wide distribution, and the cooperation of the British organisations concerned.

It is proposed to ask the organisations to distribute copies of the broadsheet to their members, and to any other British residents in Paris known to them. The Consulate has kindly promised to cooperate by distributing copies to visitors calling at the Consulate, and the Churches and international organisations will also be asked to arrange for distribution to their congregations and British staff. Copies will also be circulated at the annual Christmas Party organised by the British Colony Committee.

As the British Colony Committee have no sources of income, we think it reasonable that we should ask each organisation to contribute a minimum of Frs. 1,000 towards the cost of printing. It is hoped that those organisations which have more than, say, 100 members will contribute at least Frs. 2,000. We feel sure you will agree that the resulting publicity will be beneficial to everyone.

We shall be glad if you will arrange for the attached questionnaire to be completed and returned to me at 159 Boulevard Bineau, Neuilly-sur-Seine, before 15th November. I shall assume that the returning of the questionnaire means that your organisation is in agreement with the contribution proposal.

Yours sincerely,

Bernice Lynch

Hon. Secretary

QUESTIONNAIRE

Title of Organisation .....

Address .....

Name and Address of Secretary or other responsible official .....

Object of the Organisation .....

Time of Meetings .....

Annual Functions, if any .....

Annual Subscription and or Entrance Fee .....

Figure 4.13: The BCC as an expatriate information hub

BRITISH COLONY COMMITTEE

THE CHRISTMAS PARTY

WILL BE ON

MONDAY, 22ND DECEMBER 1958

AT THE

GRAND HOTEL PARIS

12, BOULEVARD DES CAPUCINES

DANCING FROM 8.30 p.m. — 1.0 a.m.

ADMISSION WILL BE FREE TO MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH COLONY, BUT AN OPPORTUNITY WILL BE GIVEN DURING THE EVENING TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS EXPENSES WHICH ARE UNFORTUNATELY MUCH HIGHER THIS YEAR

Figure 4.14: The BCC Christmas party: one of the first major post-war events

BRITISH AND COMMONWEALTH WOMEN'S CLUB - PARIS

All women who are or were British or Commonwealth Citizens are invited to join our Club and it is hoped to have as wide a membership as possible from all sections of the British & Commonwealth Community in Paris. Our purpose is to bring together and help, when necessary, our members.

The annual subscription is 15 NF.

Our Honorary President is H.E Lady Pierson Dixon

and Chairwoman H.E Lady Mason.

So far our activities have included :

- A monthly Luncheon held on the first Tuesday of every month at the Grand Hotel, 12, Boulevard des Capucines Paris - 9ᶜ - (métro : Opera) at 1 p.m, the cost of which is 17 NF, including wine and coffee.

- Tea parties at the homes of our members at which other members are welcome.

A Library, also at the Grand Hotel which is open first third and fifth Tuesdays from 10 to noon and on the second and fourth Tuesdays from 3 to 5 p.m. Vouchers for theatre tickets at reduced prices may be obtained from the Library.

- A monthly Newsletter which gives announcements of future meetings, a summary of the talk given at the luncheon and useful advertisements.

Anyone interested in joining may obtain a membership application form from the secretary :

Mrs. Bidot
107, avenue de Neuilly,
Neuilly-sur-Seine.
Tel. MAIllot 47-06 preferably 8.30 to 9.30 a.m
Monday to Friday.

Figure 4.15: The beginning of the British and Commonwealth Women's Association

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Moreover, whilst this desire to recreate British society overseas was evident prior to world war two, the growing affluence and unprecedented levels of free time propelled the communal realm to a new height of popularity. However, as Chapter 7 will show, the social specificity of this post-war communal bubble, whilst underpinning its success, gradually become a hindrance. In recent times inertia has developed, with many of the BCC-based organisations declining in popularity and loosing focus and direction as the post-war model of community has waned.

Box 4.2: The British Community Committee (BCC)

The British Community Committee (formerly British Colonies Committee) was officially founded in 1947, but dates back to an informal 'get together' in 1936 to celebrate the coronation of king George VI. Its principal aim was to act as a point of contact for British citizens moving to France, and from 1978 when the first social diary was produced, its role was extended to ensure that the key dates in the expatriate social calendar did not clash (see Appendix 6).

Each quarter the seven-strong executive committee meets in preparation for the general meeting that follows. Representatives from each of the 67 clubs, societies and associations listed in the digest are invited – usually a core of people will regularly attend, with others coming less frequently if at all. The AGM is held at the British embassy, and at the 2000 meeting plans were announced to 'go national' and extend the reach of the BCC across the whole of France. This was a move designed to increase the appeal of the organisation. For instance, whilst 10,000 digests were once distributed every year, the figure is now approximately 4,000 every two years. At the same time, advertising interest has almost disappeared. In the 1987 edition 12 companies used the digest for publicity, including: the Financial Times, British Rail, ICI, Pilkington Glass and Barclays Bank. By 2000 only two companies remained.

Nonetheless, the recent 'Festival Franco-Britannique' (6-13 July 2000) - involving four music, three theatre and one literary event, a lecture, a sports dinner and an exhibition - was organised through the BCC. A book has also been produced to commemorate this millennium-inspired festival (Hart and Barbin, 2000). All show how the BCC and its affiliates remain active and vibrant, continuing to appeal to at least certain sectors of the expatriate population.

Paralleling this shift, it is clear that from the 1980s certain types of BCC affiliates began their ascendancy. Most notably, following increased demand from a professional expatriate population made up mainly of British families, churches at Chantilly and Versailles expanded considerably during the 1990s. Linked to this family-centred suburban provisioning, there has also been rapid growth in scholastic infrastructure, mainly to serve children whose stay in Paris is known to be finite[85]. For example, during the 1990s the British School at Croissy (founded in 1954) underwent its most ambitious expansion programme to date, and by 1998 the number of fee-paying pupils enrolled at the school had topped 700 for the first time.

As Figure 4.16 indicates, in addition to the expansion of existing ecclesiastic and scholastic infrastructure, the 1980s and 90s also appear to have been a period in which entirely new organisations became established[86]. This contemporary proliferation is worth noting, not least because it encompassed a whole host of lifestyle-based groups, many without any BCC ties. Moreover, such fragmentation / specialisation often involved the general targeting of Anglophones, rather than just specifically British groups of expatriates (see Section 7.6). Indicative of this burgeoning periphery, outside the shrinking BCC core, are the successes of groups such as 'Live Poets Society' and 'Laughing Matters in Paris' (LMIP). This said, the 1980s and 90s did see the growth of some new BCC affiliates; they were mainly lifestyle-based, and ranged from theatrical groups like 'International Players' and 'Dear Conjunction', to professional bodies like 'The Association of British Accountants'.

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[85] See, for example, the 'English Language Schools Association' (www.perso.wanadoo.fr/elsa.france) and the 'European Council of International Schools' (www.ecis.org).

[86] It is important to acknowledge that immigrant organisations can be highly volatile, particularly during their early stages. One must accept that this may be an issue in Figure 4.16, and that over time there will be a flattening-off of the more recent 1980 and 1990 peaks. In addition, it may also be the case that official BCC affiliates have a greater chance of long-term survival. Thus, when talking of either the contemporary diversity of formal organisations or the decline in the relative influence of the BCC, one needs to be mindful of the broader historical context.

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Figure 4.16: British/Anglophone organisations in Ile-de-France: decade established
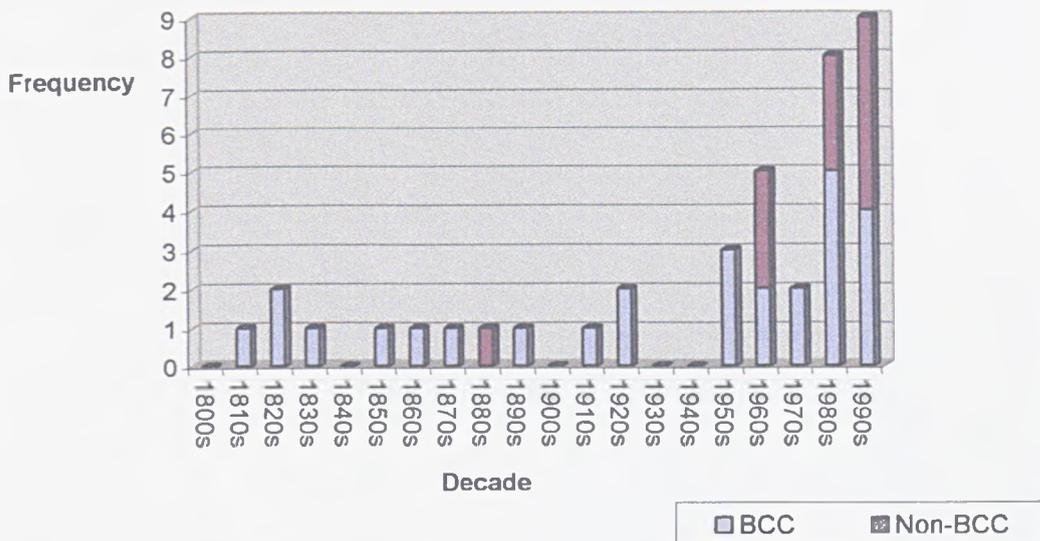
The reduced dominance of the BCC, as new and more diverse organisations became established, clearly stems from its post-war generation-led growth and the increasingly narrow proportion of migrants attracted to this fraternal model. In addition, broader societal changes have taken place, and the role played by the communal sphere within the contemporary urban environment has declined. As part of this, ethno-national distinction is now easily engaged with on a private and/or individual level, facilitated by the increased prominence of a multitude of transnational linkages (see Section 8.2). The results of these processes of change have been numerous; the BCC, for example, no longer holds an annual Christmas party for the entire community, the Digest no longer commands enough revenue or demand to merit annual publication[87], and the average age of those participating in the events of its affiliates is high, with many organisations struggling to attract new members. The individuals decorated by the Queen for their work within the British community (of which there were two in my interview sample) have long since retired, and although they still assume an active role within various BCC organisations, the community as a whole has moved on. Just as it passed from an era of church and charity, to one of colony then committee, so the latest stage of readjustment has begun.

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[87] At the 2001 BCC AGM it was announced that not all the digests had been distributed, a lack of interest that helped underpin the decision not to produce a new digest for 2001-2002, the first-time that this had ever happened.

The effect that this adjustment will have on formal community structures, most notably those of the BCC, is uncertain. Nevertheless, as long as the British keep migrating there is always likely to be the need for some form of *in-situ* communality. This may become less restrictive in social and cultural terms than it has been in the past, it may become more symbolic than pervasive in the everyday lifeworlds of expatriates, and it is certainly likely to be more extensive and fragmentary in terms of the form it takes and who it attracts. Whether or not the BCC and its constituents engage with, influence, and evolve alongside these changes, as they did during the post-war boom, is yet to be seen. If they do not, then considerable rationalisation is likely, and the title 'British Community Committee' may once again have to change, only this time to reflect the fact that it represents *a* rather than *the* British community.

Box 4.3: Laughing Matters in Paris (LMIP)

Not part of the official BCC, LMIP has been is an alternative comedy club that has been attracting Anglophone and French audiences to the *Hôtel du Nord* since 1997. Performers come mainly from the UK and Ireland, with North American acts also popular. Shows are advertised across Paris; at the numerous British, Irish and American bars, government embassies, the British Council and throughout the expatriate press. There is also a free mailing list that currently has over 1,500 email addresses on. This allows news of upcoming events to be spread easily and quickly across the community, and as a result audiences are usually quite sizeable. There are, however, times when the venue could be termed somewhat 'intimate' (see Figure 4.17).
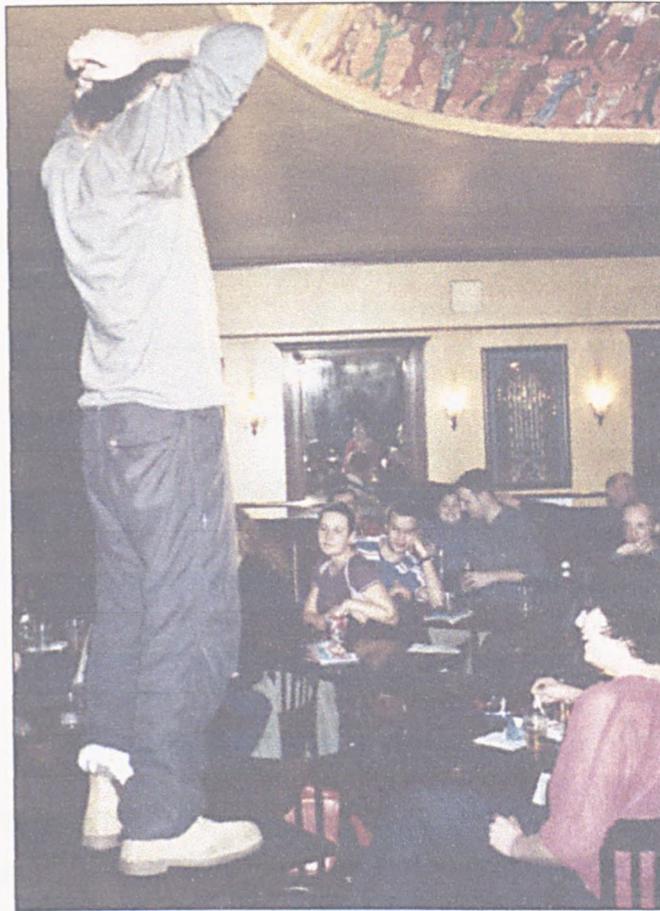
Figure 4.17: A British comedy night at the *Hôtel du Nord*

4.4.3 The diversity and appeal of the immigrant organisation

I now want to address the issues of why British infrastructure exists at all. Put simply, what functions do the organisations fulfil? Are these always explicit? And to what extent are the diverse functions united by more general roles, such as those outlined already in Section 2.5.3?

In focusing upon the *raison d'être* of the immigrant organisation, one is assisted by a whole host of typologies accounting for internal diversity within various ethnic and national communities (see for example Ansari 1992, p. 133-144; Davies and Townshend 1994; Gitmez and Wilpert 1987, p. 115-121; Josephides 1987, p 47-50). However, as far as the British were concerned no such typology existed, and so with the help of the BCC digest (see Figure 3.1), and similar expatriate directories elsewhere[88], ten types of British organisation were identified (see Appendix 5). Eight of these were deemed worthy of

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[88] For example the British community in Austria has a similar digest (www.britishembassy.at/direct/club), as do other skilled migrant groups elsewhere in the world (Krinsky, 1983).

inclusion in the communal survey, with only the commercial and media categories omitted (see Table 4.16).

Table 4.16: British organisations in Ile-de-France: a taxonomy.

1. Religious	2. Educational
3. Charitable	4. Official Representation
5. Professional / Business	6. Umbrella
7. Clubs and Societies	8. Other

Under "7. Clubs and Societies":

- Ex Service - Political - Sport	- Mothers/Women - Youth - Cultural - Theatre, Arts and Literature

The taxonomy shows that the British share at least some of their communal habits with more problematised immigrant groups. For instance, intriguing parallels and contrasts can be drawn between expatriate's use of religious and educational facilities, and debates around single-faith schooling and religious adherence aired in the UK and France. This said, the importance invested in religion and education undoubtedly varies according to the immigrant group concerned. The Mosque for the Pakistani Muslim community in Britain, for example, is likely to be more significant in terms of everyday life than the Anglican churches of Paris (see, for example, Joly, 1995). In contrast, reproducing a home-country school milieu is likely to be more of a priority / reality for high-status transient families than for traditional immigrant settlers, with the return orientation and financial clout of the former two key axes of difference in this respect. Thus, whilst certain types of community structure seem omnipresent, regardless of the immigrant group, a degree of caution must be exercised when generalising from the proposed typology.

Examining the issue of comparability further, it was clear that a number of the organisational types identified existed as a result of the high-status, non-problematised nature of British migration, and would not have been so prominent amongst low-status groups. The preponderance of professional organisations, charitable bodies and women's groups for instance, all point towards a communal model infused by particular class and gender norms (see Chapter 7). These norms are unlikely to influence the behaviour of problematised minorities in the same way, with political action (Giles, 1991; Wahlbeck,

1999, pp. 152-178), welfare access (Jenkins, 1988), and local loyalties (Campani *et al.*, 1987; Soyer, 1997) more important foundations for in-group fraternity. Therefore, whilst the British typology may well share similarities with diverse immigrant groups, its comparative power is best restricted to analogous minority populations. One could, for example, hypothesise that formal structures within the American community will parallel the eight identified for the British, with differences unlikely, given the closeness of the two groups.

Moving away from this comparative perspective and back onto the value of the typology itself, two interesting findings emerge from the questionnaire. Firstly, it became apparent that the activities of most organisations extended well beyond their primary public role. Heads of churches, for example, noted how they played host to internal sub-groups not tied to religion, whilst women's organisations such as the BCWA revealed how multifaceted their activities had become. In fact, almost all organisations indicated that they fulfilled secondary roles, roles inevitably hidden by external categorisation and the need for simple self-definition. With this in mind, Figure 4.18 provides a count of *all* the activities the eight types of surveyed organisations claimed to be involved in. Thus, in addition to their primary function (Table 4.16), secondary activities are also taken into account.

Underlying this primary / secondary complexity was the presence of a number of core roles that the immigrant organisations seemed to perform. This ensured that diverse British groups were, to some extent, competing within the same field, outwardly different yet in possession of a shared *raison d'être*. Returning to Figure 4.18, this manifests itself in the prominence of social, cultural, support, and co-operative functions, functions implicit in the work of most formal groups. Explaining this universal basis for expatriate conviviality is outside the scope of this present chapter (although see Section 2.5 and Chapter 7). Suffice to say, international migration clearly leads to personal disconnection from social networks, ethno-national identity upheaval, and a reduction in practical socio-cultural capital. Feelings of loneliness, alienation and powerlessness can result respectively, with communal embeddedness helping to overcome these feelings. Not only, therefore, are immigrant organisations complex entities performing activities beyond their official call of duty, they also share a number of common roles, and to recognise this one must move beyond the one-dimensional typology outlined in Table 4.16.

Figure 4.18: British/Anglophone organisations in Ile-de-France: primary/secondary and general functions

Frequency

Art/Dance/Drama/Music
Educational
Charitable
Youth
Religious
Business
Mother/Womens Group
Sporting
Political
Ex-service
Umbrella Organisation

Social
Cultural
Support/Counselling
French-UK Co-Op
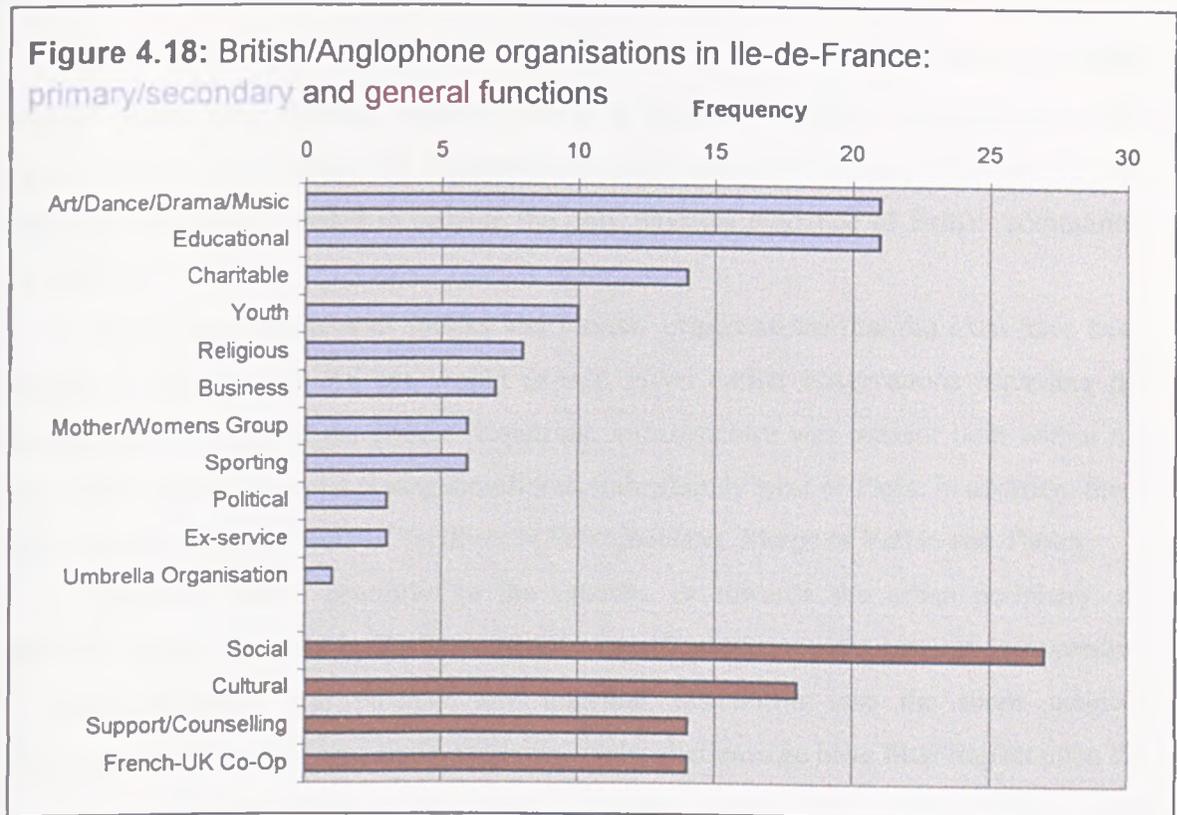
4.4.4 British 'bricks and mortar'

Having dealt with issues of organisational diversity, the geographical spread of British infrastructure across Ile-de-France will now be examined. As one would expect of a socially, residentially and commercially invisible community, expatriate infrastructure was likewise imperceptible[89]. Not least, this stemmed from the fact that the majority of organisations surveyed (63%) did not have a clubhouse of their own, and were forced instead to rely on alternative premises[90].

The favoured option was to rent, borrow or share a premises, with pubs, cafes as well as member's own homes other popular choices. Bodies such as the Royal Society of St George would meet in luxury offices, or within the grounds of the British Embassy; female

[89] The British Embassy when asked, in conjunction with a French school in Paris, to organise 'un circuit Britannique' came up with the following ports of call: The Shakespeare Garden (*bois de Boulogne*), The English Language Library for the Blind, The Victoria Home, The International School of Paris, The British Institute/Council, The British Embassy, WH Smiths, The British Tourist Authority and Marks and Spencer (www.amb-grandebretagne.fr).
[90] There are important differences between ethno-national communities in this respect, and these tend to stem from the prominence of religion. Thus, whilst Joly (1987) showed that over 50% of Pakistani associations in Birmingham owned their own premises, this was a figure heavily influenced by the religious nature of the community. In contrast, Verdonk *et al.* (1987) found that most Spanish associations rented a room and were therefore less visible in the built environment.

support groups like Message would convene in member's homes, whilst Drama clubs played in borrowed theatres, and Anglophone poetry was read out across Irish bars. In fact, churches and schools tended to provide the only physical evidence of British community interaction.

The limited numbers of 'bricks and mortar' organisations that did exist have been mapped in Figure 4.19. As one would expect, given earlier observations regarding the residential geography of the British, expatriate infrastructure was present both within the city-centre and the high-status neighbourhoods immediately west of Paris. In addition, there were also more remote 'outlier' facilities at Fontainebleau, Marne la Vallée and Thoiry.

Whether located centrally, in the suburbs, or towards the urban periphery, all facilities can be explained by the presence of a significant immigrant population exceeding a critical threshold and pushing any informal interaction into the more tangible organisational realm. In most cases, the social nodes that emerge have little impact upon the physical landscape. However in certain instances, particularly when religious and educational needs are being met, British communal interaction can be seen in the built environment. Once established, these facilities may in turn act as residential 'beacons' enticing more expatriates to live nearby. Not only, therefore, is the distribution of communal infrastructure interesting per se, it is also important in terms of the immigrant housing market, exerting a ratchet-type effect upon existing concentrations of expatriates (see Section 2.4 and Chapter 6).

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Figure 4.19: The distribution of British organisations across Ile-de-France

Thoiry Cricket Club

International School at Marne la Valee

Anglican Church and International School at Fontainebleau

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FBBC = Franco-British Chamber of Commerce
ELLB = English Language Library for the Blind
RBL = Royal British Legion
WICE = Women's Institute for Continuing Education
SAC = Standard Athlertic Club

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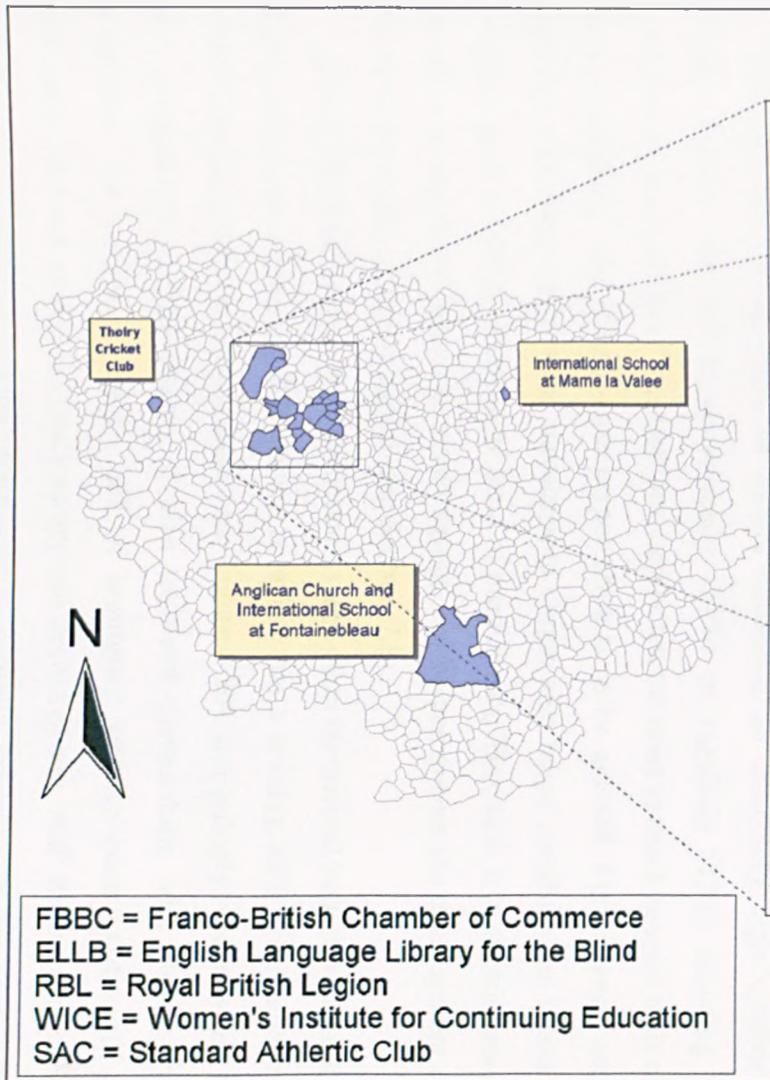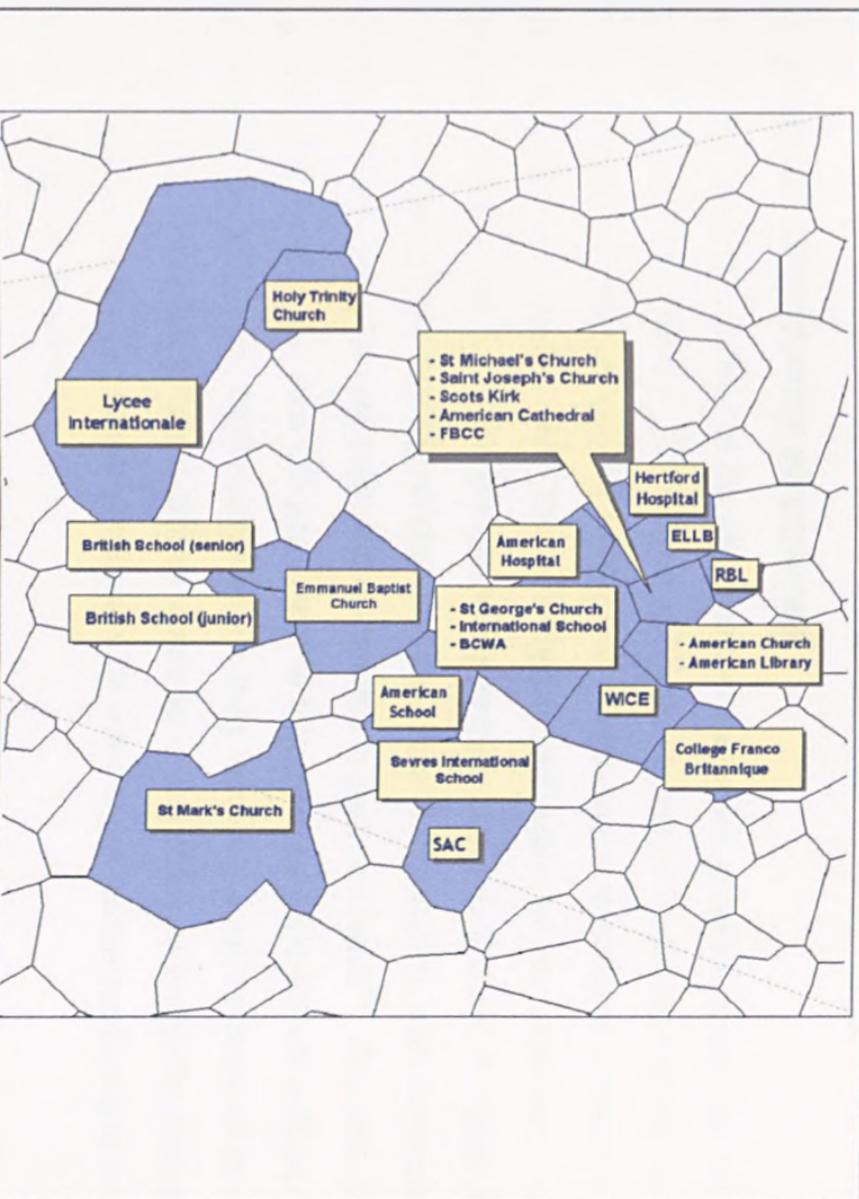
4.4.5 Internal community structures

Looking at the internal structure of the immigrant organisation, whether 'paper' or 'bricks and mortar- based, the majority (79%) were officially registered under the French *'loi de 1901'*[91]. A slightly higher proportion (88%) had established a permanent committee to oversee activities and events, with the two figures indicative of the extremely well-established nature of the British organisational presence in Ile-de-France. Funding was mainly assured through membership revenue and the sale of goods (61%), with fluctuations in popularity likely to have a very rapid and discernible impact as a result[92]. This said, 62% of organisations charged less than £25 per annum to join, with only the schools and private British sports club passing the £100 mark. Overall, then, relatively small amounts of money were involved in maintaining formal British networks - something undoubtedly linked to the general absence of any permanent premises, with most organisations managing to avoid exorbitant fixed-costs as a result.

Moving onto the openness of formal networks, an extremely high number of community leaders admitted to occasionally (54%) or regularly (43%) allowing the involvement of non-members. Organisations clearly felt the need to reach beyond their core audience, something vital if long-term perpetuation is to be assured. Furthermore, active engagement with those outside the membership clique also helps avoid excess insularity and reliance upon a narrow, albeit loyal band of participants. This said, it is questionable as to the extent to which this apparent 'reaching-out' has helped ensure the development of a long-term and socially inclusive appeal (see Section 7.5).

Connectivity between expatriate networks and other communal bodies was the final structural dimension examined. The survey revealed that a striking 82% of organisations claimed to maintain official outside links (see Figure 4.20). Intriguingly, not only did this involve co-operation within France, it also involved partnerships with British-based organisations. One cannot, therefore, talk of immigrant activity-space as discrete and disconnected, confined within the host country and devoid of any 'real' British context. Far from it, there was clearly an ongoing transnational dialogue between the UK and France, with direct British input a key creative force in the communal 'product' being constructed and consumed. Moreover, formalised links between independent organisations represent

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[91] There is a legal requirement in France for all voluntary associations to register officially with the authorities.
[92] Other notable funding came from 'autonomous donations' (35%), whilst 'public money from the UK and France' (4%) was negligible in its impact.

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only the most tangible facet of what are inherently transnational activity spaces, transnational in terms of the physical places being created / recreated, and the expatriates identities produced / reproduced (see Chapter 8).

Figure 4.20: Organisational links

No links (18%)

Links with other organisations (82%)

Links with another British expatriate organisation (28%)

Links with a British-based organisation (31%)

Links with a French organisation (28%)

Links with a non-British expatriate organisation (13%)
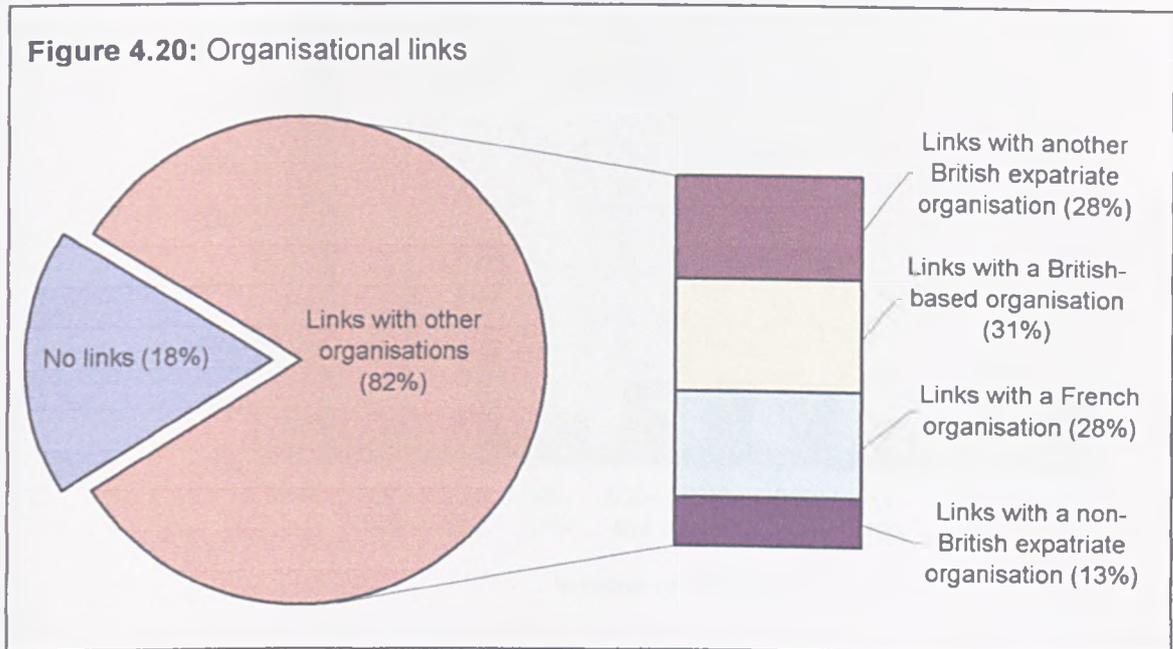
4.4.6 Formal community appeal

Given the sheer number of British, let alone Anglophone organisations across Ile-de-France, expatriates could, conceivably, spend the majority of free-time moving between the various communal 'bubbles' identified above. However, in reality this extreme social enclavism was not present, there was no real sense in which the British constituted an 'institutionally complete' community (Breton, 1964). What existed instead was partial separation, the appeal of which very much depended upon the particular social identities of the expatriate. This 'community-identity' link, so vital in the process of place creation and heterolocal appeal, has already been alluded to in Section 4.4.1, and will be examined more thoroughly later on in the thesis (see Chapter 7). For now though, I just want to outline the very basics of organisational attraction.

In one sense, the question of popularity is clear-cut, revolving around total levels of membership. Most organisations, for instance, had less than 100 members, and very few passed the 300 mark (see Figure 4.21). Similarly, at the largest annual event organisations rarely managed to attract more than 200 members or guests, figures that in tandem show small to medium sized networks to be the dominant model for formal British interaction.

Figure 4.21: Membership levels in British/Anglophone organisations
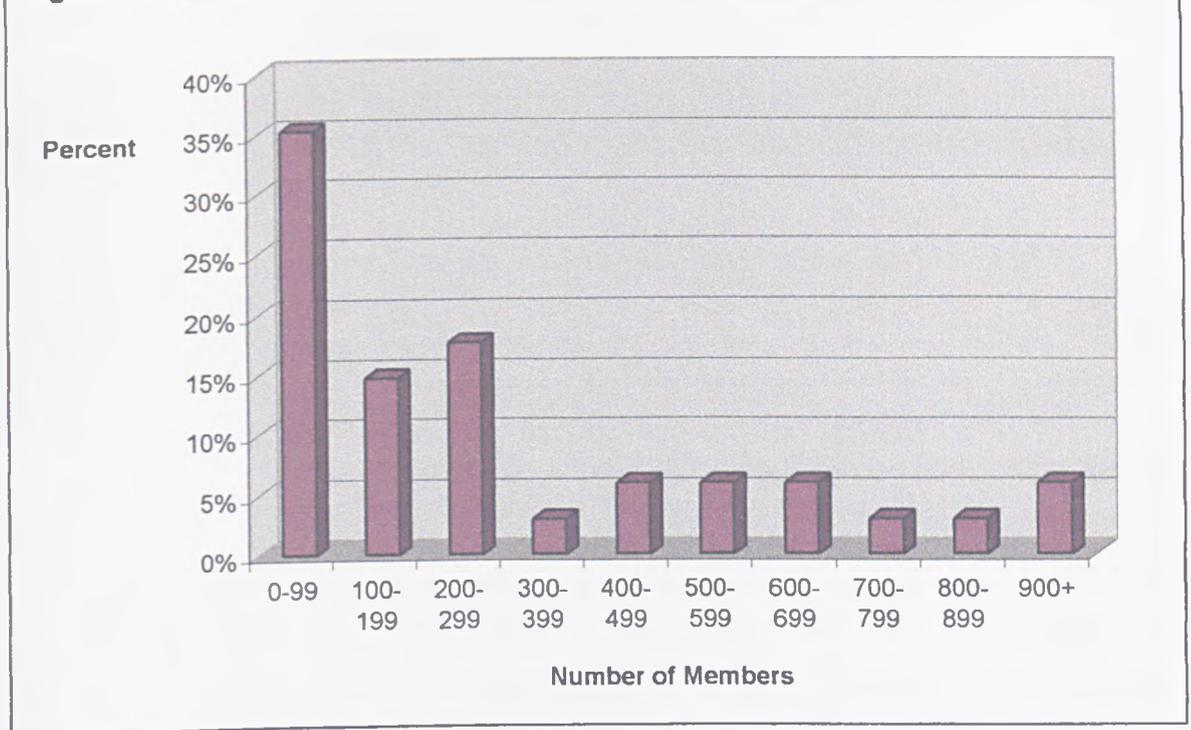
Having said this, I have already argued that the influence of community organisations extends well beyond official members / immediate participants. There is a kind of diffusion of influence radiating out from the central membership core, as Stoller (1996, p. 160) observes:

"Ethnic churches or synagogues and other ethnic organisations often involve a relatively small proportion of any ethnic category, yet their activities can promote awareness of ethnic identity beyond their immediate networks".

Thus, to focus purely upon levels of membership and rates of attendance is to ignore the broader role played by formal communality, a wide-reaching role with a far more extensive axis of influence.

In addition to issues of membership and spheres of influence, the survey also sought to uncover the ethno-national make-up of the organisation. As Table 4.17 shows, there was very little sign of an integrated Anglophone collective, with the Irish, Antipodean, and South African influences negligible. Nevertheless, there were signs of a North American presence in the survey, and the role played by English language as a basis for immigrant cohesion should not be discounted. The French presence was also strong, underlining the importance of the co-operative function of the immigrant organisation, already identified in Figure 4.20.

Table 4.17: Ethno-national diversity in British/Anglophone organisations.

	Significant	Moderately Significant	Insignificant
British	84%	9%	7%
French	37%	30%	33%
North American	30%	22%	49%
Antipodean & South African	8%	15%	78%
Irish	5%	13%	82%

This said, it is important to recognise that significant levels of American and French involvement do not necessarily equate to a melting-pot / third-space model of intra-communal organisation. On the contrary, this national diversity could also be explained by inter-organisational separation. Put simply, it is equally probable that the formal networks surveyed targeted specific ethno-national cohorts. In this plural model of communal organisation, integration will clearly not proceed, the appeal being mono rather than multi-national. Therefore, one must be careful not to draw too many conclusions from the aggregate-level nationality data presented above.

4.4.7 Issues and futures

Concerns over the future of BCC affiliates, who after all made up the majority of survey respondents, have already been aired in Section 4.4.2. Consistent with this are the results depicted in Figure 4.22, clearly showing that the British community faces a number of immediate problems. Not only have many leaders been left without the resources (human and financial) necessary to co-ordinate activities and events, but there also appears to have been a gradual retreat in the 'reach' of these organisations. Paralleling this, the social spectrum of those participating has been shrinking and new types of members are no longer attracted in the way they once were. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that re-evaluating aims and objectives, and potentially changing direction, are the priorities of a significant number of community leaders. Similarly, very few have complained of over-subscription, and it appears that the new millennia is a time of great uncertainty and potential upheaval, rather than one of stability and consensus building [93].

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[93] Whether or not the concerns expressed are specific to British immigrant organisations is unclear, although I would suggest that the battle to save community infrastructure applies to the British mainland as well.

Figure 4.22: Issues and futures faced by British/Anglophone organisations
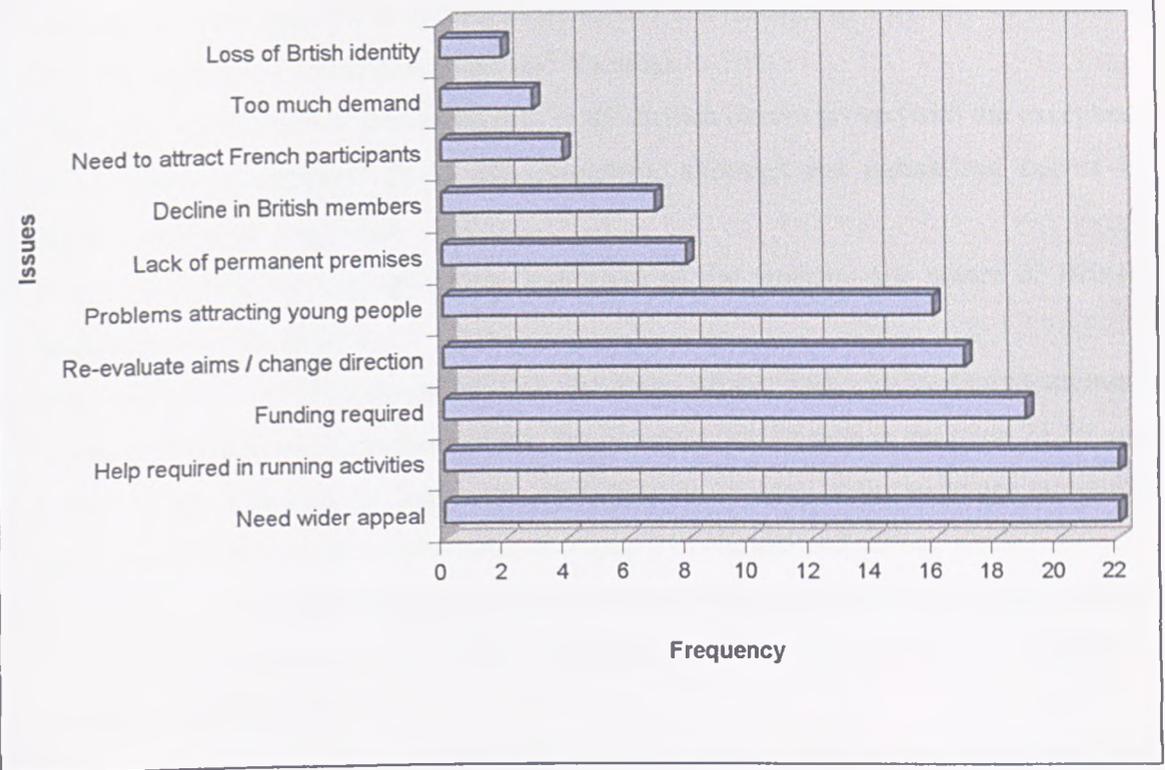
4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the British community in Ile-de-France, using both official statistics and a more focused organisational survey. In terms of the former, data showed that there were both transient and well established expatriate communities across urban and suburban Ile-de-France. Furthermore, the British appear to be a generally high-status immigrant group, with professional, male employment particularly prominent. Looking at the findings in a little more depth, eight points are worth identifying:

- There were 18,984 British citizens and 6,332 naturalised British living in Ile-de-France in 1999

- The overall size of the community has increased at each of the last four census counts, with the British one of the most significant EU group in Ile-de-France. The region, though, is declining in importance for British citizens (but not for naturalised British) relative to other destinations in France.

- An urban-suburban British and possibly international 'zone' of settlement is evident, running from the high-status *arrondissements* of Paris through to a number of similarly wealthy *communes* in Hauts-de-Seine and Yvelines.

- There is a relatively even gender balance in the British citizen group (with the exception of the female-dominated 18-24 age category), although the naturalised cohort is significantly more feminised.

- 25-59 represents the key age group, indicative of the working-age nature of British migration to Ile-de-France.

- High and mid-level professional sectors dominate, although to a lesser degree amongst women and those who have naturalised. For example, whilst men in the main 25-59 age group are most likely to be high-status professionals, women of the same age are much more likely to be outside employment or engaged in clerical and service work.

- In terms of working environment, the British are generally employed in those service and professional sectors that have a particular transnational reach or perform a particular international role.

- Whilst large numbers of expatriates had moved to France between the 1982 and 1990 census, and private renting was the preferred housing class, the community was not entirely transient. A sizeable number of longer-terms residents exist – people who have either stayed in the same house or moved within the same local *commune* between census counts. In addition, rates of owner occupation are also high, pointing towards a well established and permanent British presence.

Moving on to findings from the organisational survey, examining the most visible facet of the British community in Ile-de-France, eight points need highlighting:

- Once made up of mainly religious and philanthropic institutions, the second world-war marked a watershed for the British community, with the BCC particularly prominent during the post-war boom.

- More recently, trends towards diversification have manifest themselves in the establishment of new types of organisations, many outside the BCC sphere of influence.

- Although eight types of expatriate space were identified, this categorisation masks the functional complexity as well as the core roles shared by the various organisations.

- The impact of British organisations on the physical landscape is minimal. Nonetheless, the 'bricks and mortar' facilities that do exist tend to align with the residential patterns of settlement identified in Figures 4.2-5

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- Most organisations had some kind of formal structure, and although membership policies were in place, fees were usually minimal and non-members generally welcome. There was also strong evidence of inter-group co-operation.

- Most organisations were small to medium in size, but their sphere of influence is likely to be greater, particularly when one considers that non-members are generally welcome.

- There was some evidence of a nationally diverse appeal, extending to Anglophones and the native French population.

- Finally, in line with historical findings, many felt the new millennia to be a time of change and challenge, with BCC affiliates somewhat more concerned than other younger, lifestyle-based organisations.

CHAPTER 5. Why and Who: Two of the Basic Questions of Skilled Migration

'Advancing inland from Ouistreham' © Royal Mail, 1994

5.1 Introduction

International migration is a field that has received considerable academic attention, and continues to command a strategic position in the consciousness of population geographers. The first half of this chapter will focus on why British citizens migrate to Ile-de-France, with three levels of decision-making examined in depth: the firm, the household and the individual (see Figure 2.3). Empirical material from the qualitative interviewing stage of research will be used to illuminate the salient explanatory factors operating at each of these levels, thereby building upon the considerable skilled migration literature that already exists (see Section 2.3).

Having addressed the why question of intra-European mobility, the second part of the chapter will then identify the types of British immigrant resident in Ile-de-France. This will involve a discussion of the expatriate taxonomy outlined in Section 3.4, highlighting the prominent social fissures that divide the British into the six lifestyle types. This framework, developed inductively over the course of the research, will act as a reference point for the remainder of the thesis. It will show, in a

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systematic manner, how socially complex issues of community and identity really are (see Chapters 6-8).

5.2 Explaining British migration to Ile-de-France – the firm, the household and the individual.

To begin with, this section will focus upon migration decisions associated with transnational employment, the concept of the career-path being particularly important. Attention will then turn to a second decision-making context, the expatriate household. Here, the phenomena of the trailing-spouse and mixed-nationality relationship will be explored, and their gendered dimensions uncovered. Beyond the firm or household, the autonomous individual is also central in the migratory process. He or she may express an affinity towards Paris/France or simply want to experience overseas life; there may also be a need/desire to leave the UK behind. Either way, these pull and push factors can be critical antecedents to migration and they will be explored in detail in the third part of this section.

5.2.1 The firm and career-path

Individuals moving internationally within the context of the firm may be involved in any number of forms of employment (see Table 2.1). In practice, though, it is usually the combination of the large transnational employer and high-status career-path that exerts greatest influence on migration. Those such as teachers, nurses, *au-pairs*, and bar workers are simply not motivated in the same way as professional and managerial career-path migrants. Their upward socio-economic mobility, if expected at all, is unlikely to be associated directly with geographical mobility. Attention in this section will, therefore, be directed to the high-status professions as it is here where the concept of career-path is most applicable. Those employed in these professions are generally motivated by positive career outcomes such as promotion, a salary raise, or more general status augmentation. Thus, when a firm's career path has an international dimension, and an individual's intended position on this career path requires this dimension to be crossed, then he/she will show a strong propensity towards migration.

5.2.1.1 Temporal considerations

Prior to reviewing the general role of the firm / career-path in British migration, it is vital that one acknowledges some important temporal changes influencing both the

scale and the characteristics of this economically induced form of international mobility. Talking to a longstanding community leader in Ile-de-France it became apparent that career-path mobility had altered considerably over the course of the twentieth century. Whereas in the past professionals and managers were the dominant group, a more heterogeneous and less cohesive community was seen to be in the ascendancy. To use an example, the private British 'Standard Athletic Club' (SAC) to the west of Paris once found members relatively easily. In fact for career-path migrants fees were often paid by the company as a expatriation bonus. Today this no longer occurs, and members are becoming harder and harder to find as the importance of British companies and their employees continues to decline within the club[94]. This shift is an important one. We have already seen more generally how the BCC and its affiliates reached a popularity peak following the second world war, and it seems that this peak connected directly to an era of economic prosperity and incipient globalisation.

The particular economic context directed a certain type of British professional during the 1950s, 60s and 70s to Ile-de-France. These individuals moved there through the newly transnational labour markets of globalising firms. Moreover, Paris seems to have been particularly significant, its geographical and cultural proximity to the UK providing an international testing/training ground for firms moving into post-war European and world markets. Amongst those who moved during this phase there was a sense of community and of being a professional pioneer; "this was the general feeling at the time, we were setting up new offices, often on our own, and these offices now employ hundreds of French and British staff you know. I guess you could say we were pioneers" (Francis, type 1).

Following on from this era of incipient globalisation, internationalisation has occurred at different times and at different rates in a host of other economic sectors (Iredale, 2001). The growth of British law firms in Ile-de-France, for example, has been a relatively more recent affair, associated with the Anglicisation of the legal process. Furthermore, this Anglicisation has been important more generally because, as the post-war era of incipient globalisation has reached maturity, it has placed British firms at a particular advantage due to their closeness to the dominant international-Anglophone model of corporate business.

Thus, Paris has been an important 'seed-bed' for a particular type of career-path migrant, something reflected in the growth and subsequent decline of the BCC/SAC. In

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[94] This problem was raised during the 2000 Standard Athletic Club Annual General Meeting.

addition British professionals have been particularly well placed linguistically and culturally to benefit from the wider globalisation process.

Related to this is a third temporal dimension to career-path migration is worth identifying – technological advancement and the development of the so-called 'New Economy' (see, for example, Cassy, 2000; Gurfinkel, 2000; Hayward, 1997). Like the general trends towards globalisation / Anglicisation, new technology and innovation has often been reliant upon skills specific to the UK (and US). IBM (referred to amongst some employees as 'I've Been Moved'!) is a prime example of a company in a new technology sector that has "tended to rely, in the first instance at least, on its English-speaking staff for international growth and expansion" (Jane, type 1). The diffusion of technology and innovation has clearly been important in the ebb and flow of professional British migration to Ile-de-France.

These inter-related globalisation / Anglicisation / technological trends are important temporal considerations. Furthermore, the impact that they have is likely be diverse and cyclical, with initial overseas expatriate facilities eventually reflecting the local context they are operating within:

"I mean in the 1960s when I came over the Anglo-Saxon accounting profession was far more advanced at that time than the French profession, and about 80% of staff were expatriate British or American. Today, and the firms are ten, twenty, thirty, fifty times bigger, there are hardly any English or American, the great majority are now French nationals". (Harold, type 1)

Thus, as new facilities consolidate and mature, local labour is increasingly used as a substitute for the more costly overseas specialist, a process of replacement that represents yet another temporal dimension to professional career-path migration.

In summary, the seed-bed attraction of Paris during incipient globalisation, the more general trends towards internationalisation / Anglicisation, as well as particular waves of technological innovation, have all shaped and stimulated professional British migration to Ile-de-France. At the same time, the influence that these trends exert is subject to change as overseas involvement moves from its growth stage towards maturity, with a reduced reliance (relative or absolute) on specialist expatriate staff. Aware of these economic, industry-related and company- specific migratory rhythms, the question that will now be addressed is how important the career-path concept is more generally within the British community. After all, census data already shows there to be a large professional British presence in the region (see Section 4.3), and I intend to explore this presence.

5.2.1.2 Career-path migration examined

In terms of moving internationally for career advancement, Paris rates as one of the worlds most prestigious destination:

"I liked the idea of being in Paris, in Europe. Paris is a financially important place, its a key place to work in for your career, four years or two years, whatever. It's on par with New York, Hong Kong, London. It's a major commercial centre and that's important for me". (Kirsty, type 3)

For those like diplomats, lawyers, accountants, computer specialists and journalists, the city is seen as a prime overseas destination, particularly valuable in securing upward socio-professional advancement.

This link, between upward mobility and migration, was an important one, and for some arose because of the particular organisational structure of the firm:

"I worked for a French company and once you'd reached a certain level the only thing you could really do to advance your career was to come over here. Well everything just kind of fell into place, with a series of promotions. I eventually came over here, but it certainly wasn't planned. It was not an overt international career path that I set out on, it was just a case of that was where the job was. It was a classic expatriate contract - three years and then back to the UK". (Rupert, type 2)

For others, it related to the nature of the profession they worked within:

Q. Was it part of a definite career-path, to be seen to do an overseas posting?
"In my practice area it is certainly. For most people no, but for finance lawyers traditionally...well you see most finance lawyers who stay with the firm any length of time and want to progress have gone away and done their two year stint overseas". (Matt, type 3)

Matt's overseas experience was a vital 'tool of the trade' and was an essential part of professional advancement. In fact, many companies actually emphasise this international dimension in the process of recruitment, with overseas experience marketed as an interesting perk of the job.

Whilst Rupert moved internationally for the first time upon reaching the upper echelons of the company, Matt was expected to move as a trainee, and over the course of the research it became clear that various expatriation pathways operated at different stages of the career-ladder. As Rupert (type 2) told me: "there are definite times in your career, places and promotion paths", and Table 5.1 details the four stages of career-path migration uncovered in Ile-de-France.

Table 5.1: Types of career-path migration.

Type of Employee	Details
Junior Trainee (20s)	Learn 'the ropes' having just joined the company, with international experience a vital part of this. It is a 'first-stage' in a professional career-path that may well turn out to be international.
Mid-Level 'Career Forger' (20s – 30s)	Having been with the company a few years the employee is still young, with limited ties. International mobility should be relatively straightforward, and offer the chance of career progression. It may in fact be a defining moment in an

	individual's career.
Senior Manager 'Career Augmenter' (40s – 50s)	Higher up the career ladder, international mobility may offer a chance to advance yet further. In particular, Paris is seen as an extremely important overseas location. 'Top-flight' executives and diplomats are often awarded the posting in recognition of their importance within the company / organisation. As Duncan (type 3) notes: "...you don't tend to get the really top people being sent to Luxembourg or places like that, those are where the second-rate people get dumped!".
International Career (All ages)	The job is mainly based abroad, particularly within strategically important world city locations. As such, an international career occurs *de facto*, rather than simply being an opportunity arising at a particular point in the career-path.

In relation to all four types, it became clear that whilst career goals and aspirations underpinned mobility there was an inevitable loss of individual autonomy because of the employment-based nature of the move. Most obviously this reflected itself in the control an individual was able to exert over country of destination. Francis (type 1), a long-standing British expatriate, was simply "sent overseas", and admitted that "...if you'd asked me in which country I would like to work I don't think I would have given any consideration to France". For career-path migrants, then, it was their job that took precedence, destination was relatively insignificant when balanced against the financial and professional rewards associated with international relocation.

As part of this, adversities are seen as a necessary sacrifice, with work identity taking priority and making socio-psychological difficulties bearable. As Rupert (type 2) notes:

"Most people don't want to leave their home country but they accept a temporary assignment as a means of a career path. They don't particularly do it for the pleasure of living in the Paris...perhaps actually moving around and seeing the country, yes, but that's a different matter".

This said, career-path migrants are not entirely passive in the relocation process and in some cases considerable self-determination was possible. As Hannah (type 3), a Foreign Office employee, demonstrates:

"I started my career with the diplomatic service which I've been in for about 20 years now. Normally you would be expected to do two postings overseas followed by one posting at home, each posting lasting about three or four years. So it's pretty much rotating all the time. There's a selection board, that decides on the merits of one candidate against another for a particular job, so you do have some say but I don't think it's 100% guaranteed that you'll get what you want. But if you're the right person for the job, with the right qualifications, at the right time, then you'll (pause) probably get it".

Thus, whilst she had to travel extensively with her job, Hannah has nonetheless been able to apply for the posts that she wants. Movement is necessary, but the international settings within which career aspirations are realised are not always externally

determined: there can be considerable room for negotiation between employer and employee, enabling a degree of autonomy to be exercised.

In addition to destination, high-status, career-path migrants also have a rather limited say over the timing of their move. Relocation is often a recurring requirement of the job, with both expatriation and return loosely predetermined. In some cases, notice of an overseas posting can be extremely short, as the surprise expressed in the following quotation testifies:

"My husband just came home from work one day and said 'how do you think about working in France?', and before he'd finished the sentence my bags were mentally packed". (Jane, type 1)

This uncertainty was also felt by Harold (type 1), he left the UK "indefinitely" but has stayed in Ile-de-France ever since, something he "never envisaged" on departure.

The lack of autonomy characterising career-path migration is expressed ultimately through the influence of Human Resource Managers (HRM's) within the transnational firm (Beaverstock, 2001). These actors determine who is sent overseas, where they go, and how long they remain there. True, some flexibility is possible but the internalised image HRM's have of the ideal type of expatriate employee is a critical dimension in career-path migration. As Matt (type 3) revealed: "people tend to have to fit a certain type; fairly outgoing, fairly relaxed, a sense of humour and friendly". In addition, there are more specific skills that the firm looks for, the most obvious being linguistic.

Human resource decisions are not always accepted, though, and a number of interviewees had actually resisted the demands of their employer. Rupert, for instance, left his firm and began his own consultancy business in order to continue living in Ile-de-France due to family ties. Thus, whilst HRM's have the ultimate say, there is always an alternative to migration, and whether the alternative option is taken depends upon the balance between the firm, household and individual migrant.

Nonetheless, profit motives require TNC's to resolve this tension, and the plethora of relocation bonuses lavishly furnished upon employees as part of the expatriation package is testimony to this. Rent may be subsided, school fees met, trips back to the UK paid for, and in addition considerable help may be offered during the first few months of expatriation. All these lubricants were evident amongst career-path respondents, and they ensure a constant flow of suitable candidates for overseas professional and managerial postings.

In summary, for career-path migrants employment is a central component in everyday life, the career takes priority with upward socio-economic mobility the goal.

The sacrifice, though, is insecurity with respect to both the destination and the timing of the move. This does not, however, lend support to the view that career-path migrants are passive agents. Self-determination is considerable, and even when mobility is 'imposed' migrants are able to influence the relocation process. In addition, whilst HRM's have the ultimate say in career-path mobility, they must allow for the needs of those employees they earmark for an overseas post. Relocation lubricators can be extremely generous as a result (see Table 5.2 for a summary).

Table 5.2: Distinguishing characteristics of career-path migration.

• Work is central to individual identity and well-being
• Employees relocate at particular stages in their career
• Country of residence is unimportant and/or difficult to determine
• Timing of move is often a surprise, with overseas stays periodic or indefinite
• The firm and its HRM's have the ultimate say in career-path migration
• However, relocation lubricators show how the needs of the employee must also be addressed

5.2.2 The household compromise

For large numbers of migrants international mobility is a function of a compromise reached within the context of the household. The presence of children, partners, and relatives can exert considerable influence upon the decision-making process, and in this section two types of household structured migration will be examined. Firstly, I will look at the 'trailing spouse' and the influence that she[95] exerts on career-path migration. Then I will focus upon the mixed-nationality relationship move, where partners originate from different countries with one member of the couple moving to unite the partnership. As with the trailing spouse, a gender dimension permeates, with women apparently more likely to move internationally to unify mixed-nationality households. The distinguishing features of these two types of household structured mobility are outlined in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Two types of household structured mobility.

Type of Migrant	Nationality	Nature of Move	Motive for Move
TRAILING SPOUSE	British	Movement as a couple	-Economic imperative / career aspirations of (male) spouse

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[95] The usual pattern being that the career-path of the husband requires the female partner to agree to international movement, often at the expense of her own professional aspirations.

MIXED-RELATIONSHIP MOVER	Mixed – predominantly Franco-British	One person moves to join partner	-Economic imperative / career aspirations of (male) spouse
			-Limited linguistic ability of male partner
			-Overseas experience of female

5.2.2.1 The trailing-spouse examined

As noted in Section 2.3, it seems to be the case that men pursue their international career, whilst women 'trail' to allow this. There are exceptions, with dual-career households increasingly prominent and men less resistant to the idea of their own professional sacrifice for the perceived good of the household. Nonetheless, capitalist-patriarchy continues to shape skilled migration, with the male-breadwinner / female-housewife pattern of migration the dominant household compromise.

This decision is usually arrived at and justified in financial or status terms:

"I probably wouldn't follow my wife. In terms of earnings potential it probably wouldn't be worth it in the same way that it is financially worth while following my career…and yes, I think in the future we will go abroad again". (Matt, type 3)

Interestingly, Matt's wife has a higher level of education than him, but even this was not sufficient to challenge the well established gender-mobility roles evident in the extract.

The women who followed their British husbands to Ile-de-France often circulated amongst each other (see Chapter 7), and viewed their role as wife, homemaker and mother as the norm. As Jane (type 1) told me: "I'm here, like most people, because my husband was sent on a three year assignment". Moreover, she accepts and embraces her role within the expatriate community, "I like being a lady who lunches". The negative consequences associated with a lack of paid work are, for women like Jane, negated by active participation in voluntary organisations and social networks and two of the trailing partners had actually received royal recognition for their community work in Ile-de-France.

Nevertheless, for others, invariably part of a younger female generation, paid work is now the norm, a benchmark upon which 'success' is judged. One should, therefore, be aware of a number of negative side- effects associated with trailing-spouse status. The role entails considerable sacrifice, aspirations are put on hold, even quashed, in order to facilitate the career progression of the male partner, and for many this can prove traumatic. Sarah (type 3), for instance, was a highly paid specialist, excelling professionally in the UK. However, she was forced to put her career aspirations on hold

in order to follow her equally successful husband overseas. This proved extremely difficult, as the following account demonstrates:

"I mean the most difficult thing for me has not been living in Paris, that's no problem at all, but professionally I've given up my work in order to come here, and I did it assuming that I would be able to work freelance in France and that's just been a lot more difficult to do than I thought it would be...I mean, I think of my mother, my mother had to give up her work and that was true for so many mothers of that older generation, but no I can't. I have not found it difficult living in Paris, not as a foreign country as such, it's been the cultural change of not working that was the hardest thing".

Clearly then, accepting the career aspirations of the male partner involves different levels of sacrifice for different women, with age/generational differences a key component in this.

Increasingly compromises like Sarah's are having to be made. British women are as well educated as their male peers, and have developed similar professional aspirations and life goals, as social norms and gender roles have evolved. This shift has put pressure on the male career-path / female trailing-spouse model of skilled migration. Some husbands, for example, are now following their wives overseas. As one career-diplomat told me:

"My husband is slowly getting used to it. He doesn't mind living here, although he gave up his job and is having to learn French and do some part-time work in the embassy bar. I don't thing that that's the type of thing he wants to keep doing for ever, and he seems quite open about going somewhere else and travelling around (pause) but I think he'd also quite like to go back to Britain". (Hannah, type 3)

There were also instances of so-called 'astronaut' households, split between the UK and France. A high profile example of this involved the British ambassador, whose wife worked in a high profile job in London whilst he headed the Paris embassy. This obviously necessitated regular commuting between the UK and France, and an 'astronaut' type household compromise.

These geographically complex household arrangements are relatively recent, as my discussion with a long-term British community leader shows:

"Even ten years ago it was more a question of women giving up their career to come, and perhaps they felt bad and uncomfortable about that. But now it certainly does occur that there are women who are the reason behind the partner coming here...Of course I also know of one or two cases where couples are separating their whole lives, they're not breaking up as a couple, but one is working here and the other is working elsewhere". (Rose, type 1)

Thus, although the career-path / trailing-spouse pattern of professional migration remains significant, the household decision-making associated with this has become increasingly complex. It requires a considerable degree of strength and self-sacrifice to 'trail', especially as women now have much more to loose in terms of their own professional aspirations and identity. Furthermore, non-working women are especially prone to isolation, whilst at the same time feel a burden of responsibility over the

success/failure of the move. The role of a trailing-spouse is certainly not an easy one (see Table 5.4 for a summary).

Table 5.4: Distinguishing characteristics of trailing-spouse migration.

• Female dominated
• Involves professional sacrifice and loss of work identity
• Accepted and enjoyed by many
• However, an increasingly difficult household compromise for younger career-minded women

5.2.2.2 Mixed nationality relationships

The second type of household mobility is a function of decisions taken by mixed-nationality couples with regard to where best to settle. Very simply, partners with roots in different countries must reach a consensus in terms of preferred place of residence in order to live together. The two types of mixed relationships that underpinned British mobility to Ile-de-France are documented in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Two forms of mixed relationship mobility.

Type of household compromise	Description
FRANCO-BRITISH	Move to Ile-de-France to live with French partner.
THIRD-COUNTRY	Move to Ile-de-France as a third-country compromise, with both partners foreign.

For Franco-British couples in Ile-de-France it was more common to see British women living with French men. This finding is consistent with the higher female naturalisation rates in the French census (see Figure 4.6), and also links to the preponderance of women in the 18-24 cohort (see Table 4.11). Many in this age group will go to France whilst at university, or immediately after, and work in the relatively low-status bi-lingual service sector. French partners may be met through this, and the key decision will then be whether to return to the UK or commit permanently to France.

A number of interviewees chose the latter option, with Sian (type 6) illuminating the general rationale behind this household compromise:

"The only reason I'm here is because of my boyfriend...I think it's the woman who always moves, take my Nigerian colleague, she's married to a French guy and she's here, he's not over there in Nigeria. In fact that was the case for all the people I knew when I was living in Fontainebleau. Ok, you get these career- minded women who are really motivated, but for us normal beings a woman can more easily move from one job and get another because it's not going to make any difference in her career *per se*".

As with the career-path / trailing-spouse migratory route, the decision-making dynamic is once again a gendered one. Similarly, Rebecca (type 6) gave up her job in Geneva to live with the French partner she met whilst over there:

"I think I've been here nearly twenty years. I was in Geneva before but I came to Paris when I met my husband, so that was the reason that I came, he lived in Paris at the time and I lived in Geneva. I was working for what was then called the GATT, I came here without a job, I had a recommendation for UNESCO, and I did basic secretarial work when I first came because that's the easiest way to get a job on the spot".

Looking in more depth at women who join their partners overseas, there appear to be a number of factors at work in gendering the process. Languages, for example, are favoured by girls at school and at university, a pattern also reflected in the uptake of European exchange schemes. These experiences in turn are likely to increase the incidence of working-age migration, and thus raise the probability of young expatriates meeting a foreign partner. Charlotte's (type 6) experiences, for example, concur with this sequence of events:

"I was a language student, it was a year out during my university studies and I really learnt to speak French. I also met the person who was later to become my husband, went back to England to finish my studies and during that time we decided to get married. So got married in October '76, and came to Paris as a permanent resident in late '76. At the time I didn't intend to live in Paris, but then I'm probably influenced by my husband who absolutely adores Paris, not just France but Paris. If he'd made the choice

to move away from Paris early on I think I would have adapted yes. I'd have followed him, and I'd have probably been quite happy but here I am!".

Her husband acted as the principal force in terms of where the couple decided to live, with Charlotte willing to 'follow' in much the same way as a trailing-spouse would.

Table 5.5 also indicates how migration may develop as a result of a 'third country compromise', with both partners choosing Paris as a result of a lack of enthusiasm for each other's respective countries. As Rosalyn (type 5) reveals:

"If I was divorced or widowed I would go back almost certainly to the UK. But my American husband doesn't want to live in England, and I am not prepared to force the issue, so I'll stay".

Similarly, Harold (type 1) admitted how he:

"...could very likely settle back in the UK if I wanted to, but my wife has never lived in Britain and I've no real desire to live in the States, so France is a good compromise".

With increasing international migration, travel and tourism, more and more people are likely to find themselves in mixed-nationality relationships. In such circumstances, finding a common acceptable place in which to live becomes an extremely important household decision.

In summary, concentrating on the mixed-nationality household shows how important this dynamic can be in determining patterns of international migration. Once again, a distinct gender skew is evident, with Franco-British couples generally united by the female British partner settling permanently overseas. Reasons behind this skew are complex, although parallels with the career-path / trailing-spouse migratory model undoubtedly help. Furthermore, mutually acceptable third-country compromises, although less common, were also evident, and with intra-European mobility increasing, they may well grow in importance over the next few decades.

5.2.3 The individual decision-maker

Having identified how the firm and household influences British migration to Ile-de-France, I now want to look at individual motives irrespective of these two decision-making levels. A significant number of expatriates seem to have secured work either immediately prior to departure or soon after their arrival in Paris, and in both instances their mobility was less about a defined career-path and much more about the expression of individual autonomy. Moreover, even for the most venerable career-path adherent, migration is always a personalised act, and this section will now review the role of individual agency in influencing the patterns and processes of skilled migration.

Focusing on the individual, one is by definition unable to frame analysis around any discrete migratory concept such as the career-path, trailing-spouse or mixed-

relationship move. Discussion will instead centre around three main types of individual influence. Firstly, 'pull' factors will be outlined, with the appeal of France, Paris, and overseas life in general considered, before attention turns towards 'push' factors and the notion of escape from the UK social, economic, political and cultural context as well as more specific forms of personal trauma. Thirdly, significant 'other' factors will be identified, with life-stage uncertainty and chance the most prominent in this final set of influences.

5.2.3.1 National and local attraction

Many of the interviewees had moved to Ile-de-France already possessing an acute awareness of the national and local context in which they were to be transplanted. The relatively high incidence of linguistic and cultural exchange schemes, holiday visits, and business trips between the UK and France are undoubtedly key components in this, and France/Paris are quite unique in this respect. One would not, for instance, expect the cultural knowledge of expatriates to be quite so strong in locations further afield like Singapore (Beaverstock, 2002), China (Willis and Yeo, 2002) or the Middle East (Findlay and Garrick, 1990).

It is, however, worth pointing out that there may be a degree of social and geographical specificity associated with this cultural attraction. Those living in the south east of England are more likely to have experience of France first hand, simply because of the fact that it is quite literally 'on their doorstep'. Furthermore, from a socio-economic perspective, transnational information flows between the UK and France, and the cultural capital associated with these, tend to be class specific. For example, one only has to think of the symbolic status of Peter Mayle's book 'A Year in Provence' amongst the 'chattering classes', and the literary prestige with which Paris is imbued, to see how entwined France/Paris has become within the cultural-capital / social-distinction equation (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, whilst knowledge of the 'other' is a vital precursor to migration, it is unlikely to be spread evenly across the British populace, with geographical and social-status nuances evident.

Developing a penchant for the French language[96] and lifestyle clearly moulds the decision taken to move there:

Q. Why France?

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[96] The ability to speak the native language is a key enabler to migration. Furthermore, language may actually attract people to live and work in France, allowing them time to build upon their existing knowledge and eventually become truly bi-lingual.

"I've been in love with the French language, always wanted to speak French. I love speaking French and I love the idea of France, I like the smells of France. And I think you have this kind of hedonistic feel of France as a place of pleasure, that was probably very important in my initial desire, not necessarily to be French, but in fact to live in France...for me there's always been this atomistic, instinctive love of French culture".

Q. And it was France not Paris?

"France, France, definitely France! I'd buy twelve country houses, but I mean as a writer I need contact with people". (Richard, type 6)

Richard attributes his presence in France to an antecedent desire to experience all that the country has to offer. This 'Francophile' identity is seen as an almost natural, inherent trait, it is as he were destined to live in France. Similarly, Wendy (type 6) cites a deep-seated and innate love of the country as a key migratory facto:

"I was very keen on French culture, I was very keen on France. Even before my first school trip to France I was in love with it, and I'd never been there! The first week I came it poured with rain and I thoroughly enjoyed it. I was going to like France whatever France was going to be like, even before I ever came, and I've always loved the French language as well, so I mean they were definitely two things that were sort of pushing me in that direction".

Clearly, cultural attraction can be an extremely powerful force. People are drawn to France and its national idiosyncrasies, but more than this, a profound desire to become French appears implicit in the accounts. Interestingly, both of the above examples come from respondents in Franco-British relationships, a group who are undoubtedly the most integrated and assimilated of all expatriates (see Chapter 7).

Turning to the more specific appeal of Paris, the centre of the Francophone world, I once again uncovered a number of cultural 'hooks' drawing people into the city. One gained the sense that Parisian culture resonated with the personal identities of respondents, thereby shaping their decision to settle within the city. Many interviewees possessed a 'Moveable Feast' mentality with regard to the city and its cultural appeal[97]. It was not just urban life that they wanted, London could have provided this, it was the unique qualities that Paris was seen to possess (see, for example, Jeffries, 2001).

Michael (type 4), for instance, was once a student in Paris, an experience that proved key to 'pulling' him back:

"I'm here because I studied French at university and came to Paris to study for a year. I had such a great time that for my whole final year I was like 'I'm going straight back! I'm going straight back!'. So as soon as I graduated I came back, and that was over three years ago. There's just a thing about Paris for me, I don't know what it is but it will always be there, once you've come here and lived here even for just a few months you just get this thing about it, I don't know, it kind of draws you towards it".

Positive university experiences shaped Michael's cultural identity, the city and its lifestyle became part of him, predisposing him to eventual return. In fact, this cultural pull was even evident amongst those who had never previously visited the city. Oliver

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[97] See Ernest Hemingway (1964) 'Moveable Feast'.

(type 5), for instance, chose Paris based upon knowledge gleaned from afar, positive perceptions that turned out to be accurate:

"It's a completely new experience, I've never stayed in any city or in an other country ever in my life for more than about four days, so to live somewhere else for a year is a completely different experience. To walk down the streets of Paris and to think 'uuum I live here, this is my city', at least temporarily, is a great experience...It wasn't just France though, it was definitely Paris, to have a year in Paris was very attractive, as a city of culture and art and architecture I knew I'd enjoy it".

Reference to the cultural and architectural heritage of the city indicates the more specific attractions Paris holds, a reputation that extends into other fields as well, such as literature, academia, gastronomy, photography, art, and drama.

Thus, British expatriates undoubtedly move to Paris aware of its status as a world- renowned cultural centre, especially those 'expressive specialists' and young graduates identified in Section 2.3.4. For these people in particular, career aspirations are worth sacrificing in order to allow particular lifestyles to be pursued. As Gary (type 5) remarks:

"I've always had my own projects, so now it's music; before it was writing a film and a book, that's always been going along... my working life is secondary to that, I work to get money only".

Cultural affinity is, therefore, an important migratory motive, its influence evident at both the national and urban scale. Beyond this, there are more general factors that I now want to examine.

5.2.3.2 Transnational attraction

Transnational attraction does not relate to France or Paris; instead, final destination is less important than the challenge of living overseas. As Nick (type 2) implies:

"My eventual return to the UK would be purely for educational reasons, for the children. Once they've flown the nest I'm sure we wouldn't remain in the UK, we'd be about and travelling because we just enjoy experiencing the different cultures of the word. I enjoy living in Paris the same as I'll enjoy living in another country and seeing what it's like. To me it's all an experience; I really do enjoy foreign countries, although I do struggle with the languages".

Thus, whilst on an international career-path, Nick's continued willingness to be part of it is intrinsically linked to his appetite for overseas life. It is "the sense of adventure" (Angela, type 1) that entices many to leave the UK, with an international move qualitatively different in nature to an internal one.

The 'international' has a symbolism, a uniqueness, and it is this that is part of the migratory appeal. Living and working abroad is still seen as novel, it represents a break in the normal life-path of a typical British citizen. It is a challenge, a journey of discovery that simply couldn't be embarked upon by remaining in the UK. For some, the practical and psychological barriers associated with this appear immutable, whilst for others they form part of the appeal.

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In addition, it also became clear that the international represented something even more profound than this. It offered some the possibility of a change in direction, providing the space for complete life shift. The 'foreign' came to symbolise a kind of refreshing and enriching 'healing tonic', with migration underpinned by a belief that the continental grass really would be greener. Obviously, this 'clean break' attraction to mobility was often accompanied by unsettling events in the UK, and these will be explored later (see Section 5.2.3.3-5).

The link between migration and a new life start was referred to, though often quite tacitly, by a number of respondents. As Kirsty (type 3) revealed of her ostensibly career-induced move:

"I decided it was time for a change. I definitely wanted to leave the UK...I was fed up, so I applied for a job in a company that had offices throughout the world, very exciting! I got the job but they said that the nice places had gone and so I was stuck with Europe. I didn't mind that, I thought that Europe would be fun and challenging and I could pick where I wanted to go, so I chose Paris as it was the most cosmopolitan and best from a business perspective".

Whilst a number of antecedents to migration are cited, reference to it being 'time for a change' and a willingness to go anywhere overseas, with Europe seen as 'fun', are particularly apposite. Kirsty clearly felt that migration represented a pathway out of an unsatisfactory life in the UK. To her it signalled a positive and pro-active move towards a brighter future, something internal mobility simply couldn't provide`. Unsurprisingly therefore, return was considered retrograde, having the potential to reverse the beneficial effects associated with this 'clean break' migration:

"I think at the moment I don't want to go back to the UK because it seems psychologically a bit of a backward move, because I've left the UK and Britain behind, and it would leave me psychologically thinking I'm going backwards". (Kirsty, type 3)

In addition to the pursuit of the international and the trappings of an overseas lifestyle, a second more specific transnational attraction was also uncovered. This concerned the world city qualities of a destination such as Paris. Kirsty, for example, whilst harbouring a general desire to move overseas, also disclosed a penchant for Paris' 'cosmopolitan' urban milieu, an attraction shared by other world cities like London and New York.

To elucidate, the national/local context of Ile-de-France is not its only asset, its global status is likely to be just as important in constituting its appeal. Paris is a truly international centre, in both an economic and a cultural sense, and as such it reflects a particular form of cosmopolitan urbanism. This global context is absent from more provincial cities, and is particularly appealing for high-status social groups, whose lifestyles, income and status demand continual choice and variety. Thus, whilst British

expatriates were attracted to the uniqueness of Paris and France, many also expressed a broader affinity to the 'bright lights', 'hustle and bustle' and diversity of this type of international location. A pull factor also in abundance in somewhere like London:

"If I had to move back to the UK then it would be London, and I wouldn't hesitate to move back...I'm not enjoying my job at the moment either so I'm looking to start something else and I'm looking in both Paris and London, and if it came up that it was London then I would go. I just like the big city, I like the life. I mean I live in the centre of it all!". (Michael, type 4)

In this extract there is a real sense that, having been drawn to internationally significant economic and cultural centres like London and Paris, the focus of subsequent mobility can become restricted. Once encountered, world-city addiction can be a hard habit to break, and this may well help to explain why so many British expatriates in Ile-de-France came originally from south east England, an analogous global city escalator region (see Section 3.4).

5.2.3.3 Escape

Moving from pull to push factors in no way represents a leap between two mutually exclusive explanatory poles. Distinction, whilst valid for analytical purposes, is not mirrored in reality where a considerable degree of overlap exists between the two layers of individual decision-making. In fact, push and pull factors often constitute two sides of the same explanatory coin, with affinity towards an expatriate lifestyle positioned alongside repulsion towards the UK.

The escape side is, however, more difficult to uncover; negative migratory motives are often expressed in a much more covert manner than their positive counterparts, and one is left to wonder about the true nature of the pull-push balance[98]. Aware of these 'non-disclosure' issues, analysis of the main push factors will now begin. Discussion will concentrate primarily on the notion of social, cultural, economic, and political escape, before turning towards the more specific effects of personal trauma in stimulating international migration.

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[98] The private and personal nature of certain push factors means there is a relatively high chance of non-disclosure of information. For example, one of the male interviewees was homosexual, and although he was not explicit about this in the interview, one cannot discount the possibility that migration was related to sexuality. In a similar respect, any reference to the role played by personal issues in the migration process was generally muted. A second form of non-disclosure related to the avoidance of derogatory language. Pessimistic comments have the potential to be read as an attack on the UK and it is sometimes easier not to express any negativity or dissatisfaction.

5.2.3.4 Social, cultural, economic and political escape

The desire to escape the UK social setting, and benefit from the 'emancipatory space' provided by an international move, can be a significant migratory force. As Duncan (type 3) argue:

"The best thing about Paris is that one is able to live an anonymous life here, nobody pries, nobody wants to know your business, everyone can be anonymous and that's what I like".

Although ostensibly a career-path migrant, running his own Franco-British business, Duncan nevertheless associates his move with anonymity and freedom from the social shackles of UK life. This factor was also important in influencing Wendy's (type 6) move:

"At the time I can't say I felt any attachment to Manchester, in actual fact probably the opposite. The memories I have are of a close-minded world, everybody knows what's going on and in the suburbs it was terrible like that".

Obviously, the 'close-mindedness' of provincial UK society is magnified by the pull of the 'big-city-life' identified in the previous section, with the two factors very much symbiotic. Moving overseas is liberating, not only because of the anonymity of the large foreign city, but also because of the way in which social norms and conventions are left behind and the freedom and confidence that evolves from this.

Quite significantly, a number of those who referred to the notion of escape (explicitly or implicitly) were engaged in 'non-mainstream' lifestyle pursuits, and this was no coincidence. Richard (type 6), for example, revealed how as an expatriate he was "self consciously different" and admitted "I like to cultivate my differences, living here makes it easier...the French expect me to be different". Similarly, Paul's (type 5) move was underpinned by a desire to find space for individuality, space that he felt was absent in London:

"I would have been an outsider in London, and this would have mattered...in Paris everyone was an outsider of some sort, and so no-one really cared, it's not like other cities where people are very alike and go there for similar purposes and form more of a definite ex-pat community".

Thus, more than simply escaping UK structures and feeling liberated, international mobility offers some the room to lead what they perceive to be "unconventional lifestyles" (Gary, type 5). It 'wipes the social slate clean' in the sense that new personal contacts are developed, with non-British acquaintances less likely/able to pigeon-hole based on superficial social impressions. Not only will no-one

know who you are upon moving to Paris, but the ability of people to get to know you will be impeded by your 'foreignness'[99].

To reiterate, whether seeking anonymity and freedom from the social shackles of UK society, or engaged in the more pro-active pursuit of an alternative lifestyle, a number of British expatriates clearly felt that, in moving to Paris, they had 'escaped'. Leaving UK society behind is certainly emancipatory; both overtly, as a reaction to prejudice and antagonism, and more covertly as the response to subtle social constraints. Moreover, the escape- effect is augmented by the change in depth and perceptiveness of the mixed-nationality social interaction, with native-immigrant exchanges tending to be less intrusive.

Whilst social escape was most common, there were also derisory references to the UK cultural, political and economic context. These frustrations manifest themselves in different ways, convincing expatriates that it was time to simply "get out" (Paul, type 5). The dissatisfaction and annoyance with which this impulse is associated was best articulated by Duncan (type 3):

"I was uncomfortable, uncomfortable with the lack of variety, the predictability of everything, the dumbing down of the media, the level of discourse, the tone of the newspapers, the insularity, the insidious envy that you see in the press of anyone with more than a one up one down house, all that I found off -putting".

This malaise involved a wider feeling of being "fed-up" (Richard, type 6) with the UK, yet interestingly those who expressed it rarely distanced themselves entirely from their homeland.

5.2.3.5 Personal trauma

Whilst a sensitive issue, with non-disclosure a particular problem, some expatriates did suggest that migration had helped them to offload some of the emotional baggage of previous personal trauma. As Elizabeth (type 6) revealed:

"I knew I was going to get out of Cornwall, I was ostracised a bit by the community because I wasn't at school with everybody else, and there were family problems, I just wanted to get away (pause) I left my parents in circumstances which were not very pretty at the time and it was a cut-off for four years until I had my son. Things are fine now, but at that point I had to get away".

A family dispute, as well as a lack of social support, combined to ensure that Elizabeth "had to get away". Similarly, Charlotte (type 6) also linked migration to an unsettled personal/family life:

"I came here to run away from my family, my background, I didn't want to have to be English or Polish. If I'd have married a Pole I would have sort of stayed in that Polish community, and I wanted to get away

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[99] This is because of the fact that non-British acquaintances simply aren't able to uncover quite so much of the private self and the onus is on the expatriate to disclose, rather than on his/her new compatriot to discover.

from that, I didn't want to repeat my mothers life!...You see as a child I felt almost as if I'd lived through the war, I'd heard so much and that's why I ran away from it. It was all concentration camps and war memories, it was a huge human tragedy on every level and it ruined them".

Thus, whilst Charlotte moved to Paris primarily to live with her French partner, the desire to escape from collective family tragedy was undoubtedly part of the decision-making dynamic.

Events like relationship break-ups, family feuds, and bereavements, are dealt with in different ways by different people. The important point is that, for some, recovery takes on an international dimension. These individuals felt that to 'wipe the slate clean', and truly start again, the country where the traumatic event occurred must be left behind. Both Elizabeth and Charlotte were quite explicit about this, and in addition, there were many other cases when this kind of escape was hinted at. Deborah (type 5), for example, talked of "...rejecting where I come from" but stopped short of linking migration to any particular traumatic event. It was clear, however, that in migrating she was escaping from an unsatisfactory personal life.

5.2.3.6 Other factors

In addition to attraction and escape, a number of other factors appeared salient in the migratory decision-making process. These will now be reviewed, beginning with a discussion of life-stage uncertainty and the way in which this 'clears the path' for migration overseas. The role of chance and intervening opportunity will then be examined, accepting that individual decisions are often subject to a rather *ad hoc* combination of random forces.

In terms of life-stage uncertainty, an absence of particular goals, aims, and objectives, and a lack of any present/future ties can open up the possibility of international migration. When missing these practical and psychological anchors, decision-making becomes relatively unrestrained. Push and pull forces that may otherwise have been latent can rise to the fore, with little to check their advance. In effect, freedom can be a vital prerequisite for international migration.

One group, often without any major practical or psychological ties are graduates (see Section 2.3.4). Developing as an individual, deciding upon a career, moving away from the secure communal hearth of campus life, this transition is not always pre-determined or linear. Additional time and space may be required in order for some kind of direction and life-path focus to develop, with international migration an increasingly popular solution.

The attitudes of Louise (type 4) towards life experience outside the UK reflect the significance of life-stage uncertainty in migration:

"At the moment (pause), I haven't had a gap, so I didn't have the chance to travel before university, I did have the chance during university which was great, but I wanted to do it again as a proper adult with a job. I think that stemmed mainly from the fact that I didn't know, and I still don't know, what I want to do as a career, and I think it's a good way to decide by having different experiences and doing different types of jobs that aren't necessarily obvious".

Obviously, Louise's desire for life-path acuity and a clearer sense of self, is something shared by many others, and it need not have led to any kind of move. The key point is that the uncertainty associated with life after university may enable international mobility, if the impetus for such a lifestyle already exists.

This 'rite of passage' mobility is most common amongst graduates, with many embarking upon a relatively ill-defined sojourn and "seeing how things go" (Peter, type 4). As Michael (type 4) reveals:

"When I finished university it came to a choice between going straight into a career job in England and coming here and messing around for a year. So I came over here, on my own. I didn't have a job but started working in an English bar just to get some work. I actually ended up working there for just over a year, which was a bit longer than planned!".

Migration, then, can offer much needed breathing -space and help focus an individual towards a particular career or life-path. For graduates in particular it combats, or at very least delays, the almost endemic 'what do I do next?' syndrome.

Like all important life-stage events, migration can also be subject to a degree of chance. Just under half of the interviewees, for example, left the UK and settled elsewhere overseas before finally moving to Ile-de-France – a non-linear pattern of migration that finds considerable support in the census (see Section 4.3.5). Thus, one must accept the existence of analytical confusion. It is not always possible to talk in terms of rational motives and predetermined movement, and explanations must accept this additional decision-making dynamic.

Marie (type 6), for instance, was a young, single woman looking for employment, with a number of intervening opportunities leading eventually to her move to Paris:

"I came here quite by chance one day. I was living in Sheffield and I was looking for a new job, I wanted to go down to London so I went down to various employment agencies and then one of them phoned up and said we haven't got anything for you in London, but would you like to go and work for our boss in Monte Carlo. Well it was June, it was raining in Sheffield, and I thought yes! So off I went to Monte Carlo, where I spent a couple of years before moving to St-Tropez...and I was on my way back to England, stopped off in Paris and landed a job with a small outfit called Richard Ellis a British estate agents, and I've been here ever since!".

From having no intention of going abroad, a move to the South coast of France materialised, with a subsequent stop-off in Paris eventually resulting in Marie's long-

term settlement there. Migration in this case was anything but calculated, and in attempting to explain it one must appreciate the power of the unexpected.

5.2.4 Summary

In the literature review a framework was developed to explain skilled migration that appreciated the interplay of structure and agency and the channelling mechanisms implicated in the migration decision-making process (see Figure 2.3). The first half of this chapter has focused specifically on the firm, household and individual dimensions of this framework, demonstrating how different individuals are affected in different ways by the three explanatory levels. The career-path adherent, for instance, will respond to the demands of the transnational employer, but will also respect the collective will of the household unit he/she lives within. In contrast, groups such as graduates and expressive specialists are likely to be less restrained, with individual migratory motives rising to prominence as a result.

This said, it is useful to conceptualise the firm, household and individual decision-making levels in amalgam. As Boyle *et al.* (1998, p. 1) note, "the act of moving rarely involves one factor, even if the move is motivated primarily by one overriding issue", and evidence from Ile-de-France supports this contention. Family considerations are often just as important as the career-path, with a variety of pull, push and other factors also influential in the decision to migrate. The complexity is obvious, and it has been the aim of this section to present it in a coherent and manageable way. I now want to move away from a concern with why the British migrate to a look at who migrates.

5.2 Who are the skilled migrants?

In examining the different types of British resident in Ile-de-France, the preceding analysis is extremely helpful, as is the academic literature reviewed in Section 2.3. Both show an acute awareness of the heterogeneity of community, and in the process point towards some of the rationale behind my division of the British into six lifestyle groups (see Section 3.4). This section aims to explore this division further, introducing the reader to the key axes of social difference that permeate the British community in Ile-de-France.

5.2.1 Six types of expatriate

The typology outlined in Chapter 3 is an inductive one, representing the culmination of ten-months fieldwork. It is based largely upon interview and ethnographic data, with socio-demographic input also helping. There are, as Figure 5.1 makes clear, three main axes of difference stratifying the British community. The first is the principal motive for migration, with the presence of a professional career-path or mixed-nationality relationship two defining features. In addition to these socio-professional and household dynamics, a divide between newly arrived and more established expatriates also exists. This was no surprise, temporary migrants understandably have very different priorities to their more established counterparts. Moreover, this variable also acts as a surrogate for the effects of generation and life-stage change, with British 'lifers'[100] likely to be retired and/or live within 'empty nest' households. This point leads on to a third and final factor, the presence or absence of family ties. As in the UK, children exert a key influence on the everyday life of expatriates, with Figure 5.1 also sensitive to this effect.

Whilst the three social axes identified above could have combined in a multitude of ways, six expatriate types were prominent. Thus, although there was community-wide heterogeneity, this was certainly not beyond the realm of classification. The fact that the British were all skilled and that there were no major racial/religious divides within the community undoubtedly helped in this respect (see Section 3.4). Nonetheless, one cannot ignore the fact that other categories of expatriate may have existed beyond those identified in Figure 5.1. The typology is only intended to cover the majority, and not the whole of the British community in Ile-de-France.

I will now summarise the distinguishing features of each migrant type, but before doing this it is worth noting that gender is not referred to in the above framework. Given what we know of its role in other skilled migrant populations (Ackers, 1998; Allen and Hill, 1997; Gordon and Jones, 1991; Hardill, 1998; Kofman, 1999, 2000; Willis and Yeo, 2002; Yeo and Khoo, 1998; Zulauf, 2001), this may appear surprising. However, gender will be referred to separately throughout the thesis in order to highlight its effect both between and within each of the six lifestyle types.

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[100] A number of the established type 1 expatriates used this term to refer to their senior status within the expatriate community.

5.2.1.1 Type 1: 'Established British Families'

Having moved to France on a short or indefinite contract, these individuals have gradually established themselves as a permanent immigrant population in Ile-de-France. They are the oldest expatriate group, their children have 'flown the nest' and professional careers have ended. As a consequence, community organisations and informal social networks now feature prominently in their everyday life, voluntary activities that fill a professional and familial void (see Section 7.1).

As well as being the key leaders/figureheads within the expatriate community, this group is residentially concentrated. As professionals they were able to afford the high quality housing to the west of Paris. Furthermore, the British, international and bi-lingual schools located in these 'elite' suburbs will have undoubtedly shaped the decision taken to settle there (see Chapter 6).

MOTIVE FOR MIGRATION	Career-Path		
	⬇	⬇	
COMMITMENT TO ILE-DE-FRANCE	'Lifer'	Circulator or Indefinite	
	⬇	⬇	⬇
FAMILY STATUS	Family – empty nest / retired	Family – school age children	Single / Partner
	⬇	⬇	⬇
LIFESTYLE TYPE	TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3
	'Established British Families'	'Young British Families'	'Professionals'
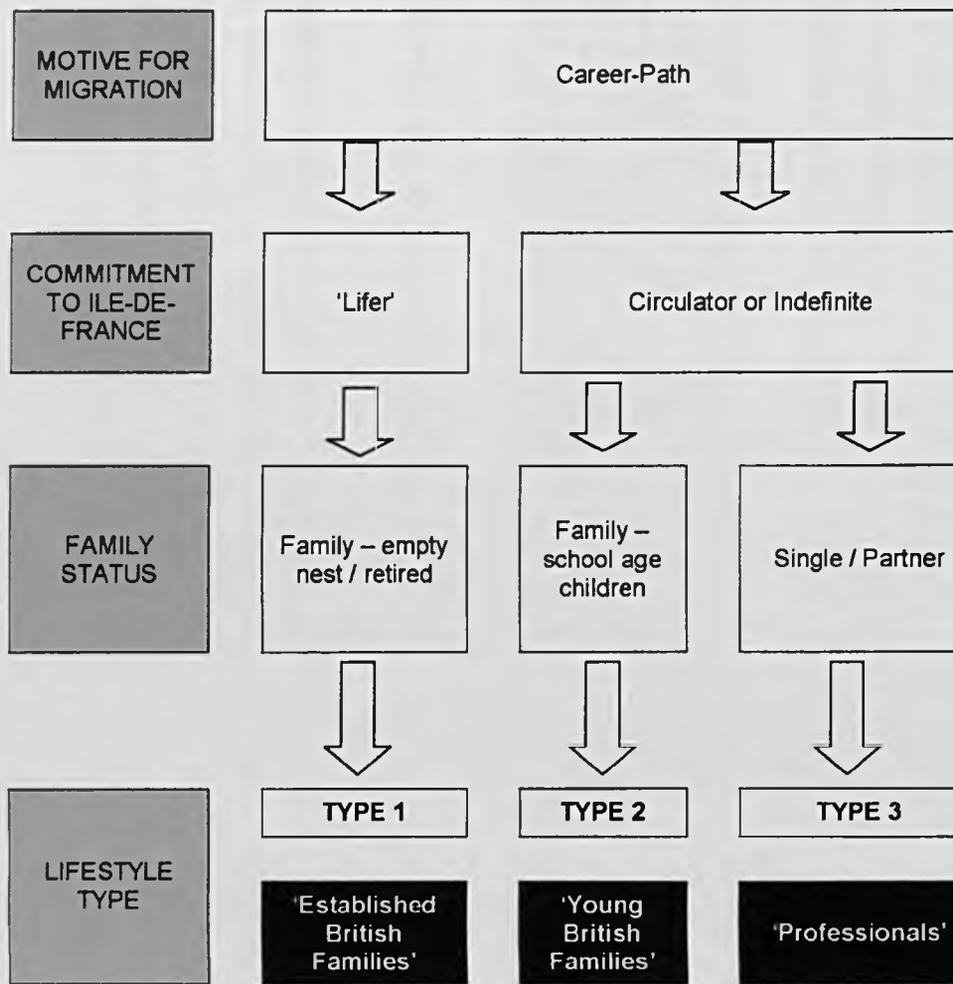
Figure 5.1: Six types of British expatriate in Ile-de-France

Lifestyle Preference		Franco-British Relationship
Circulator or Indefinite	'Lifer'	'Lifer'
Single / Partner	Single / Partner	Family / Partner
TYPE 4	**TYPE 5**	**TYPE 6**
'Graduates'	'Bohemians'	'Mixed Relationship Migrants'

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5.2.1.2 Type 2: 'Young British Families'

Aged 30-55 this group is once again made up of professional migrants whose family status guides them towards the high-status suburbs west of Paris. Children will still be living at home and are likely to receive a bi-lingual, international or British education, rather than attending a French state school. Their commitment to Paris will be temporary, with the working partner employed on either on a short-term or indefinite contract.

These factors carry with them important implications with regard to expatriate behaviour and identity, as Rupert (type 2) told me:

"It comes to the crucial point that people in the suburbs tend to be on short-term assignments, they've got a job to do and I don't think that you could say the majority think of it as an adventure. It's an inconvenience when you get down to the basics of it, it's an inconvenience which they could do without, but there is the goal of the career so they'll put up with it and they put on a brave front...They get into a network with the rest of the expatriate community, they've all got similar qualms, and they all moan about certain things, and they also seem to enjoy the same things. But there's no rampant desire to integrate into the French community at all. I think it boils down to a question of time really, and commitment. What's the point in learning to speak French fluently when you're only here for so long and have enough British friends living close by?"

In particular, these transient British households value church-based and educational institutions near to where they live. For instance, the British Schools at Croissy/Bougival and St-Germain, and the Anglican churches at Versailles (St Mark's) and Holy Trinity (Maisons-Laffitte) have all benefited from the presence and civic vitality of this particular expatriate cohort[101]. In fact these are some of the few BCC-based organisations that actually expanded over the 1990s (cf. Section 4.4 and Section 7.4-6).

As with type 1 expatriates it is likely that the women will trail, and because of the lack of a defining professional identity they tend to face the most significant cultural-linguistic and social barriers to integration / assimilation. In fact, type 2 females will be shown later to be the most separate of all expatriates (see Section 7.3.1), a function of their 'trailing' status and the lack of any definite commitment to Ile-de-France.

5.2.1.3 Type 3 'Professionals'

Those in this third and final career-path cohort are much more likely than their familial counterparts to live in central Paris. The absence of children means that there is less

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[101] The expatriate magazine 'Living in France' targets this type of migrant, and the issues it chooses to cover are extremely revealing – it consistently focuses on the high status rental and owner occupier housing markets in Ile-de-France, particularly in the western suburbs (Corkle, 2000; Living in France, 1998). It is also very family orientated and provides a wealth of advice on specialist expatriate education in the region.

demand for a spacious home and garden, and little need to be near specialist schooling. Furthermore, a lack of long-term commitment also makes central Paris' large private rental sector particularly attractive. As a result, these high-status migrants are able to enjoy the advantages of one of the worlds most vibrant and culturally attractive cities.

The absence of children relates to the youthfulness of this group, and these two variables in turn underpin a pervasive work identity. In fact, type 3 expatriates seem to value their professional status more than almost anything else, with Ile-de-France yet another geographical location along a pre-determined career-path. This even leads some type 3 professionals to identify with an international class of elite migrants more than to British or French ethno-national labels (see Section 8.3.2).

5.2.1.4 Type 4 'Graduates'

In addition to professional expatriates, there are those who place much more emphasis on general life experience. Graduates, for example, are young, have few employment or household ties, and tend to treat their Parisian sojourn as an adventure. Working is a means to an end, with bar, secretarial and *au pair* work particularly prominent.

Many in this group are linguistically skilled and have prior experience of France or Paris, factors that help to explain the relatively significant levels of integration / assimilation attained. Having said this, type 4 expatriates value contact with likeminded graduates, and their British friendship networks can be quite extensive. Rather than being based around the BCC affiliates, however, socialising tends to be outside the 'official' British habitus in places like British bars (see Figures 7.10-12) and the LMIP comedy club (see Figures 4.17 and 7.13).

5.2.1.5 Type 5 'Bohemians'

The most diverse of all British groups, type 5 expatriates are older and have generally settled permanently in Ile-de-France, usually within Paris itself. Furthermore, they are relatively 'free' in the sense that they are unlikely to have had children, are often unmarried, and work in lower-status or creative sectors of the economy. Career-path aspirations and an associated work identity are therefore insignificant relative to lifestyle pursuits.

The organisations that appealed to bohemians tended to reflect these social nuances. They often centred around particular activities and hobbies - such as poetry and literature, philosophy and art – and were not ethnically or nationally specific *per se*. As one respondent pointed out:

"I was invited to a very formal dinner out in the west once by someone I met through my work with LMIP. It was very generous of him but I didn't go, I mean what on earth would we have in common, what would we have talked about? At the same time, though, the younger expatriates who help out here at the comedy club, I wouldn't want to discuss football with them or their tastes in music, or what happened on Friday night!". (Paul, type 5).

There was, though, an important internal division in this respect. Whilst the majority were 'expressive specialist' in the true sense, and moved within French and Anglophone creative circles, a significant number were not so bohemian or cosmopolitan in outlook

Those in this latter group favoured BCC-based organisations, and were relatively conservative in orientation. Thus, although their biographies were similar to the expressive/creative specialists – they were middle-aged, had no children, may have had a partner, and had moved to Paris as a result of lifestyle preference, usually on a permanent basis – they were more conforming, and their social circles often overlapped with those of the British families in the professional suburbs. For both groups, though, their commitment to France and linguistic ability meant that they were able to maintain a Franco-British mixture of friends.

5.2.1.6 Type 6 'Mixed Relationship Migrants'

Living with a French partner is perhaps the most decisive factor in influencing the lifestyle an expatriate leads. Mixed-relationship migrants were by far the most integrated and assimilated of all expatriates, and usually only became involved in British activities and events on a sporadic basis.

Commitment to Paris was long-term and where children are present they are educated at a French or at most bi-lingual school. The family life of this group was, therefore, very different to the type 1 and 2 suburban expatriates. Often, English was not spoken at home, and the reproduction of Britishness between parent and child was minimal. However, like the type 1 and type 2 groups there was once again an interesting gender dynamic, with female expatriates in the majority as a result of their willingness to relocate to their partner's country.

5.2.2 *Movement and overlap*

The location of expatriates within one of the six lifestyle types reviewed above should not be seen as finite or absolute. Over time, some will move between categories, and in this respect a number of prominent shifts are worth identifying. The first two expatriate groups, for example, are closely related, with people moving from type 1 to type 2 as they become permanently established within the community. Similarly, as graduates age

and become settled within Ile-de-France many will embark upon a professional career-path (type 3) and may eventually start families (type 1 and 2). Alternatively, some will see work as more tangential in terms of everyday life, and opt instead for the bohemian route (type 5).

It is also probable that many young professionals (type 3) and graduates (type 4) will eventually meet a French partner and settle down with him/her (type 6). As the following first-hand account testifies:

"I had never had any particular desire to get married, but then I never planned on falling in love with a Frenchman. And with my visa about to run out (and no date of expiration stamped on my relationship), my boyfriend and I decided the easiest solution to the visa problem would be to get married". (Joseph-Mosely 1997, p. 145)

In addition, to temporal shifts between the various lifestyle types, there will also be more general overlap and the blurring of boundaries. This is inevitable, and the typology simply aims to show how key social fissures loosely divide the British into six expatriate groups. It is not intended to be definitive, it is just designed to act as a guide for the chapters that remain.

5.2.3 Summary

Answering *the who question of skilled migration is extremely important if one is to fully grasp the complexities of residential settlement, community interaction and expatriate identity.* As Cohen notes:

"Some expatriate communities are composed of a variety of people of differing institutional backgrounds, interests and functions in the host society, while others are more homogenous in one or all of these respects. It can be generally assumed that this variable will influence the institutional autarchy of the community, as well as its social cohesiveness and solidarity". (1977, p. 24)

The above discussion has shown how, in Ile-de-France at least, the British are heterogeneous and form six main expatriate groups. Important in its own right, this diversity is also central to the analysis that now follows, allowing one to move between general (immigrant, ethnic and national) and socially specific (generation, gender, life-stage, socio-professional) lifestyle influences.

5.3 Conclusion

Skilled migration can be explained through reference to the firm, household and individual, with these three decision-making levels combining in myriad ways to ensure a heterogeneous British presence in Ile-de-France. The large numbers of professional and managerial expatriates (types 1, 2 and 3), for example, can be explained by the capitalist logic of the transnational employer and the notion of the international career-

path. In addition, household compromises are also critical in this 'elite' migration, with the welfare of any children and the concerns of the 'trailer' key factors within the professional mobility equation.

The chapter also underlined the point that not all expatriates relocate in accordance with the skilled international division of labour. Graduates (type 4), bohemians (type 5) and mixed-relationship movers (type 6) tend to be less influenced by the firm or career path, with individual motives and household concerns featuring much more prominently as a result.

Understanding this complexity was important, not only in terms of answering the question of why people move overseas, but also in uncovering the types of people who do so. In fact, within the expatriate taxonomy outlined in the second part of the chapter, migratory motive was one of the key social axes. Other important lifestyle divisions stemmed from length of commitment to France, family status and gender roles/norms (see Figure 5.1).

CHAPTER 6: Residential Settlement and Neighbourhood Community

6.1 Introduction

In this and the following two chapters I intend to examine the various ways in which expatriates remain distinct from their French hosts. Distinction will be examined in terms of where the British choose to settle within Ile-de-France, the communal networks they establish, and the transnational links/identities they maintain. The extent of this residential, social and cultural separation relates to the unsettling effect that international migration exerts upon the everyday lives of expatriates. In turn, this effect is contingent upon key social fissures within the British community, such as gender, generation, life-stage and socio-professional status (see Figure 6.1).

In this chapter I want to focus specifically upon the residential dimension of British distinction. Clearly, where one settles within a city can impact heavily upon subsequent behaviour and identity, and the British have already been shown to cluster within prestigious suburban districts to the west of Paris (see Section 4.2), as have some of the community organisations that serve them (see Figure 4.19). Aware of this, I intend to explore the propinquity-community link, looking at whether the British in suburban Paris constitute a distinct socio-geographic 'tribe'. However, before embarking upon this task, the key factors underpinning British settlement will be identified, with analysis building upon the explanatory framework developed in Section 2.4 (see Figure 2.4).
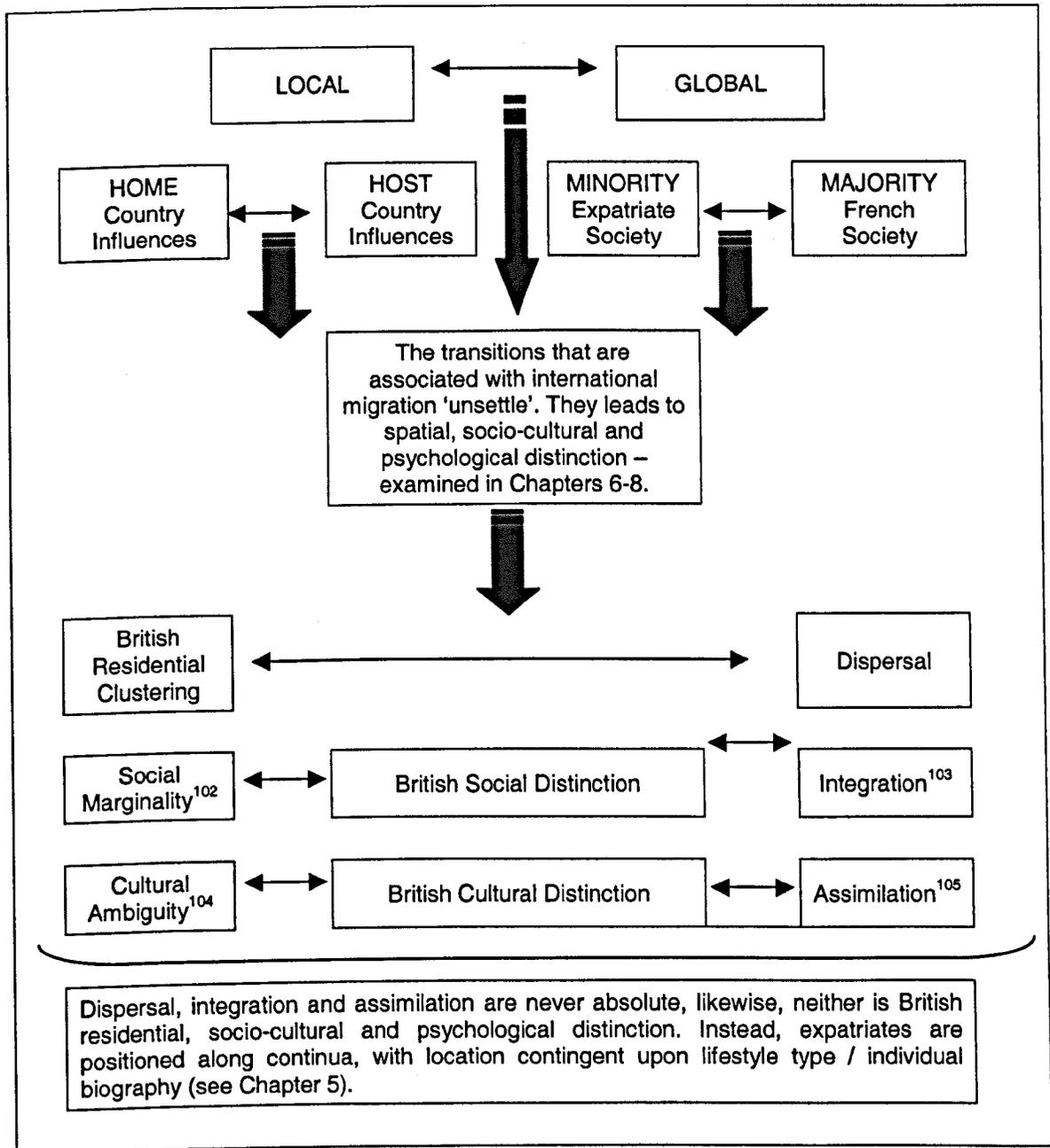
Figure 6.1: British distinction in Ile-de-France

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[102] Marginality – In contemporary society there is increasing evidence that people are embedded in fewer social networks. The public / communal realm is being increasingly overtaken by privatised / home based activities, and one must acknowledge that integration involves more than the visible social realm.

[103] Integration – The expatriate is mainly embedded within French social networks, British communal relations are largely insignificant.

[104] Ambiguity- The whole issue of minority cultural distinction vis à vis assimilation is complex. It is difficult to be entirely 'French' or entirely 'British' in the transnational urban world we inhabit, and a framework for distinction must acknowledge the increasing ambiguities associated with assimilation.

[105] Assimilation – This implies limited cultural separateness, in the sense that British identity is weak, with an expatriate's cultural attachments similar to the majority French population.

6.2 Suburban British settlement

As White (1998a, p. 1730) notes, "...few studies currently exist of the settlement patterns of non-racialised or developed world migrants in European cities". This undoubtedly stems from the unspectacular nature of this type of high-status residential clustering, nevertheless, there is a geography to British settlement in Ile-de-France, with career-path families (type 1 and type 2) in particular concentrated in the wealthy *banlieue ouest*. For example, 'Living in France', an expatriate magazine for professional Anglophones, identifies twenty key areas of British and American settlement in Ile-de-France[106]. It also tells us that:

"Expatriates are like sheep when it comes to choosing a suburb. If they decide not to live in Paris, they head out west, no question". (Marcoulet 2001, p. 21)

Furthermore, even within Paris, the British tend to cluster to the west in the *beaux quartiers*. It is in the suburbs, though, that I intend to focus attention, looking at the reasons behind this high-status pattern of British settlement.

6.2.1 The professional elite

The western suburbs contain a number of extremely affluent *communes*, attracting French and British professionals alike. Financially unrestrained, high-status migrants choose areas such as Le Vésinet, St-Germain-en-Laye, and Meudon due to the housing stock, environmental amenities and the prestige with which the areas are imbued. Large, spacious, low-density housing located in-between broad swathes of open space[107] attracts individuals from the upper echelons of society. Their socio-professional status, and associated position within their desired housing class, enables residential preferences to be realised with only minimal constraints *vis à vis* more problematised immigrant groups.

The following extract underlines the importance of these class-enabled quality of life concerns:

"For those who have family, hate noise or can't stand pollution, an apartment in central Paris is not the ideal residence. The suburbs open their leafy arms to such refugees from the noise and dirt of the city. There, you can enjoy a large house, amidst avenues of trees, with rolling parkland and countryside nearby, for the same price as a shoe box in the centre". (Living in France 1998, p. 56)

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[106] These are as follows: Issy-les-Moulineaux, Meudon, St-Germain-en-Laye, Neuilly-sur-Seine, St-Cloud, Suresnes, Bougival, la-Celle-St-Cloud, Chatou, Croissy, Fourqueux, Louveciennes, Maisons-Laffitte, Mareil-Marly, Marly-le-Roi, Noisy-le-Roi, Le Pecq, St-Nom-la-Bretèche, Versailles and Le Vésinet (Living in France 1998, p. 56-64).
[107] Sizeable forests and large areas of open space are located around the towns of St-Germain-en-Laye, Marly-le-Roi, Malmaison, Meudon, and Versailles.

Similarly, a British resident in Maisons-Laffitte tells a later issue of Living in France magazine:

"I get the best of both worlds. I love Paris, but when I lived in the city I found I really missed greenery and open space. So now I have the rural elements as well as being able to carry on working in the city". (Corckle, 2000)

In addition to these counterurbanisation benefits, the suburbs appeal because of their time-space proximity to Paris. RER urban rail lines C and A are important arterial links to left and right bank stations respectively, with the A-13 *autoroute* and a plethora of SNCF stations further reinforcing the commuter appeal of Hauts de Seine and Yvelines..

Also significant in this respect is the location of professional and managerial employment within the city of Paris. French and international elite workers, operating at the nexus of a global city / economy, tend to favour areas of residence within easy reach of their workplace, and crucially many of the big multi-national companies are based to the west. The complex at La Defence is a particularly prominent professional employment hub, whilst in historic terms the establishment of NATO's European operation SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe) in Rocquencourt during the 1950s underlines the importance of the employer / residential settlement link. Now defunct, as a result of Frances withdrawal in 1966, NATO's presence in the west attracted large numbers of international secondees[108]. This in turn led to the establishment of the *Lycée International* at St-Germain to serve the children of these families, a school that has a British section today even though its initial *raison d'être* has gone (see Figure 4.19)[109].

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[108] Established in Rocquencourt (a Versailles suburb) on July 23rd 1951, SHAPE remained there until March 30th 1967 when it officially relocated to Belgium. This was brought about by France's decision to leave the military command structure of NATO (announced on March 10th 1966), something that led to 1,025 personnel, 1,412 support staff, and 344 locally waged staff having to leave Paris or find alternative employment (www.shape.nato.int).

[109] This example underlines the importance of history and heritage when explaining present day residential clustering amongst British expatriates in Ile-de-France. As Guillon (1996, p. 55) tells us "When one reads a map locating today's various immigrant populations in Paris, it is helpful to keep in mind which were the settling areas that the first immigrants of a group adopted".

6.2.2 Family-friendly neighbourhoods

In addition to class-based preferences and workplace proximity, another reason for the popularity of the west lay in its family-friendly appeal. The housing stock in the area is of high quality and disproportionately made up of large dwellings with sizeable gardens – a safe, semi-rural setting in which to raise children and enjoy family life. The issue of housing quality and neighbourhood is particularly important for British immigrants, coming from a culture that values the house-garden model of rural/suburban habitation. As Rupert (type 2), a resident of Croissy-sur-Seine discloses:

"Here, for the most part, they're families, so they have commitments. I think that the people living in apartments in Paris have probably only very young kids, or they're just couples...I think if I was married or had a partner with no children then that's what I'd do, absolutely. I wouldn't be out here, there's nothing to do, and you'd want to entertain all the time. But here it's because the families have commitments, so it's different. People who come and live in houses in the suburbs come with their family, or because they prefer that style of living, and it's not so that they can go into the city, it's the opposite, it's so they can branch out and see more of the country".

Family-friendly suburbs act as a magnet for professional British families, who have financial power and particular child orientated preferences. As Nick (type 2) noted:

"If it was just me and Wendy I think it would be really nice to live in a typical Parisian flat overlooking a little *'Place de* something'. I think it would be really nice, to sort of totally go in to the spirit of France, but its just not practical for three kids and everything else. You couldn't have 5 bedrooms, a big living room, or a big dining room, or anywhere for your barbeques, no big pool. There are a hell of a lot of things you wouldn't have which you could quite easily give them up if there were just two of us, but when you've got kids, and they get 10 weeks off in the summer, you put them first".

In contrast, for those without these familial concerns, a suburban appeal is notably absent:

"We don't have children and I don't need to get them anywhere, they don't need a garden, and having a place of our own in Normandy we get our garden experience and fresh air there. No I definitely decided that not working I wanted to be in the centre of Paris, convenient for doing things. There was NO way I was going to be stuck out in a house in the Western suburbs!". (Sarah, type 3)

Or, as relocation agent, rather bluntly put it: "It's a pretty simple breakdown, if they don't have children they choose Paris, but if they have a family it's the suburbs" (Living in France 1998, p. 56). Clearly, then, a geo-social division exists between suburban and urban migrants, and is largely the function of family status. Expatriate types 1 and 2 are all located in communes to the west of Paris, whilst almost all of the other interviewees live in the city itself.

Box 6.1: 'Gardener's Question Time' (GQT): an unconventional window into the suburban expatriate presence in Ile-de-France.

The popularity of the 'Gardeners' Question Time' programme, recorded in St Mark's Church, Versailles underlined the pervasiveness of this socio-professional / home-garden link. The suburban church was full long before the recording of the show began, with people milling around, catching up with old friends and acquaintances. The audience was very obviously middle-class, made up of professional British families (type 2) and retirees (type 1), many of whom were part of the congregation at St Mark's. Like their UK counterparts, they turned up because they were keen to increase their gardening know-how, whilst also enjoying a novel and entertaining evening. It was an archetypal British event, and as avid Radio 4 fans from afar, many in the audience would be able to listen to the programme when aired via the BBC long-wave service (see Figure 6.2).

"Gardeners' Question Time"

B B C RADIO 4

with

Bob Flowerdew

John Cushnie

Bunny Guinness

and chairman

Eric Robson

St. Mark's Church
31 rue du Pont Colbert
78000 Versailles

Tuesday 20th March 2001

Doors open 7.30pm
Recording starts at 8.30pm   **ADMIT ONE**

Demand is expected to be high, please return this ticket
if you are unable to attend. Please note the recording will be in English

Figure 6.2: The French edition of GQT

6.2.3 Specialist immigrant schooling

Schools are another important family-based locational anchor, underpinning the choices of many to reside in *la banlieue ouest*. Above and beyond the class-infused desire for high quality education, many UK parents favoured bi-lingual, international, or mono-national schooling for their children. Local French schools are often not appropriate for all-British families on temporary/indefinite contracts, and so settlement patterns tend to reflect the location of scholastic infrastructure and the bus routes serving it[110].

The reasons for this immigrant-specific requirement are essentially two-fold. Primarily, families moving to France as a result of career-path relocation often do so on a temporary basis (see Chapter 5). Return to the UK is highly likely, rather than being a 'myth', and so a British or at the very least an Anglophone education is a necessity. As Jane (type 1) discovered when planning for the first of her husband's transfers to Paris:

"When I first came here and my children were five and seven it was my intention to put them into the French system because I thought that would be really good for them, and because the French have this reputation for good schools. So I went to see my daughter's headmistress and said I'm terribly sorry but I have to take my daughter away at the end of term, but I hope that in two or three years she can come back, and she said: 'well where are you thinking of sending her?', 'I thought I'd put her in the French system', 'Oh really, why is that?'...so I dug this big hole for myself and said 'well I've heard that the French system is so good, it will be good for her socialisation, it will teach her to be international, she will have these things for ever' and I carried on and on and on, and at the end of it she said 'Mrs Edwards, where did you say you were returning her to?', 'Uuur, here Mrs Pugh', 'then she will be three years behind in schooling!'. So I put her in the British school (laughs). And she's right, it would be good, but it's no use if you're going back to a British education. If I were coming over to live permanently I would have put her in the French system...(pause)...well I think I would have done".

As well as issues associated with eventual return to the UK, Jane also alludes to the difficulties of entering an alien school environment. As a child becomes older it becomes increasingly difficult for him/her to change from one system of education to another, never mind the additional linguistic transition. As a result, British families moving with older children, regardless of future intentions, also favour specialist expatriate specialist schools.

These twin considerations, associated with the age of a child and return orientation, act to channel British families towards the western suburbs. As Figure 4.19 demonstrates, it is here where the bi-lingual, international, and mono-national schools are predominantly found[111]. This scholastic-residential link was widely cited by type 1 and 2 expatriates, with

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[110] According to a source at the British school, the bus routes are not fixed but change according to where demand is greatest. In total there were six buses serving the British school at Croissy/Bougival.

[111] There are signs of change. For example, there has been the recent establishment of the first truly international school to the East of Paris at Marne-la-Vallée. And in a recent edition of Living in France (Marcoulet, 2001), the town of Pontault Combault was highlighted as a destination for expatriates 'with a more adventurous spirit'(p. 21), providing 'an authentic and more affordable alternative for the

long-term residents Mary (type 1) and Cecil (type 1) noting its role in British

suburbanisation in Ile-de-France:

Q. Is choice of area influenced by the schooling that's on offer?
C: "Oh yes! Particularly if you want to go to the *lycée* at St-Germain, which has got an English section. Certainly you get whole colonies of English out there, it's very interesting. I mean there's a big colony of English living out west, there's an English society out there that doesn't bother to come into Paris very much".
M: "I know this from another angle. I've been on the BCWA from the very beginning, when most of the members lived inside Paris. Slowly though, these international sections have developed and more and more of the British women that came over with their husbands, and a lot of them were only here for a short time also, they moved out to be near the schools. And so you get two separate communities; you have the families living in the suburbs with a life for themselves out there, and then people still living in Paris who were diminishing – at least that's what's been happening in the BCWA, the membership is still rather lop-sided in favour of the suburbs, and those living in houses not in flats".

Quite clearly, there is a correlation between educational provision and residential

concentration, with temporary families in particular limiting their search to areas connected

to specialist schools:

"Looking for a house, the only thing I had was a school transport list and I knew the timings that they were going to be on the bus, and they were the areas where I went to look for a house. Within, I said forty-five minutes of the school, was going to be the maximum we would go out, and luckily we found somewhere...If they turned around to me and said 'well your kids are going to be two hours away' I would have seriously considered saying 'well I'll go back to the UK or I'll stay in Germany'. Yes Paris is nice, and it's got many, many advantages, but if I thought the disadvantage was too great on the kids we'd have said no". (Nick, type 2)

Clearly, children and their specific educational requirements are central in explaining the

western residential skew of professional British families in Ile-de-France.

Box 6.2: The British School of Paris (BSP) and the British School of Paris
Society (BSPS)

A British school has existed in Ile-de-France since the 1830s, with the current
one founded in 1954 as part of the post-war era of British organisational
expansion (see Section 4.4.2). Initially called 'The English School of Paris' and
based in the western suburb of Mary-le-Roi, the British School now has two
sites, one at Croissy and the other at Bougival (see Figure 4.19). The junior
section was established at Bougival in 1972 due to the growing popularity of the
school. However, this move was not enough and the Croissy campus has had to
expand considerably, with the majority of buildings at the senior school designed
and built after 1990. Extensive bus routes serve both sites.

Francophile'(p. 22). These developments also concur with findings from the French census (see Tables 4.5 and 4.7).

The aim of the school is to provide an education based on the British GCSE/A-level system along with daily French lessons. In its brochure the school states that: "(our) 'raison d'être' is the provision of a 'British' education for those so requiring, or so desiring. Indeed this 'Britishness' is re-inforced by the wearing of school uniform in years 1-11. However, living in mainland Europe, in an increasingly international world, it is important that pupils are encouraged to widen their horizons and broaden their cultural understanding". Thus, although 70% of pupils are British and 98% go on to a UK university, over 30 nationalities are represented at the BSP with its international intake steadily increasing.

The school maintains links both with the UK and other British organisations in Ile-de-France. The chaplain of the school, for instance, is from the nearby Anglican church at Maisons-Laffitte (Holy Trinity), expatriate Scout and Guide troops meet regularly at the Croissy and Bougival campuses, BSP pupils participate in international school sports tournaments, and fieldtrips to the UK are a key part of the curriculum. There is also a 'British School of Paris Society' (BSPS). This was founded in 1983 to coincide with growth of the school, and as well as producing a regular newsletter, it organises key community events such as a welcome barbeque, Summer fair, fun run, sports day, bonfire night and a burns night supper. Similarly, alumni can keep in touch through the 'Old Parisian's' society and the annual sports tournaments it runs (see Figure 6.3).

The school, then, is a key pillar of the British suburban community. As the yearbook tells us: "the school is a community in its own right. The activities it provides for all those connected to the school, the services of the BSPS, and the continued participation of former pupils spread all over the world testify to the central and lasting influence the BSP has on those who pass through its doors".

Figure 6.3: Suburban activities of the BSPS: the Summer Fete and Summer Ball

6.2.4 Property gatekeepers

In addition to choosing to live within the high-status *communes* in the *départements* of Hauts de Seine and Yvelines, expatriates will also be guided by the actions of property gatekeepers such as Anglophone estate agents and relocation specialists (see Figure 6.4). These actors essentially control the supply of appropriate housing, channelling immigrants into areas that are perceived to be appropriate for their lifestyle needs.

As well as information, advice and assistance from property companies and relocation specialists, transnational employers often provide their own property, the location of which also reflects the perceived needs of their employees. Informal advice from friends and colleagues and information from specialist magazines such as 'FUSAC' (France-USA Contacts) and 'Living in France' will guide the residential decision making of expatriates. For instance, whilst Rupert's (type 2) residential preferences were a function of his socio-professional, family and immigrant status, gatekeeper channelling was also evident:

"We didn't want an apartment in Paris, we wanted a house with a garden, in the suburbs, so that I could commute into work and my wife could continue as she continued in the UK. As I said we were very lucky because a friend of mine was actually moving out of Paris and had a house he wanted to put up for rent. He was in the same company so we could strike up a nice little deal internally, and that's how it came about. It was ideally placed for the British school, and the prices were good, Croissy itself is very good as a centre, it's so easy to get into Paris and OUT into the country".

This, and the many other informal contacts relied upon when moving overseas, help to reproduce existing patterns of immigrant settlement in the same way that relocation specialists do:

"...coming with IBM they employ people to help you find houses, so you don't have to look at fifty houses. You say what you want and where and they will then tell you what's in the area, and you also get guidance from people at the company who are already living there". (Jane, type 1)

British settlement, then, is shaped by the imperfect knowledge that expatriates have of the Parisian housing market - knowledge that stems from contact with estate agents, relocation specialists, friends and the expatriate media.

Figure 6.4: Anglophone estate agents and relocation specialists

Source: FUSAC

6.3 Residential propinquity and community?

The natural question that now needs addressing, given my concern with British socio-cultural distinction, is the extent to which the suburban residential clustering translates into a discernible sense of community. After all, high-status areas appeal to a particular type of expatriate, and one would expect at least some degree of neighbourhood cohesion to result. In the section that follows I intend to explore this cohesion, demonstrating the ways in which propinquity acts as a loose container for British social relations. Divisions within the relatively homogenous suburban community will then be highlighted to underline important gender and generational nuances. Finally, the lack of a British residential 'hearth' will be noted, with *la banlieue ouest* shown to be more of an international area of elite professional settlement.

6.3.1 Neighbourhood cohesion

Socio-geographic congruence within the high-status *communes* of Hauts de Seine and Yvelines has created a relatively homogenous, cohesive, and noticeably British community. Expatriate types 1 and 2 circulate within particular communal networks, and share a cohesiveness/insularity unrivalled elsewhere in Ile-de-France. As Jane (type 1), a Le Vésinet resident, notes:

"oh it's a hubbub out here! It's where all the families live you know. As a British family you are much more likely to live in the West of Paris without a doubt! There must be 80% of the British families living out here".

This suburban 'enclavism'; relative to central city dispersal manifests itself in a variety of ways. Most interesting was the divide between St George's church in central Paris and the suburban churches at Versailles (St Mark's) and Maisons-Laffitte (Holy Trinity). In the former, Sunday School took place in French whilst at St Mark's and Holy Trinity it was conducted in English – reflective of a more ostensibly British suburban community.

In addition, the suburban churches have been revived over recent years as a result of the suburbanisation tendencies of retiring expatriates, and the growing number of in-coming British families. City-based churches have, in contrast, found it difficult to retain a sizeable British congregation. Attendances at the Scots Kirk, for example, have been dwindling, whilst St Joseph's now relies upon a largely international clientele. The churches, through their urban-suburban differences in fortune and function, are very much palimpsests of the wider British community.

Mockingly nicknamed 'Noisy-LEROY' and St-Germain-ANGLAIS by longer-term expatriates, areas such as Noisy-le-Roi and St-Germain-en-Laye are the types of places where propinquity and communality are most likely to be found in tandem. Heeding the advice of a key informant, I headed to the farmers market in St-Germain on my first free Sunday. Here, one could not help but be amazed by how 'typically' French it was. Nonetheless, there were audible parties of British and American families, and trundling across the cobbled square between 'peasant' stall holders and high-class *patisserie* they were incongruous in many ways. Well-spoken, with 'Harry' and 'Charlotte' running amok ahead of 'mummy' and 'daddy', momentary images of home-county life flashed before me. These were not weekend tourists: their bags and trolleys were laden with food rather than souvenirs, and it was clear that they represented the visible pinnacle of the British family presence in suburban Ile-de-France[112].

The extent to which this visible British presence links to communality outside the family sphere, unfortunately cannot be determined. However, interviewing Brian and Mary, long-term Meudon residents, they noted how casual interaction between fellow nationals in the village was sporadic but fairly common. Occasional meetings in the street were complemented by visits to nearby friends, for instance when help was needed in the garden, or just for social reasons.

Examples of this in-group neighbourliness were widespread; Rupert (type 2), for example, recalled the barbeques he'd held, or been to nearby:

"The overseas community tends to do the same thing, so we have barbeques and friends round, and parties, and we go out to other people nearby. It tends to be like that and so you tend to know, you tend to be a little community apart. It's the Brits, the Americans, we tend to sort of get together".

Similarly, Figure 4.19 highlights the presence of British 'bricks and mortar' in the suburbs, with many more social networks operating but not necessarily leaving any permanent legacy.

Interestingly, the excerpt from Rupert also indicates an Anglophone, as oppose to purely British social contour within the high-status *banlieue ouest*. This international dimension is an important one but, before discussing it, a more detailed examination of

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[112] The influence of high-status migrants on communes to the west of Paris extends beyond the weekly market in St-Germain-en-Laye. A recent edition of Living in France sensed a similar Franco-British incongruence in the neighbouring village of Maisons-Laffitte: "Step out of the station at Maisons-Laffitte and you might think that you're in a little British town just outside London, or maybe even in small-town America. But spend a little time at Maisons-Laffitte to explore, and you will find that it holds a distinctly Parisian atmosphere...The feeling of the place is not entirely French. The suburb certainly doesn't feel quite English or American either. The town is something of a mixture between cultures." (Corkle 2000, p. 18/19)

suburban British communality will be conducted. Specifically, I will analyse the ways in which gender, generation and life-stage divide the expatriate population to the west, with socio-geographic cohesiveness simultaneously a reality and a myth.

6.3.2 Suburban division – the gender effect

The gendering of community was particularly pronounced to the west of Paris where the career-path / trailing-spouse model of migration dominated. Women tended to be outside of paid employment, and if they were in work were unlikely to be the main 'breadwinner'. As a consequence community involvement was high, with organisations providing a valuable social hearth within an otherwise anonymous residential milieu.

Evidence of this work/community male/female divide was fairly widespread; all trailing-spouses interviewed were female, all were embedded in British or Anglophone social networks, and almost all lived to the west of Paris. Immigrant associations catering specifically for women, such as the British and Commonwealth Women's Association (BCWA) and MESSAGE (Anglophone mothers support group) had their own suburban 'cells'. Mothers with school -age children were particularly likely to congregate together, the school gate, bus stop, children's organisations such as the Scouts and Guides, luncheons, coffee mornings and hobby groups were all important gendered social fields. As the husband of a non-working suburban mother told me:

"...the women go here, there and everywhere, and they go together as a group. It tends to be the suburbs rather than the city dwellers, the city dwellers tend to be caught up in the city. But the groups in the suburbs actually range far and wide, one of their classes is held way out. It's very social and it will be a whole day, and they'll have lunch, it's not just learning the art of paper- making for example, although that's great to know, it's more than that". (Rupert, type 2)

The quotation also makes clear that groups of socially similar non-working British mothers come together from across the western suburbs, not just from the immediate local area. These gendered suburban networks are, therefore, only loosely tied to neighbourhood and concur with the heterolocal model of community outlined in Section 2.5.

6.3.3 Suburban division – the generation gap

In addition to gendered forms of suburban sociability, length of stay in Ile-de-France, and related life-stage and generational differences seemed to influence communal involvement. A significant proportion of career-path circulators eventually settle permanently in France, outstaying the standard 2-5 year sojourn period. In addition to this *in-situ* permanence, many expatriates who had previously lived and worked in Paris move upon retirement, with

some choosing to remain close to the city, but within more pleasant suburban surroundings. These two groups constitute the type 1 expatriates, and as empty-nest 'lifers' (see Chapter 5), their familial/permanent status ensures that the social fields they operate within are different from the younger, transient, school-age families (type 2).

This age/generation/family divide was experienced directly by Jane (type 1), who had lived in Paris at two different stages in her life, crossing from transient to empty-nest 'lifer':

"When I first came to France, it was a company move, I registered the children with the British school and they automatically gave my name to somebody in the area who phoned within a few days to see if we were ok and if we needed anything. It was the easiest move I've made in my life because there was that support system in place...It was very different when I came back this time, because my children had grown up, I couldn't go to the bus stop and meet other Brits who were in a similar situation to myself and I didn't want to get involved with the school again. But because I'd lived here before I knew about the BCWA and got involved with the community that way"

Longer term residents witnessed friends come and go, and enduring links gradually developed between those who remained. The church was a particularly important communal node in this respect. As Francis (type 1), a long-term Le Vésinet resident told me:

"I still go to St Mark's but we have a lot of friends at Holy Trinity (Maisons-Laffitte), which is where my natural church should be geographically - and a lot of them used to be in St Michael's but have moved and now go to Maisons-Laffitte, or Versailles (St Mark's). We have a lot of friends in those churches, in fact probably more than we do in St Michael's where the congregation seems to change all the time. And then we know other people who have nothing to do with those churches...there is a bit of a British community on the western side, well established, and most will probably stay there for the rest of their lives now. We certainly do see quite a bit of each other, yes".

There was a significant degree of suburban sociability amongst established British expatriates, just as there was amongst the transient professional cohort. However, in failing to mention the latter group, Francis underlines an important internal divide within the suburban community.

Gender, generation, life-stage, and permanence combine to ensure that different communal 'bubbles' cater for different types of British expatriate. Space clearly does unite, but it does not obfuscate systematic social divisions, divisions that would be equally prominent in the UK. Furthermore, the networks involved are rarely tied to a particular neighbourhood or *commune*, and usually extend instead across broader swathes of suburban Ile-de-France.

6.3.4 The international suburb

This loose association between residential propinquity and community reflected itself in the attachments respondents harboured towards their own immediate neighbourhood. Most in

the suburbs accepted that "little enclaves of Englishness certainly exist" (Deborah, type 5), but no-one could actually pinpoint any distinct neighbourhoods. Nonetheless, this did not mean that the high-status suburbs were seen as French. In fact most felt that the communes in which they lived were international, or at very least European. Whether or not this perception was a function of the narrowness of the lifeworlds of suburban respondents, rather than numerical reality, is immaterial[113]. The important point is that expatriates believed *la banlieue ouest* to be home to large numbers of 'elite' immigrants, with an international sense of place the pervasive sentiment.

An interviewee in the 'Living in France' magazine, for example, noted how la-Celle-St-Cloud was multinational: "...people are extremely open-minded and friendly, and they're used to foreigners...I have a British girlfriend two houses down, an Irish friend next door and there is an American woman across the way" (Living in France 1998, p. 61). Similarly, Nick (type 2) felt this to be true of his own district of Marly-le-Roi:

"This is quite an international area around here. You've got a few of the defence people over the back there, there's some Americans over one side, a couple of English families over there, there's a Dutch one back there as well, and there's us here English. I think that it's quite a big area where the international people do come to, out of Paris a lot of them do seem to live around here. And nobody's actually here very long, you wouldn't pick an area that you know is full of foreign nationals like this if you want to be sort of accepted into the community and get your sort of spirit in the road and your team in the road where you do meet and do things together. This is not the type of area for that".

Croissy-sur-Seine was another "very, very international area" where "you hardly go a day without seeing one or two people in or around the village who is a foreign national" (Rupert, type 2). Clearly, therefore, certain suburbs to the west of Paris have a transnational socio-professional appeal and this appeal reflects itself through British resident's sense of place (see also: Wagner, 1998).

Underlining this point, a source at the British school told me how rapid growth during the 1990s was underpinned by a conscious attempt to embrace other high-status migrants, whose presence in the west was growing. As a consequence, a number of interviewees viewed the British section at the *lycée* in St-Germain as even more British in flavour than the British school[114]!

This sense of belonging to an international neighbourhood was also articulated by Jane (type 1), who used her local conversation as an exemplar:

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[113] Although note that the pattern of British settlement is very much similar to that of analogous professional immigrant groups (see Section 4.2).
[114] A point made by a number of expatriates independently, and confirmed in conversation with a senior teacher in the British section in St-Germain.

"I went to a place in Le Vésinet for French lessons when I first came over, and that got me to meet European people, because you've got people from every country that live in Le Vésinet going there for French lessons. But because nobody speaks good French, once you come out of the class you use English as the common language. I actually refer to this area as a European ghetto, a very upmarket ghetto. And even my immediate neighbours, although they're French, they both speak perfect English because they've both lived in America".

Interestingly, as well as attracting large numbers of new international arrivals, Jane's neighbourhood is also "home to a professional French population" as well, indicative of its transnational class-based appeal.

In summary, expatriate networks are only loosely bound to locality, and this is not enough to underpin any real sense of British neighbourhood belonging. Instead, type 1 and type 2 expatriates live within 'international' areas that are home to a transient professional elite, some of whom will eventually settle permanently. The location of scholastic infrastructure is particularly important in underpinning this international feel; the British, American and International schools are all located in *la banlieue ouest* and are key to the production/reproduction of socio-geographic cohesiveness amongst the British and analogous immigrant groups.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to address the related issues of British residential settlement and neighbourhood-based communality. In terms of the former, the socio-economic, family, and immigrant/transient status of a key group of British expatriates ensures residential concentration in *la banlieue ouest*. Close to good transport links, specialist schooling, and located within a safe and environmentally attractive area, high quality, low-density housing is favoured. Often these properties are rented due to the temporary nature of the stay, although owner-occupation is also common, indicative of the sizeable permanent British population in Ile-de-France (see Sections 4.3.5-6). Channelling via property agents, employers, friends and expatriate media serves to reinforce the suburban skew. Crucially, though, this skew only involves a particular social segment of the British community (type 1 and 2).

Looking at the link between socio-geographic cohesion and neighbourhood community, two points are worth reiterating. Firstly, suburban community networks do exist, centring in particular around the British School, as well as the activities of trailing-spouse and retired expatriates. Nonetheless, these networks are rarely confined to local areas, and as a result no British residential or social enclave is evident in Ile-de-France.

Space acts, instead, as a loose container for expatriate social relations, underlining the saliency of the heterolocal model of community (see Section 2.5). Secondly, the appeal of *la banlieue ouest* is a transnational one, and extends to groups other than the British (see Section 4.2). High-status *communes* like Croissy, Marly-le-Roi, and la-Celle-St-Cloud are internationally flavoured, and British expatriates within them feel that they are part of a transnational residential community. Whether or not this transnational sense of place translates into international interaction and identification amongst professional immigrants is, however, another question entirely (see Figure 6.5).
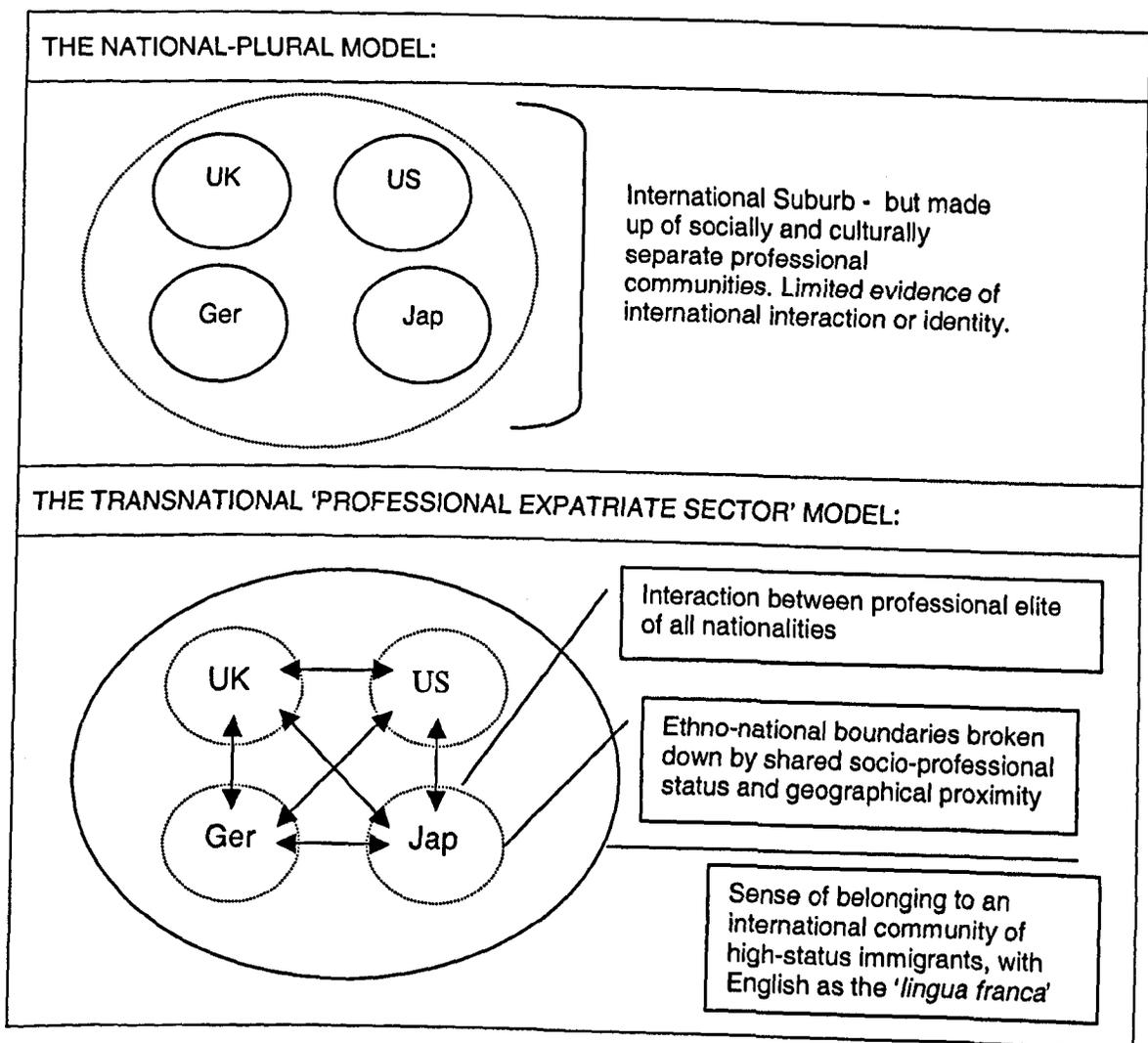
Figure 6.5: International integration and identification amongst the professional suburban elite in Ile-de-France – two potential models

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CHAPTER 7. British Community Nodes and Networks

"There is some corner of a foreign field that is forever England". (Rupert Brooke, 1914)

7.1 Introduction

Through reference to the British suburban presence in Ile-de-France, the preceding chapter underlined the importance of space in loosely binding expatriate interaction. Social relations will always be geographically constrained, but for the British at least, they did not primarily depend upon the cohesive qualities of neighbourhood. The heterolocal framework adopted in this chapter acknowledges this 'community as liberated' phenomenon (see Section 2.5). Locality is seen merely as one dimension in a wider community framework, a framework that is based principally upon organisational attachment and informal social ties (see Figure 7.1).

The six-pronged typology developed in Chapter 5 is a crucial adjunct to this framework, and will be referred to throughout in order to illuminate the social divisions underpinning different forms of communal behaviour. Most notably, some respondents will be shown to be heavily reliant upon British activity space, whilst others will have largely integrated/assimilated into the French socio-cultural milieu. Inherent in this is the tension between heterolocalism as a general feature of international migration and shared ethno-national identity, and heterolocalism as a fragmented expression of social diversity.

In order to examine this tension – the general as well as the socially-specific underpinnings of heterolocal behaviour – the chapter is divided into five main sections. Firstly, barriers to expatriate integration are highlighted, as these were used by respondents to account for their in-group insularity. There was, however, substantial variability in terms of the impact that these barriers had and the levels of British conviviality that ensued. The second section will, therefore, explore these differences. It will identify the 'extremes' of community, with trailing migrants shown to be the most socially separate expatriate group and mixed relationship movers the most integrated/assimilated.

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MODEL 1: COMMUNITY AND PROPINQUITY:

City-based residential cluster (A)

Commercial street-based cluster

Organisational cluster

Suburban residential cluster (B)

City Limits
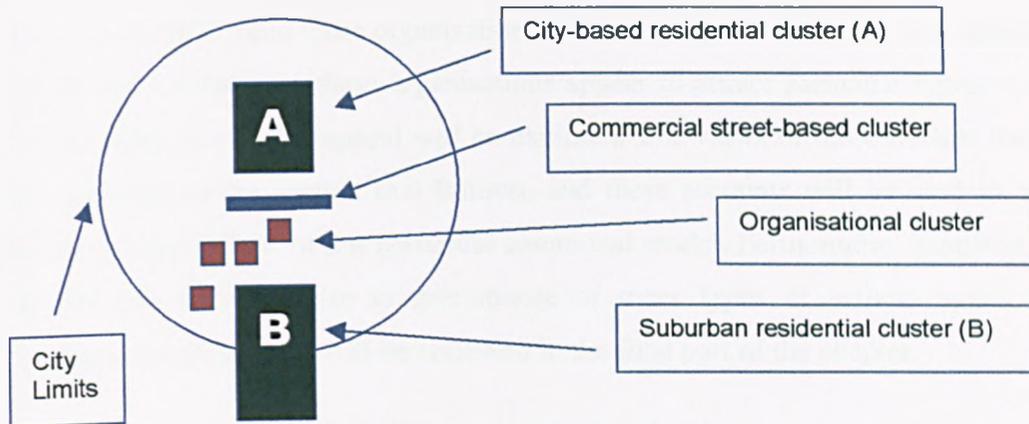
MODEL 2: COMMUNITY WITHOUT PROPINQUITY:

= Individual expatriate

= Formal organisation

= Overall British community

.... = Inter-personal links

HETEROLOCALISM:
- Involves formal organisations and informal networks
- With space as a loose container for social relations
- Internal community nuances will also be evident, particularly in relation to gender, generation, life-stage and socio-professional status

Links with the native French population, as well as analogous immigrant groups

Figure 7.1: Heterolocalism – community beyond the immigrant neighbourhood

The focus of the chapter will then narrow to look in depth at the British Community Committee (BCC) and those organisations affiliated to it. Representing the 'official core' of the British community, these organisations appear to attract particular types of expatriate, and the specifics of this appeal will be explored. The views of those outside the BCC will be examined in the section that follows, and these accounts will be used to explore the contemporary decline of this particular communal model. Furthermore, paralleling the BCC decline has been the rise to prominence of other types of activity space, and these Anglophone alternatives will be reviewed in the final part of the chapter.

7.1.1 Frequency of British events/activities

Before analysing these five areas of British socio-cultural distinction, it is important that one recognises the more general complexities associated with heterolocal analysis. There is, for instance, the issue of frequency; how common are organisational events and activities, and how often do expatriates come together outside of these formal nodes? Moreover, do these temporal differences reveal any variations in the qualitative nature of the interaction?

Useful in this respect is the divide between 'one-off' and 'everyday' forms of heterolocalism. In terms of the former, there were certain times/places when the British were relatively united, with an otherwise disparate community being drawn together temporarily for a common cause or purpose. These cohesive moments generally involved some kind of nationalism/patriotism, centred around a very definite identity 'hanger' onto which otherwise amorphous attachments to place could be visibly 'hung'.

Duncan (type 3), for instance, cited the death of Lady Diana as one such instantiation. He "queued along with many other expatriates" to sign the condolence book. Similarly, war was another national tragedy that seemed to awaken the collective consciousness of the British. Victory in Europe and Remembrance Day were key dates in this respect, with respondents also proud to wear the famously-British Haig Poppy and unite in remembering the dead:

"I'm not really a feel British type person but, on the November 11th at Notre Dame, oooh a lump in your throat! Because it's a very British day, because Notre Dame it's always special, and because the Catholic church allow the Church of England to take over Notre Dame for the afternoon and it is a very, very moving service...And it's there when I really feel British, they fly someone in to play the last post, and of course you've always got people from the second world-war, old soldiers, it is just a very, very moving occasion". (Jane, type 1)

This said, even at such nationally important events certain groups seemed to dominate, with expatriate types 1, 2 and 3 particularly prominent. As one of the participants jokingly

remarked: "if you walk around outside Nôtre Dame before the service you can see the British, it's amazing how easy we are to spot".

National sporting events represent another type of patriotic instantiation. Watching rugby union and football matches in the British pubs of Paris, these seemed to act as cultural anchors for large numbers of British residents, just as they would do in the UK. Sport (and alcohol) enabled the assertion, in a public social context, of a cultural identity that would otherwise have remained latent, with expatriate types 3 and 4 particularly prone to this type of patriotic exuberance. Other one-off celebrations were based upon the cultural heritage of the British. At Christmas, Burns night, and on Saint day's (see, for example, Figure 7.2) expatriates united more than usual, drawn together by this shared heritage. Furthermore, whilst social divisions certainly remained, they were often less pronounced than in everyday communal settings.

Along with these patriotic moments of Britishness, the community also became relatively united when politicised. For example, during fieldwork there was a threat to the continued transmission of BBC Radio 4 on long-wave, and the closure of Marks and Spencer's continental stores was announced[115]. Both events evoked an impassioned response from often quite diverse sections of the community.

In terms of Radio 4, threats in the 1990s had resulted in the establishment of a pressure group, a petition had been organised, and the issue even received coverage on a Paris-based edition of 'Any Questions?' aired on BBC Radio 4. There was renewed talk of this kind of response at the 2001 BCC AGM when the issue re-emerged, but following discussions with the British Consulate the threat was found to be unsubstantiated. I, nonetheless, received a number of emails from informants on the issue:

"I heard yesterday that the BBC are closing down the Droitwich transmitter as from this coming Sunday. This means we won't be able to get Radio 4...Should have a big impact on our daily lives!". (email, March 2001)

Similarly, the closure of Marks and Spencer within the same week as the Radio 4 threat caused consternation. Another informant emailed me almost immediately the news was announced:

"I thought about you yesterday when I heard the terrible (!) news about the closing of the M&S shops in France. Have you felt the panic within the British 'community'? I have just been talking about it to two of my (British) colleagues and we are intrigued by the lack of awareness on the part of the directors as to what the

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[115] This 'restructuring' involved the closure of 38 European stores, 18 of which were in France. In the process 3,350 jobs were lost, 1,700 in France. As a response to the news, sales across France were up by about 100% on the previous year, with the flagship store in central Paris (on Boulevard Haussmann) opening a 'book of condolences' for French and expatriate customers to write their farewells.

thousands of faithful customers want from the stores, we think that some mobilisation is called for". (email, March 2001)

Interestingly, this email came from a type 6 expatriate. Her two colleagues were also married to French men, and whilst well- integrated/assimilated it is clear that all three valued their occasional foray for 'treats' at Marks and Spencer (see also Section 7.3.2).

An additional historic example of this kind of community mobilisation was provided by Angela (type 1). She told me how "the community (had) rallied together" and "campaigned vigorously" for expatriate voting rights, something she believed had led eventually to the implementation of the twenty-year rule[116]. This and the other political 'flash-points', like their patriotic equivalents, offered valuable insight into the British community. However, they were limited in frequency and so the majority of examples used in this chapter are drawn from the 'everyday' as opposed to the 'one-off' realm of heterolocal behaviour.

Everyday forms of heterolocalism involve the relatively 'mundane' activities and events of British organisations (see Section 4.4), as well as less formal in-group networking. Involvement may be daily, weekly, monthly, seasonal or annual and is likely to reflect social divisions more starkly than the one-off instantiations discussed above. Table 7.1 summarises the key differences between these two types of 'performance'.

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[116] In 1985 the 'five-year' rule was passed, giving expatriates the right to vote in British national elections up to five years after they leave the UK. In 1988 this was amended to twenty years, and at the time of writing legislation is being considered that will reduce the voting right to a period of between 10-15 years.

HÔTEL
BALZAC
PARIS

The Executive Forum
of the
Franco-British Chamber of Commerce & Industry

in association with the junior members
of the
Franco-Irish Chamber of Commerce & Industry

are delighted to invite you to a

Mince Pies

&

Christmas Carols Party

Thursday 20th December 2001
At 7pm
At the Hotel Balzac
6, Rue Balzac
75008 Paris
Metro: CDG Etoile or George V

Figure 7.2: Christmas celebrations with the Franco-British Chamber of Commerce

Table 7.1: 'One-off' and 'everyday' communal behaviour.

Type/Frequency		Examples
ONE-OFF INSTANTIATION	Patriotic	- Collective tragedy and remembrance - National sporting event - Cultural celebration
	Political	- Threat to Radio 4 - Closure of Marks and Spencer - Overseas voting campaign
EVERYDAY INTERACTION	Daily/weekly	- Work-based socialising - Meeting at school gate / bus stop - Church service - Sports practice/match - Social 'get-togethers' and hobbies - Conversational exchanges
	Monthly	- Committee meeting - Formal dinner - Organised event/visit - Literary readings and plays
	Seasonal/annually	- Annual general meeting - Fairs and book sales - BBQ's

7.1.2 Intensity of involvement

Along with the issue of frequency, one should also be aware of the different levels of intensity with respect to British interaction and community involvement. People may well be affiliated to a particular club, society or association, but will not participate to the same extent or degree. Some respondents, for example, were extremely active within the community, whilst others were 'skeleton' members, their participation entirely superficial (see Figure 7.3).

Francis, for instance, was a community leader and figurehead, active in a number of organisations over a great many years (see Table 7.2). There were many like Francis amongst the web of BCC affiliates, particularly those who had retired or were not working. Familiar faces appeared, regardless of the event or organisation, and this ensured casual acquaintance-style interaction (see also Section 7.4.2).

At the recording of BBC Radio 4's Gardener's Question Time (see Box 6.1), for instance, I was struck by the number of people who spotted and sought out expatriates they recognised from previous encounters at other British events/organisations. Similarly, the Champagne reception that followed the BCC AGM allowed friendships made at past British gatherings to be renewed. In fact this seemed to be one of the principal reasons underpinning people's attendance; through extensive networking, village-like social relations were being reconstructed (see Tönnies, 1957), providing the communal leader/figurehead in particular, with a sense of purpose and belonging[117].

Like Francis, the majority of these activists were empty-nest 'lifers', with their length of stay in Ile-de-France and retired status critical factors in underpinning participation. Gender was also decisive, with the trailing status and lack of paid employment shaping the long term communal commitment of female expatriates like Angela (type 1:

"When I came here twenty five years ago I joined the BCWA, it was the first thing that I joined, and the Scots Kirk, we used to go there. So we had a lot of British social contacts, and then someone asked me to go on the committee of the BCWA which I did, and then I became chairman of the BCWA about 16 years ago, and then after that I went back to work. Then when I retired 5 years ago I came back to doing things with the BCWA, and became an elected member and secretary of the BCC, and then became vice-chairman, and this year I'm chairman. I've also been on the Cardew Club committee, I've been on the Caledonian Association committee, I've worked with WICE, I've been on the ELLB (English Language Library for the Blind) committee, you know I've been busy really".

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[117] Paradoxically, many of the leader/figureheads had become so active because of their choice to commit to France permanently. They were unlikely ever to return to the UK, and a vigorous communal life was key in securing this permanence; it allowed them to achieve a healthy balance between the home and host facets of their identity.

Migratory motives and socio-professional status were key to Angela's organisational involvement. The same, however, would be true in the UK, with non-working partners and retirees taking the communal helm - it is a socially rather than an immigrant specific phenomenon.

Whether or not the supply of community leaders and figureheads will continue indefinitely is an interesting issue. Like Joly (1987) I found that "the burden of management often falls on the same shoulders" (p. 68) and this raises questions around the sustainability of BCC-based organisations, particularly as many of the activists were not in their first 'flush of youth'. Francis, for example, noted the "increasing problems faced by British organisations in getting people to do something, to take on an active role", whilst Angela suggested that "there are now fewer people who are willing to give up their time for the community". Both linked this to a generational shift, with a decline in those harbouring the type of post-war communal ethic upon which the BCC was founded.

Table 7.2: Francis: An example of a community leader and figurehead.

• Director and past chairman of the Franco British Chamber of Commerce
• Member, councillor and past warden at St Michael's Church
• Member, councillor and past chairman of the Royal British Legion
• Member and past president of the British Luncheon (1916)
• Member of the council of The Victoria Home
• Member and past chairman of the management committee of the Hertford British Hospital
• Member of the council of the Royal Society of St George
• Past Grand Lodge Officer of the Freemasons, and past master of the Britannic Lodge in Paris

Community leaders and figureheads

Core members – active and frequent involvement

Peripheral members – part-time, occasional involvement

Non-members – attend on a sporadic basis only
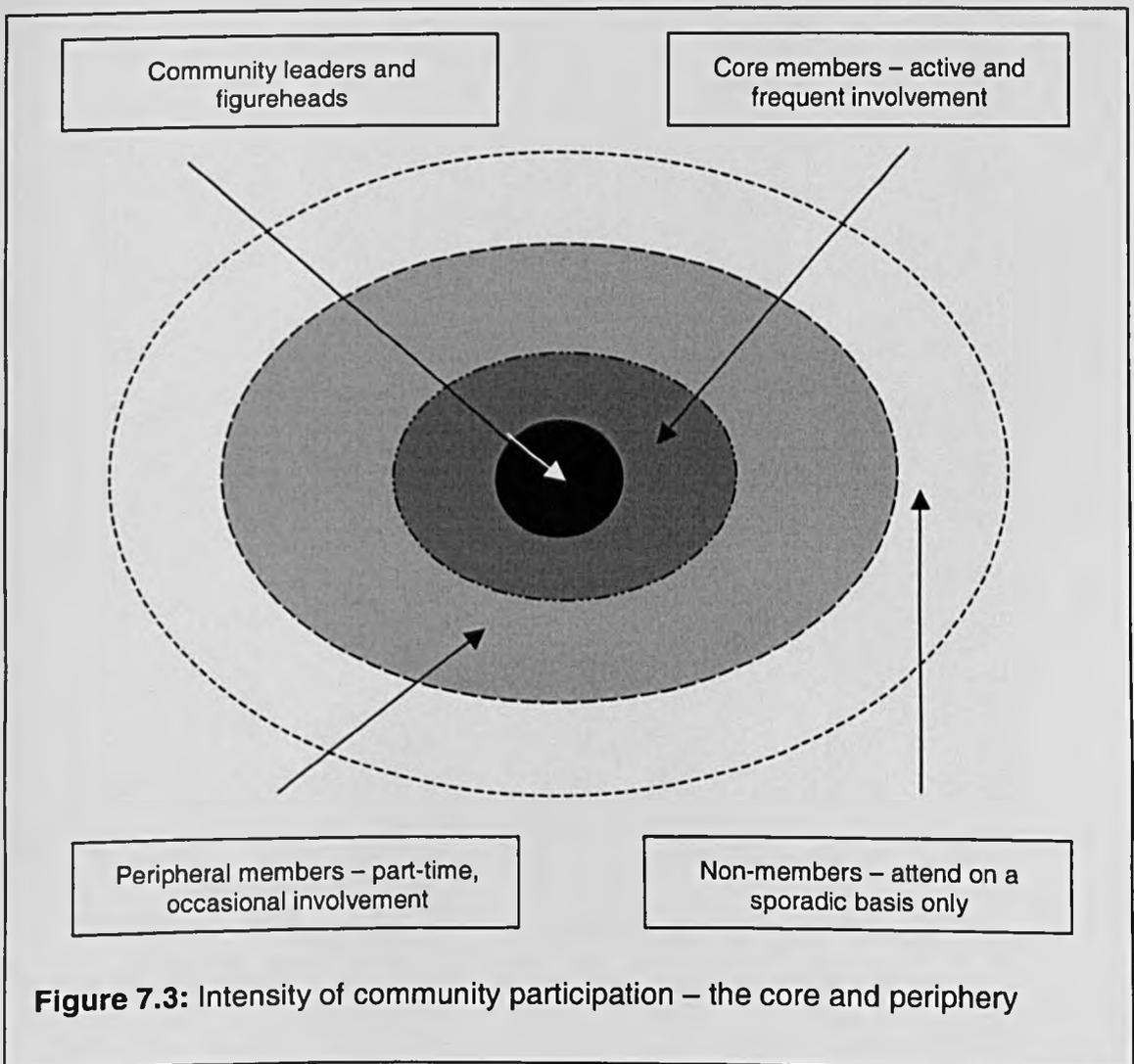
Figure 7.3: Intensity of community participation – the core and periphery

In addition to the community leaders and active members, Figure 7.3 also highlights those for whom peripheral involvement is the norm. Harold (type 1), for instance, retained his SAC membership "for sentimental reasons more than anything else", in order to honour the role played by his parents in re-establishing the club. Similarly, Hannah (type 3) was a member of both The Paris Welsh Society and Message but admitted: "I can't say I've really got that involved in either group, in fact they don't really take up any of my time!". As Putman (2000, p. 183) observes of western civil society more generally, "we maintain a façade of formal affiliation, but we rarely show up".

It is important, therefore, to recognise that paper membership has no inevitable connection to practical participation. Just because half of respondents were recruited from within expatriate organisations, does not mean that they were deeply embedded within British communal nodes and networks. This core-periphery issue is a general one and extends to interaction outside the formal organisation. In the British pubs, the comedy club, at poetry nights and in philosophy groups there were both regulars and occasional guests. As in the UK, some felt "part of the scene" (Gary, type 5), other less so.

7.2 Perceived barriers to integration

Migration is a key life-stage event and the social upheaval that results can lead to significant levels of isolation. Furthermore, the move from newcomer to 'native' can be arduous, taking years, if not generations. This section looks at the barriers associated with this transition, as these were used by respondents to partially explain their embeddedness within British activity-space. Having encountered difficulties in integrating/assimilating, the expatriate 'bubble' appealed as a relatively accessible and socio-culturally familiar alternative. It is this issue of access to French/Parisian social and cultural life that I now want to explore.

It is worth interjecting at this point with an extremely important caveat; many of the expatriates who expressed difficulties with regard to accessing French society managed to overcome these difficulties over the longer term. Two particular factors were critical in this respect, and ensured that the 'lifer' groups were far more integrated/assimilated than their 'fresh-faced' counterparts. Firstly, there was education, with choice of school fundamentally important in incorporating British parents and their children into French society. As Mary (type 1) demonstrates:

"things did start to improve for me when our children started going to French schools. If you were surrounded by a group of small faces for birthday parties looking at you as though you'd just stepped off the moon you got on with learning French because you were up against it! And since then things have been more or less alright. We've had the odd hitch over reactions of the French, which are often very different to the automatic reactions of people from the UK - I think it's people's instinctive reactions that are very different, but apart from that we've been fine".

Similarly, the workplace context also opened up French society. Francis (type 1), for example, confessed to having "met most of (his) French contacts at work", although he did find this to be "a long drawn out process"[118].

7.2.1 Cultural barriers: Parisian friendship, workplace, and neighbourhood networks

Interviewing Peter (type 4), a skilled linguist/researcher at a French university, I expected him to have significant social ties with the French. However, whilst he got "on fine with them in a working context", outside of this he admitted "I'm not friendly enough with them to go out for a few beers or anything like that...people are just very caught up in their own little worlds here". This problem of accessing like-minded Parisians outside of work was also encountered by Michael (type 4), another language graduate:

"My friends outside work are 98% English: I would have liked to have known more French people but it has been really difficult to meet them, and there's like such a big, like a close knit English community here...It's all people who have come over, not been able to meet any French people, and have either been into an English bar or known another English person here and then made a network of friends from there".

Evidently, most of the French are embedded in their own established social networks, their own 'little worlds', and these are often difficult to access. Moreover, they tend to be extremely longstanding, stemming from connections made during childhood and university. As Sarah (type 3) discovered:

"There is certainly a sense that the French make strong friends at school and at university, and they don't necessarily feel the need to develop these once they are in place. Friends that they see all the time are from school or university and that's it, which I think is a bit different from England where there's more a sense of carrying on and meeting new people throughout your life".

Such entrenchment inevitably limits the extent to which even skilled linguists, like Peter and Michael, can expand socially beyond the British community in the short to medium term.

Even lifers emphasized this newcomer/native divide, and were cognisant of the difficulties faced in making friends with the French. At the same time, however, they were aware of the rich rewards in breaking down this barrier:

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[118] Obviously, because of gender roles and the socially structured migratory channels that result, educational space was more important to British women, whilst the work environment tended to act as a fillip for the integration of British men.

"Paris is not a warm friendly place with lots of happy neighbours who are willing to meet you and greet you and take you into their family homes. It takes a long time to get familiar with your neighbours, or to make friends with the French, it's certainly much easier to make friends with other Brits or Americans, English speakers...Getting to know French people has been a long, slow process, although once I have made friends with French people they're very firm and enduring relationships. Probably more so than with the Americans and British - friendships between Anglo-Saxons types are more immediately made and there's less invested in them in terms of forever-ness - whereas here, French people don't make friends until they're absolutely sure, and then when they do make friends they tend to last longer and be taken quite seriously". (Duncan, type 3)

In addition to a newcomer/native divide, this quotation also suggests that considerable cultural variation (perceived or real) exists in terms of the nature of French and British friendships and social etiquette.

Problems of meeting French people were greatest for those without family to fall back on. Ian (type 4), for instance, worked in a predominantly French environment, and although he got on particularly well with a fellow employee, pleasantries did not extend beyond the office:

"Oh it's mostly British people I go out with. On a social basis that just worked better because after work people would go for a drink, and the French, well it wasn't really what they did. There was this French guy I knew, who after work always had to meet up with his girlfriend, his future wife, and it was a routine that he never once broke. So we got on well in the office, but out of hours I never saw him, and I think that was unfortunate".

Similarly Louise (type 4), another temporary expatriate, discovered that:

"the French are less likely to spend the evenings as we British people would, and I think on the whole they drink less and tend not to be so extravagant...They just don't do the social thing so much (pause) people at work who are French well there's no big groups that go out together, whereas with British people there is. On the whole it's just English people because the French tend to go home after work, even the young people who are our age a lot of them have boyfriends who they live with and their families are here in Paris, or they go home to their families at weekends who are two hours / three hours away. So they don't need it so much, it's not so much a life or death situation for them in terms of making friends, they tend to have friends already".

This divide between work and social life also bewildered many young professionals. Greg (type 3), for example, circulated in 'elite' international circles: "almost everybody I know here I've met them through work, and this is the case for the majority of international civil servants". This he attributed to: "the fairly rigid divide between the workplace and home and the workplace and social life in France", which meant that: "people don't tend to socialise so much with their colleagues as is the case in England". In fact Greg later revealed: "most of my colleagues are concerned with the limited social scope of their networks".

Such segmentation, particularly significant for transient professionals (type 3) and newly arrived lifestyle expatriates (type 4), ensured that British / immigrant sociability

remained widespread[119]. For Greg this translated into an international-French divide related to the professional environment in which he worked, whereas for Louise and Ian the dichotomy was a Franco-British one. Either way, a link between cultural norms and sociability was discernible[120], with its effect disproportionately influencing those for whom work was the main social gateway.

As a corollary to the work-social divide, many expatriates also observed similar segmentation at the neighbourhood level. Most notably, suburban families tended to feel ignored by their longer- standing Parisian neighbours and had to look towards the expatriate community as a result:

"The French community is fairly closed, it's the way they are, it's their cultural approach, home is for the family, and it's not often that you can pop your head over the fence and engage in what I call the 'borrow a bowl of sugar' syndrome. You don't often do that, I mean we've been in this house for seven years and we're only beginning to get to know our neighbours...If you moved into a suburb of say south London you would go around to your neighbour, in fact it would be the other way around they may come and introduce themselves first. Here that just doesn't happen, and it's only where you've got more mobile families that there tends to be more of an interchange. Everything stops at the front gate as far as the French exchange is concerned, there are a different set of norms in France, and you have to have been here a long time. But again the spin off from that is that there's almost an invisible neighbourhood; your neighbours become the other ex-pats and foreign nationals, it's kind of like living in a big village where there are a lot of sort of (pause) you see on these computer programmes where you can grey out certain areas and you can leave others coloured, well it's almost like that. The French could almost be invisible as part of the community, and equally I think the ex-pat community is invisible to the French, and so life goes on like this". (Rupert, type 2)

Residential proximity did not always translate into Franco-British sociability, with neighbourliness often dependent upon the presence of other immigrant families (see Chapter 6).

In summary then, Parisian social networks were seen by many as enduring and difficult to penetrate. Even those married to the French felt that "the French are not as instantly friendly as the Brits" (Rebecca, type 6), and appreciated that "it's not easy to make friends...True, typical, real French people, are just difficult to meet" (Charlotte, type 6). Relatively recent arrivals, without family to fall back on, tended to socialise with other Anglophones rather than their French colleagues. Similarly, suburban families with a temporary commitment to Ile-de-France had little contact with French neighbours as the socio-cultural barriers were perceived to be too great. These groups saw friendship,

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[119] The most obviously British professional work-social environment is the embassy; it has its own football team, organises large numbers of social events for which there is usually an expatriate guest list, and houses its own bar.

[120] An important underlying influence in this segmentation may be the continued prominence of the family unit as the main setting for social life in Paris - unlike in the UK, France's Catholic heritage has ensured that the family has retained a pivotal place in the country's social fabric.

workplace, and neighbourhood cultures as closed and turned towards expatriate activity space to avoid social isolation[121].

7.2.2 Practical barriers: language and familiarity

Language barriers represent perhaps the most significant practical 'check' on the integration/assimilation of first-generation migrants. Unable to converse with ease in French, expatriates are forced to seek out the company of fellow Anglophones. As Alexander (type 5), a regular at St George's church disclosed:

"Language is a major consideration for some in the congregation, because obviously if you don't speak French very well then it's quite a struggle, it requires more effort. You see there are people here at St Georges who don't have widespread abilities in French, their French is rudimentary rather than none existent but they speak English most of the time and the church is vital to them".

This linguistic issue is a particularly salient one for new arrivals, as the ability to speak French is likely to improve over time. Having said this, Alexander also admitted that "there are people who have been here for years and are pretty much monolingual!". The security to be found in the Anglophone organisation/network and the sheer number of English speakers in Ile-de-France does not help in this respect:

"The large expatriate population takes pressure off you to learn French. My son's school does run a conversation group for the French and English parents, we mostly socialise with other English people, though". (Living in France 1998, p. 62)

Some, therefore, live in Paris for years without even getting close to becoming fluent, making it impossible to integrate/assimilate.

Language ability was very much socially specific, with competence only really an issue for trailing-spouse and some career-path professionals (types 1, 2 and 3). Moreover, it was the 'circulators' as oppose to 'lifers' who tended to struggle most, related to the return orientation and professional / temporal priorities of this cohort:

"For many professionals, moving to Paris is an inconvenience they could do without. They put on a brave front and just do it for their career, and they get into this network with the rest of the ex-pat community, and as a result there's no rampant desire to integrate into the French community at all. I can only conclude that it's a question of time, I mean what's the point in learning to speak another language when you're only here for so long?". (Rupert, type 2)

For some type 2 and 3 expatriates, linguistic fluency was not a main objective of their stay, unless it was required for work purposes. The main goal was to learn enough French to get by, with British/Anglophone nodes and networks forming the basis of communal life. This

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[121] Whether or not these barriers are specific to Paris, or are evident throughout France / elsewhere in the world, is a question for future comparative research. It is worth noting, however, that first-generation immigrants everywhere face problems integrating/assimilating and that expatriate reliance on organisational nodes and in-group social networks is normal. The unsettling effect of mobility on everyday interaction and social life is a generic one, not just confined to the British in Ile-de-France.

can lead to a vicious circle developing, whereby a 'home from home' cultural-linguistic environment forms from which there is little incentive to escape. Some individuals become dependent upon and deeply embedded within Anglophone social fields as a result, even if their move gradually becomes permanent.

Finally, it is worth noting that even skilled linguists valued the familiarity of occasional English-speaking events. Anglophone networks were not just bastions for those without the linguistic capital necessary to integrate into the host society, they also functioned as comfort zones for those fluent in French. Mother-tongue social exchanges, however infrequent, were valued for their familiarity and the sense of relaxation that ensued. Wendy (type 6), for instance, held her "occasional" English-language exchange in high regard:

"For a long time it didn't bother me at all and I didn't realise that anything was missing if I went for six months or a year without speaking a word of English. But now I like it, switching between languages, and in a few weeks I'm going to the States for the first time, to a big conference, and I know I'm going to love having people coming up and chatting in English and I can't wait. I went to one four years ago and I thoroughly enjoyed it, it's just different, it feels different speaking in English".

Even fluent French speakers valued the familiarity of Anglophone activity space. They were not forced to remain within an English linguistic milieu but nonetheless enjoyed the occasional mother-tongue interaction.

7.2.3 An Anglophone community?

The language issue raises an important additional question, related to the potential for transnational Anglophone communities in Ile-de-France, rather than one's based upon ethno-national identity. In Chapter 6, for example, the international suburb was identified and the possibility of international neighbourliness discussed (see Figure 6.6). Similarly, Section 4.3.4 has shown how important the transnational workplaces is for the British, and one cannot discount the phenomenon of international conviviality as the quotation from Greg in this chapter makes clear (see Section 7.2.1).

The role of English as a global language is clearly critical in this respect, and to some extent any specifically British distinction is being undermined by this role. Jane (type 1), for instance, noted how friends made from work "come from Belgium, Sweden, America, it's just a mix" and that "everyone uses English as the common language". Furthermore, because of the fact that English is the language of the global economy, this Anglophone dimension was particularly important for career-path professionals (type 3). Returning to the example of Greg (type 3), as a consultant at the OECD he found it

"enriching working in a multi-lateral agency" and had as a result "a very cosmopolitan group of friends and colleagues".

English-language networks were also important for lifestyle expatriates. As Rosalyn (type 5) explained: "you don't really notice whether someone's American or Irish because they speak your language and that's what matters" (see Section 7.6). Thus, British heterolocalism was not just about a narrow form of mono-national communality, it also stemmed from broader linguistic (Anglophone-French) and immigrant (insider-outsider) divides.

Having said this, relatively few respondents moved within entirely international milieux or harboured a truly transient international identity (see Section 8.3). On an everyday level ethno-national status still guided British social interaction, and respondents continued to emphasize differences between themselves and other Anglophones. The perceived divide between the American and British community in Paris was most illuminating in this respect. Deborah (type 5), for instance, having been actively involved in social events at the American Cathedral, was driven away by the insularity and patriotism she encountered:

"At the time I went to the American Cathedral they had a Dean who was a super human being, and he welcomed everybody and there was a good social mix and everybody felt included. Then the regime changed, and now it's little America, not just American people but people with an American viewpoint, whereas before that just wasn't important".

From a slightly different angle Alexander (type 5), a freelance journalist in Paris, noted that "The Paris Metro (a failed expatriate magazine) was unpopular because the only references were American...British readers got turned off and people just abandoned it".

Clearly, cultural references in print or at real events can determine the appeal of Anglophone media and immigrant organisations respectively. Language may unite, but it is often not enough to underpin a shared sense of community, with nationhood continuing to matter on an everyday level in Ile-de-France.

7.3 The social extremes of community

The above discussion concentrates upon general barriers to integration/assimilation. These barriers did not, however, have a universal impact upon the British community. In fact, those most reliant upon expatriate activity space tended to be the trailing-spouse (type 1 and 2), whilst mixed-relationship migrants were positioned at the other end of the heterolocal

continuum. These two 'extremes' of community will now be explored, with reasons for this 'extremism' identified.

7.3.1 The trailing-spouse / community nexus

All respondents claimed to have a mix of both French and British social contacts[122]. However the exact balance and importance invested in the two depended upon expatriate type. Most communal of all interviewees were those British females who had trailed their husbands to Ile-de-France. The heterolocal networks that blossomed were wide-ranging; there were organisations catering explicitly for women such as BCWA and Message (see Figures 7.4-5), ostensibly mixed organisations where women were dominant such as SOS Help, and a host of informal social ties centred around the immigrant or bi-lingual school and nursery. Furthermore, as Chapter 6 made clear, many of these networks were loosely tied to neighbourhood, correlated to the suburban geography of British settlement in Ile-de-France.

Key to this communal vitality is the trailing-spouse / career-path migratory pathway (see Chapter 5). This gendered form of mobility carries with it a number of important implications in terms of the depth of in-group interaction. Not only is the absence of paid work significant, but the relatively low level of linguistic competence within the cohort is also revealing. Add to this the reality of return to the UK, and a possible lack of enthusiasm surrounding the initial move, and one can see why the expatriate bubble is so appealing. Familial considerations also serve to reinforce these tendencies, with motherhood an extremely cohesive dimension of immigrant identity (see Figure 7.6)

In terms of the loss, or continued absence of professional identity, Sarah's (type 3) experience was revealing:

"I started working as a volunteer with SOS Help when I arrived, and after a while I got more and more involved, on the steering committee and so forth. While the work wasn't progressing, that provided me with a certain sense of satisfaction, there were challenges, you knew you were doing something useful, and the people involved were nice and interesting, and through that I got to know people... I mean it's definitely the case that more women are actively involved than men in many of the organisations. You see it with SOS, it's almost entirely women volunteers, and I think it's largely a function of time available. There are some women involved with SOS who have full time jobs, but very few of them are in the high-level professional positions that demand a lot of time and travel...Previously I'd thought about doing some work for The Samaritans in England, but didn't because I travelled a lot and I was always too busy with work. I just couldn't find the time for it...If I'd come out here with a full-time job I'd like to think that I'd do something, but it would probably be for different motives".

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[122] Although, as highlighted in Chapter 3, question- marks inevitably hang over the integrationist claims of some.

Looking at this work-community nexus from a different perspective, a number of trailers noted how their husband's job meant that they were relied upon to develop social contacts within the expatriate community. Jane (type 1), for instance, told me how "a lot of men retire and want to go home immediately because they only have professional ties here, whereas most women want to stay on because they've developed their own social life". In a similar vein, Sarah (type 3) admitted how "all the people we know socially are through me, and they're mainly women".

Some of these women's networks were definitely 'British' in feel, like the BCWA, whereas others such as SOS Help and Message appealed more generally to Anglophones, with the American contingent particularly strong. Similarly, the make-up of informal mother's networks depended upon the school the children went to; those with children at British schools (Croissy/Bougival and St-Germain) were obviously more likely to embed within all-British circles than those with children at international and bi-lingual schools[123]. Gender, then, is clearly pivotal in underpinning community participation, but this participation need not be mono-national in flavour.

7.3.1.1 The newcomer function

The reasons why trailing spouses behave as they do can be attributed to three broad functions of the female organisation / social network (see also Sections 2.5.3 and 4.4.3). The first, the 'newcomer' function, stems from the potentially harmful 'culture shock' effect that accompanies international relocation[124]. Trailing women, transplanted perhaps involuntarily into an alien environment, without any work-based contacts or professional identity, often depend upon communal 'cushions' in the short to medium term. The social support and solidarity of the female organisation/network negates the feelings of loneliness and isolation that are particularly acute amongst trailing spouse. As Mary (type 1) revealed:

"I had two very small children and so was a bit confined, you couldn't really get up to Paris and I knew nobody, so I was less than enthusiastic about staying on. We hadn't realised there was a British community here, and I had one marvellous remark when I was complaining about this to a group of young British women. One of the older ones there, well she virtually ran the British community, and she looked at me and she said: 'Well Mary if you won't come to church what can you expect!' (laughs) so that put me in my place!...And a lot of the women at that time had been uprooted and put down in France, and they were really miserable and

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123 Interestingly, moves towards internationalisation were even evident at the British school in Croissy/Bougival, where the expansion of the 1990s had rested upon an increasingly diverse pupil intake. Financial concerns within the BCWA, due to declining popularity, were also leading to a gradual acceptance of the need for a wider appeal (see Section 7.5 and Box 7.2).

124 The American Church, for example, runs a series of workshops and forums to support women trailing their husbands. These 'Bloom Where You're Planted' events cater for English-speakers, although there is more of an American feel, given the greater ability of Europeans to take up employment in France.

unhappy. That's why the BCWA was founded, in order to give them a nucleus where they could go and speak their own language, and discover at the same time how French society operated; where to send their children to school, what doctors to go to, and that sort of thing. It was really a saving grace for me".

Her experiences date back to the 1950s and 60s, yet feeling homesick and longing for social contacts are timeless facets of migration. Wendy (type 2), a recent arrival in Ile-de-France, expressed similar sentiments of "feeling alone and paralysed when I got here", with Paris seemingly "a different planet".

7.3.1.2 Everyday well-being

A more pervasive and enduring 'well-being' effect was also evident. British women outside employment, perhaps aware of eventual UK return, and with limited linguistic competence were buoyed by their daily/weekly community involvement. Rupert, for example, was acutely aware of the importance of British interaction in maintaining his wife's sense of everyday belonging. With limited linguistically ability and no formal employment, English-speaking networks were critical for her own, and therefore her families well-being:

"My wife understands French, but really doesn't have the contact, she's so busy with ex-pats on a voluntary basis. She's the commissioner for Guides, so she has a lot of contact with ex-pat families, and whilst she doesn't speak French as fluently as the rest of us she gets by...She doesn't work and that's a big part of the problem. There are a lot of people out here in the suburbs whose wives were working before they came out, and for most of them their husband's move means three to five years without working. And they are intelligent people, all of them, because that's just the socio-demographic group that we move in, they are *ipso facto* intelligent and want to do things...Glenda, well she goes to paper-making classes, she has a craft group and this craft group meets all around the area, and they do things like line-dancing, just those sort of activities. There's all sorts of things going on, you see once the shopping is done, the house has been cleaned, and the administration has been dealt with, then there's time to do things. Some women have jobs, although only a very small proportion". (Rupert, type 2)

Thus, even after the initial 'shock' of migration has passed, communal nodes and social networks remain vital in an everyday sense. They function as long term social platforms as much as short term safety- nets, giving the trailing spouse confidence and ensuring 'well-being'.

Figure 7.4: The BCWA publicity brochure

A CLUB FOR WOMEN WITH BRITISH AND COMMONWEALTH NATIONALITIES

CLUBROOM LUNCHES

Full lunches are served on Tuesdays and Thursdays and snacks are served on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays - all at very moderate prices.

Special coffee mornings for new members.

Coffee is available at all times.

Members volunteer to cater in our pleasant well-equipped kitchen. And, yes, we have a dishwasher!

OPEN EVERY WEEKDAY

One of the signal attractions of **BCWA** is its excellent library of over 3000 English books, most of them hardcover. This is greatly appreciated when you consider the price of English books in France. There is an extensive fiction section, as well as a wide range of history, biography, travel and art books, and books on crafts and cooking. Every month some dozen or so new books are added, and periodically the old ones are culled and made available to members. There is also a collection of paper-back books, which is a boon when weight is an issue. Members can borrow up to four books for as much as three weeks at a time.

Of course many members come in much more frequently to take advantage of the club's central location, to meet friends, or just to take a moment of relaxation - and a cup of coffee - after a strenuous day of shopping. There are current magazines available for browsing through, and nearly always someone to talk to. Add comfortable chairs, a bright friendly atmosphere, flowers around, and what more can anyone ask for?

ACTIVITIES
Bridge ❖ Mah-Jong
Yoga ❖ Art
Crafts ❖ Book Discussions

EXHIBITIONS
Photography ❖ Crafts

TALKS
Wine Appreciation
Antiques
Fashion & Beauty
Tax Assistance
Personal Finances

VISITS
Exhibitions ❖ Places of Interest
In and Out of Paris

SPORTS GROUPS
Golf ❖ Tennis
Swimming ❖ Walking

AT HOMES
Teas ❖ Luncheons
Hosted by members for members

ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER
published every month

MESSAGE Mother Support Group

English Speaking Mothers, come and join us!

We are a group of approximately 900 English speaking mothers and mothers-to-be who live in all parts of Paris as well as the surrounding suburbs. We offer contact, activities, information, help and support to pregnant women, new mothers and families with young children. MESSAGE has 17 areas in and around Paris, each with its own team of organisers, who are all mothers of young children. ALL NATIONALITIES ARE WELCOME.

WHAT DOES MESSAGE DO ?

- **AREA MEETINGS & ACTIVITIES**, coffees, speakers, picnics, children's activities, seasonal parties, lunches, evening events and social activities for parents.
- **BABY, TODDLER & PRE-SCHOOL GROUPS**, with regular meetings and lunches for **MOTHERS-TO-BE**, at which there are often speakers and discussions on matters relating to pregnancy, childbirth and babies.
- **THE WORKING MOTHERS GROUP** enables working mothers to meet, exchange experiences and ideas. There are often speakers at these meetings.

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- **THE QUARTERLY NEWSLETTER** contains information, news, articles, and details of Area meetings and events.
- **"ABCs OF MOTHERHOOD IN PARIS"** (ISBN 2-9505099-1-6) is a book written and published by MESSAGE and is the essential guide to parenting in Paris and the suburbs. The 4th edition will be available from end April.
- **INFORMATION LEAFLETS** in English, on subjects of interest to mothers in the Paris region.

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- **HELP WITH CHOOSING A HOSPITAL, CLINIC, DOCTOR OR SPECIALIST** - Information is available to members concerning the range of facilities and services available, including those in English. **Do you have a worry or concern about yourself or your child, or would you like some information?** We have information on a range of subjects, such as eating and sleeping difficulties, miscarriage, caesarean, infertility, twins, single mothers, adoption and baby or child ailments.
- These are **not** medical services but mother-to-mother support available to members in confidence.

———————————— ◊ ————————————

- **BREASTFEEDING COUNSELLORS** are available to talk with and to help members about breastfeeding in general, and any feeding difficulties or problems in particular.
- **PREPARATION FOR PARENTHOOD CLASSES** are organised in English for MESSAGE members, according to availability of instructors and demand. The classes cover topics relating to late pregnancy, birth and coping with a young baby. There is a charge for this service.

HOW CAN YOU JOIN MESSAGE ?

The MESSAGE annual subscription fee is to 31st December, and includes attendance at meetings, the newsletter, and any help or assistance you may need. Further information is available on our web-site: **http://www.messageparis.org**
Feel free to contact any of the following ladies, *Monday to Friday, 9 am to 4 pm only* . Please understand that we are an entirely volunteer-run organization.

Marilyn Wolff (Earn Suburbs) 01.47.47.03.95   **Pat Zraidi (Western Suburbs) 01.46.72.94.68**
Suzanne Cosquer (Paris) 01.30.21.84.95   **Ami Salk (Paris) 01.45.20.86.22**
Or e-mail us: **messageparis@wfi.fr**

Figure 7.5: The Message publicity brochure

7.3.1.3 The distinction/integration paradox

In addition to these newcomer and well-being functions, it also became clear that immigrant nodes and networks acted as 'bridgeheads' into the Parisian society and culture. Through their embeddedness in British and Anglophone activity-space, expatriates were able to learn about France and in some cases meet and befriend Parisian residents. This contradictory relationship, between British distinction and host country integration/assimilation, ensured that 'trailers' often knew more about Ile-de-France than their partners. Rupert (type 2), for instance, felt 'cosseted' within his immediate work environment and the global culture of the firm:

"The wives of expatriates living out in the suburbs know Paris far better than the husbands because the husbands just do the office/airport/home routine. So in a way by getting together and doing things they learn an awful lot about living in other cultures. Whereas, I mean I've always felt that the working partner is really cosseted because they know people at work, they know the company culture, so when they get here it's not an out of the blue first-time visit. Life is much easier as things continue much the same as in the UK".

True, most communal nodes and networks are not explicitly designed as gateways into Parisian culture and Francophone social circles. Nonetheless, a transnational 'bridging' function certainly exists.

Outside of employment, stuck in the suburbs, often with a limited grasp of French, and with the spectre of mobility never far away, communal participation gave British women the confidence and practical resources necessary to actively make the most of a challenging situation. In the process they familiarised themselves with the host country cultural context, although whether any enduring French contacts were made as a result of this 'bridgehead' function was unclear.

7.3.2 The mixed-relationship / community nexus

In contrast to the trailing-spouse, mixed-relationship migrants (type 6) were largely absent from British activity space, following instead the integrationist/assimilation route. This division is a particularly intriguing one if you consider that the cohort was once again dominated by women: female expatriates were, therefore, in the majority at both 'extremes' of the British community. However, the gender/community nexus was very different for the mixed-relationship contingent, diluting rather than underpinning the need for in-group interaction.

Type 6 respondents, like Charlotte, had little or no contact with Anglophones of any type, and as a result visibly British 'performances' were limited:

"It's only really when I want to see a typically British film like the Full Monty or Four Weddings and a Funeral that I meet up after work with British colleagues rather than going to the cinema with my husband. Other than that I have little contact with other English people".

Similarly, Marie (type 6) and Rebecca's (type 6) British forays centred around the "infrequent" and "occasional" dinner party respectively, whilst Sian's (type 6) "odd drink" with an expatriate friend was as close as she had come to the British community since leaving the UK. Mixed-relationship migrants, because of their unique position *vis à vis* the host society simply don't feel the need to engage with fellow expatriates. Moreover, any sporadic social performances were much less about 'newcomer', 'well-being' or 'bridgehead' functions and much more about the occasional British 'luxury' (see also Section 8.2.3).

This characteristic in particular distinguished type 6 expatriates from the rest of the community, and those within this group were aware of a clear 'them and us' divide. Justine (type 6), for example, who "went for years without any British contacts", noted: "my colleagues get stuck in an English environment and can't really find a way out of it, unless they happen to meet either a French girlfriend or boyfriend". Similarly, Marie (type 6) observed how colleagues and clients "sort of group together and speak English, and have English and Irish friends whom they go out with" whilst she has "made a lot of French contacts...because it's just different when you're talking about English married to French".

Reflecting upon exactly how and why it is 'just different', Richard (type 6) refers to the presence of his French in-laws:

"I think if you're not married to a French person, if you don't live with a French person, probably you're going to be friends, but not intimate friends with the French. I mean I've got a French family and I try to avoid them! (laughs). But when I go to the family for lunches, dinners, and we talk about the French and politics, they will open themselves up far more to you if you're a member of the family than if you're not. This of course has its bad sides! But it has its good sides as well".

The intimate access that relatives provide enables mixed-relationship migrants to 'become' French in a way that is not possible for other British groups. Moreover, access involves more than immediate family. Sian (type 6), for instance, told me how "most people I socialise with are my boyfriend's friends", whilst Steven (type 6) admitted: "my wife has opened doors up socially, she's made me integrate!".

Paralleling their social integration, mixed-relationship migrants tended to be highly skilled linguists, with Fred's (type 6) experience representative:

"I know very few English people here, I can count them on one hand, so I hardly get an opportunity to speak English now. Even with my cats I speak French, and then I realise I'm doing it and I give myself a kick! I think in French, I swear in French, I dream in French...(pause)...but I don't feel French, and I've not taken up

French nationality. I know I've assimilated and so in a way I guess I can't be bothered with the paperwork and it wouldn't mean anything really".

Type 6 expatriates had committed themselves socially and culturally to France. Furthermore, if children were present they tended to be educated at French schools and brought up in a French domestic environment. This stemmed from practical necessity more than anything else, as Wendy (type 6) recognised: "my husband hadn't done English at school, didn't understand English, and you can't translate what you're saying to your child!" (see Figure 7.6).

In summary, although one cannot plan on meeting and settling down with a French partner, this random act is extremely important when considering the 'extremes' of heterolocalism. Mixed-relationship migrants were invisible relative to the other expatriate groups, with British performances extremely limited. The occasional cinema trip, dinner-party and drink after work was about the extent of communal involvement, activities that type six respondents saw as enjoyable alternatives, luxuries in an otherwise French lifeworld.

THE TRAILING SPOUSE:

Role as Mother
- current (type 2) or past (type 1)

TRAILING FEMALE EXPATRIATES – the most distinctively British group

Lack of Professional Identity

Language Problems

Trailing-Spouse / Career-Path Migration
- may have moved involuntarily
- lack of permanence surrounding move
- suburban residential skew

THE MIXED-RELATIONSHIP MIGRANT:

High Linguistic Ability

MIXED-RELATIONSHIP MIGRANTS
- the most integrated / assimilated British group

French Familial and Social Contacts

French Speaking Partner and Children

Commitment to France

Figure 7.6: Gender and heterolocalism: a comparison between the trailing-spouse and mixed-relationship migrant

7.3.3 The time / community nexus

Finally, it is also worth noting that some interviewees revealed a temporal 'ebb and flow' to their community involvement, admitting to having had 'all' and 'nothing' social experiences. By this I mean that some "retreated into the British community for a time" (Gary, type 5), whilst others "made a conscious effort" (Justine, type 6) to "distance" themselves from it. This extremism was usually short to medium term, with a balance between French and British social fields eventually emerging. Over the longer term no respondent cut themselves off entirely from their UK life, just as no-one had retreated wholeheartedly into an expatriate cocoon.

Important in checking the latter tendency was the stigma associated with excessive reliance upon the expatriate community, something that was particularly marked in central Paris, away from the relative insularity of the international suburb. It led some to consciously avoid the British, and attempt to 'go native' in every sense. Justine, for example, believed British and French social networks to be contradictory:

"I came thinking that I'd stay English unless I was really determined, and when you first arrive that seems to me the only way you can do it. It's very easy to be English here you see, and some people come over and when they leave still can't speak a word of French. I didn't want to be like that". (Justine, type 6)

Similarly, Gary (type 5) "didn't want any English friends when (he) first arrived" and self-consciously sidestepped the "easy expatriate option". This desire to become as French as possible as quickly as possible, undoubtedly influenced the early behaviour of others within the community.

Cutting oneself off from fellow immigrants is not, however, always a success. Gary, for example, admitted:

"After a while I did turn back, it wasn't conscious, but at a certain point I seemed to just have all English friends, and my French got much worse I lived in a sense an ex-pat life, going to the Irish and English bars, mainly with English friends".

However, like Justine, he eventually managed to find a compromise, between British and French socio-cultural milieux.

This pendulum-like shift between 'all' and 'nothing', and then eventual transition towards a "healthy compromise" (Justine, type 6), was a common phenomenon. Over the short to medium term, balancing British and French identities and communal fields is not easy: when immigrants first arrive there is an immediate need to embed within social nodes and networks, and consciously or otherwise, expatriates can find themselves concentrated within an exclusively British or French environment. However, as time progresses, contacts

tend to widen, with the pendulum usually resting between British socio-cultural separation and French integration/assimilation (see also Section 8.3).

7.4 The 'official core' of the British community

This third section will explore the attraction of the BCC and its most prominent affiliates. These 'official' organisations form the cohesive 'core' of the British community in Ile-de-France, and appeal in particular to expatriate types 1 and 2. A number of specific dimensions of this appeal will be highlighted, and in the process some intriguing social divisions will be uncovered. Firstly, however, I want to look at the more general magnetism of the expatriate organisation and social network.

7.4.1 The appeal of the expatriate bubble

The appeal of formal and informal British activity- space is likely to be both socially and culturally derived. In other words, irrespective of the 'access' issues identified above (Section 7.2), expatriate organisations and social networks will be appealing because of the fact that they contain groups of socially and culturally 'like-minded' people coming together within familial spatial settings. People feel an affinity towards that which they know – their own kind of people and their own kind of places – with common norms, attitudes, beliefs, expectations and points of reference vital to this community-identity resonance.

At a broad level, shared immigrant and ethno-national status is likely to underpin a significant part of any communal cohesiveness, leading expatriates to seek out the company of fellow migrants and other UK nationals in familiar socio-cultural surrounds. British and Anglophone activity space will feel qualitatively different to French equivalents, with participants sensing they "have more in common with" (Louise, type 4) or are "on the same wavelength as" (Nick, type 2) as other immigrants in Ile-de-France.

Moreover, the appeal of the expatriate 'bubble' is also likely to be contingent upon internal social divisions. The biography of immigrants is critical in this respect, and will determine whether respondents feel comfortable/uncomfortable in particular social networks and in particular cultural settings. In fact, more so than common ethnic, national and immigrant status, variables such as gender, generation, life-stage and socio-professional class underpin the magnetism of the expatriate communal bubble (see Box 7.1).

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Box 7.1: Heterolocalism – moving from constraint-based issues of 'access' to the socially and culturally coded appeal of the expatriate bubble.

- Community distinction involves much more than the problem of host society 'access' and immigrant constraint.

- British cohesiveness is contingent upon a host of subtle social and cultural factors.

- At a broad level, expatriates are united by common experiences as a result of shared immigrant and ethno-national status. This ensures familiarity with respect to socio-cultural signs, symbols, roles, rules and norms.

- In terms of ethno-national status, the British are likely to possess similar stores of 'social and cultural capital'. It will have been amassed from within the UK as result of direct experience and is likely to underpin shared ways of 'being' and 'doing' amongst British migrants.

- Within these nationally specific systems of social and cultural capital, there will, however, be substantial lifestyle diversity.

- The typology developed in Chapter 5 demonstrates this, and it will be used to underline the significance of variables such as gender, generation, life-stage and socio-professional status in terms of community distinction.

7.4.2 Socialising and acquaintance building

Focusing, for now, on the nature of the BCC appeal, churches were perhaps the most prominent of British community nodes. At first this may seem surprising given widespread secularism within the UK: however it becomes more understandable if one accepts that religious functions were often supplanted by more pervasive social capacities (see also Section 4.4.3). Broadly speaking, ecclesiastic infrastructure functioned in the same way as community centres would have in Britain, playing host to a multitude of activities; with sports teams, drama groups, book clubs, keep fit, conversational exchanges all evident.

Anglicanism, to some degree at least, provided an excuse to congregate with fellow expatriates in a familiar and comforting social setting. What is more, in St George's Church at least, this dual social/religious role appealed to relatively diverse sections of the community:

"I'd been to St George's occasionally for things like the Christmas fair, and people had always said hello to me, I didn't know them but they were always friendly and there was always a very good atmosphere even

before I became associated with the place...let's just say I went for social reasons first, and religious reasons second (laughs)...ultimately I'm probably not that interested in church *per se*!". (Deborah, type 5)

Similarly, Alexander (type 5) talked of the "social dimension to St George's" revealing how "you see lots of familiar people at church", whilst Steven (type 6) told me how his attendance was "partly for social reasons, to meet English people" and partly to "resist the Catholic church! (laughs)". Religion may appear on the surface to draw expatriates together, but the basis for such congruence is more complex[125].

The churches, for instance, organised Sunday lunch after the mid-morning service[126] and if people didn't stay to eat most tended to stop for a few drinks at the very least. People would chat, and the topics would be wide-ranging. Sometimes the latest East-Enders story line was discussed (available in France through Sky or the BBC Digital service), or a best-selling book shared. News items were also debated, with the 2001 floods and the spring general election popular topics. People also talked with regret about foot and mouth, and bemoaned the spate of accidents and closures on the British railways, with British flavoured conversations central to the appeal of the expatriate church[127].

What was intriguing, however, was the hybridised nature of these social exchanges; people were genuinely interested in issues/events in Britain and France and would compare, contrast, criticise, and celebrate the differences in the two countries. Clearly, the identities of participants had evolved, with behaviour reflecting the influence of home and host country – an 'in-betweeness' that will be explored in detail later on in the thesis (see Section 8.3).

Membership of a BCC organisation like St George's often led to participation in other British activities/events. BCC-based nodes and networks overlapped, and this was a key dimension in their appeal. Expatriates enjoyed having a social world that extended beyond immediate family and close friends, they valued rich networks of 'weak ties'

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[125] Having said this, the religious function of the immigrant church was not insignificant, particularly because of the cultural differences between religious practice in the UK and France. Most obviously, expatriates placed huge symbolic value on the staging of key events, such as baptisms, weddings, and funerals, in familiar ecclesiastic settings. These were usually well-attended; the death of a prominent community figurehead during my time in Paris, and the numbers of British at his subsequent funeral served to underline this point.

[126] The role of food as a social 'glue' has been discussed at length by Bell and Valentine (1997), and in addition to the Sunday lunch, we had summer barbeques in expatriates suburban gardens, as well as curry nights for the younger British at The Bowler and Frog and Rosbif. Having said this, national food was perhaps less significant for British expatriates than it would have been for other national groups, with drinking a relatively stronger social glue.

[127] British-flavoured conversations were enabled by a web of transnational transport and communication links, these are discussed later in Section 8.2.

extending across the core of the British community in Ile-de-France (Granovetter, 1973, 1982).

The community leader/figurehead phenomenon is an extreme example of this 'second-tier-sociability', but even those who were not so prominently active within the community built up extensive acquaintances networks. These were important in making them feel 'at home', as Kirsty (type 3) admits:

"For me I think it's the networking. You know since I've been to these events I now see the same people, I mean you build up a friendship. It'll be light, like 'oh yeh, how you going' and that sort of stuff, and that's invaluable".

Churchgoers, for example, would also attend the British Luncheon (1916) and members of the RSSG would go along to the BCWA. There was, within the official community core at least, ample evidence of cross-fertilisation between organisations and social networks. This overlap produced/reproduced village-like relations that were similar in many ways to the historic *gemeinschaft* model of community (see Tönnies, 1957).

Thus, from involvement with a single communal node like the Anglican Church, people were often drawn into functionally diverse organisations. Second-tier sociability was sought because it provided expatriates with a sense of place within an otherwise anonymous city. There was an appeal to the "British gossip networks" that allowed expatriates to "know pretty quickly what's going on" (Jane, type 1). Furthermore, although this acquaintance web was not geographically confined in the conventional neighbourhood sense, BCC-based activity space was certainly focused on the west of Paris and the high-status suburbs of Hauts de Seine and Yvelines (see Figures 4.2-5, 4.19 and Chapter 6).

7.4.3 Internal stratification – organisations as social microcosms

Even within the relatively homogeneous 'official' community core, where expatriate types 1 and 2 dominated, there was evidence of internal social stratification. Quite understandably, BCC affiliates acted as palimpsests for wider structural forces, with social choreographing most obvious in relation to gender roles and generational/life-stage change.

7.4.3.1 Gender divisions

Church-based conviviality tended to reflect socially-prescribed gender roles and norms. At St Mark's Church, for example, the coffee and tea, cleaning and flower, lunch, and crèche rosters were organised by, and usually for, women. In contrast, strategically important mind-based functions like Church Warden, Lay Assistant, and Synod Representative were

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male- dominated. This gender division conformed to broader societal patterns; reproductive duties from the domestic sphere were transferred into the communal context, just as productive duties from the professional sphere were likewise transferred. It appears then, that communal organisations like the church are palimpsests for the broader societies they are part of, with systematic social divisions reflected and reproduced within these microcosms.

This microcosm effect was evident elsewhere. Participation within the SAC, for example, once again reflected the impact of gender upon communal behaviour; the snooker table, team sports like cricket, football and rugby, as well as the drinking space around the bar[128], tended to be male preserves[129]. In contrast, the Bridge section and Children's committee were female dominated.

The gender dimension shaping involvement within and between official community organisations was also alluded to during my discussion with Edward (type 1) and Rose (type 1). Edward was an active member at the Standard Athletic Club: Rose left when the children did, choosing instead to engage in charitable work with SOS Help:

"I called on the club on our first day of being installed here and signed on the spot, and from that day on I have been an absolute devotee of the club, as have the children, and Rose was very active on the children's committee".

"Yes, that's true, but I don't think we ever had a great social network in the club. We knew people connected with the club because of the things we were doing there, but I don't think it ever expanded into a social context...I was a member specifically in order to take the children there for sport, which was wonderful at the time, but I'm not a sport person. I'm not into sport and I'm not into big organisations".

For Edward, the appeal of SAC related to its social/sporting function, which in many ways was gender -specific. In contrast, Rose joined because of her role as a mother, and when this role passed her membership lapsed.

Female respondents also tended to avoid professional and political organisations, which were largely the preserve of the male career-path migrant, and opted instead for women-only groups and charitable bodies (see Section 6.3.2 and 7.3.1). The British Luncheon (1916), for example, was for men-only[130], whilst the British Conservative

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[128] The space of the bar and the role of the 'pint' as the preserve of the male is an ageing British stereotype. Thus, although after a BCC executive meeting it was only the men who stayed behind for a beer, younger expatriates tended to visit British pubs and French cafés in mixed groups (see Section 7.6.1).

[129] Sport seems to act as a social gateway more for male than female immigrants, and this was evident both inside and outside the SAC. Matt's (type 3) experience of the sport / gender / community link was common: "I play football for the British Embassy against other embassies and international organisations. I joined as soon as I arrived...football has always been the way I've met people".

[130] As with the immigrant churches, the social role performed by professional organisations is somewhat tacit in nature. However, instead of religion constituting the explicit *raison d'être*, professional organisations formally function to pass on business information, as well as to facilitate work-related strategic networking,

Association had a dearth of active female members (see also: Lowry, 1992). Similarly, the 14-strong board of directors at the Franco-British Chamber of Commerce was dominated by middle-aged male expatriates (Franco-British Chamber of Commerce, 1999). In fact it contained only one woman, something indicative of the 'norms' within senior business both in France, the UK and across the developed world more generally (McDowell and Court, 1994).

7.4.3.2 Life-stage / generation change

Micro-geographical nuances within the BCC did not only reflect the influence of gender: other important social cleavages were also discernable. St Michael's church, for example, held three Anglican services a day each of which attracted a different life-stage/generational cohort:

"I go to the church very regularly, and there's a good number of other regulars and they go to certain services; there's the early one on the Sunday with a more formal pattern to it, then there's the second one which attracts a lot of families, and the evening one that seems to appeal to large numbers of students and young people". (Harold, type 1)

This differential appeal was largely the result of timing; families found it hard to make the earliest service so opted for the mid-morning one instead, whilst student and younger adults found it impossible to make either![131]

The life-stage/generational effect was even clearer in the suburbs, between the empty-nest lifers and family circulators (see Section 6.3.3). Most importantly, familial priorities and the absence of any long-term commitment to Ile-de-France ensured that the latter group had only limited contact with 'lifers'. In fact, most of the older, settled expatriates admitted to having grown tired of the 'ebb and flow' of the immigrant community – meeting and befriending new people, only to see them leave after two or three years, becomes emotionally draining after a while. Long-standing expatriates therefore adopted avoidance strategies, often preferring to circulate amongst fellow lifers and/or not getting too intensely involved with transient migrants. As Rosalyn (type 5) disclosed:

"For a long time it was not the case but now my friends are stable, I mean my best friend has been here for years, longer than I have in fact. The diplomats change, and that's a big lesson I learnt, never to get too attached to the diplomats because they go. I had a boss you see who I got on very, very well with, he was a very good friend and when he left I was devastated (pause). Someone said to me you never should get too attached, it's difficult though isn't it! You make friends with people and it's very, very difficult because

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although as Harold (type 1) accepts: "the British Luncheon is suppose to be professional, but there are a lot of retired people so I suppose it's more of a social thing than anything else".
[131] As already demonstrated, there was also a suburban-urban division to this; with a preponderance of British families in the churches at Versailles and Maisons Laffitte, whilst the city-centre churches seemed to attract a slightly different clientele (see Section 6.3.1).

they're always moving on! We got on really well, and we had good jokes and I missed him I really did...and there are a lot of people I've missed who I've kind of regretted their departure, but I particularly missed his company".

Avoiding close and intimate contact with transient migrants, is a lesson many lifers had learnt over the course of their stay. Furthermore, it helps explain the appeal of superficial 'second-tier sociability', and a more discerning attitude with respect to the cultivation of intense social ties[132].

Permanence is undoubtedly an important cohesive force and apart from simply avoiding temporary migrants, lifers openly admitted to being unsympathetic to the problems faced by newcomers, problems they had successfully negotiated years earlier. Furthermore, there was also a generational dimension to the permanent/transient divide. At the BCWA, for instance, an older member felt that "new arrivals are different" (Angela, type 1) and she linked this to a change in priorities and decline in the communal ethos:

"the people coming to the BCWA now are less likely to want to give their time in a reciprocal way, time to them equates to money...this is a calculation that people just didn't make in the past!". (*ibid*)

Thus, whilst BCC affiliates and their expatriate participants formed a relatively cohesive community core, subtle forms of social choreography were still apparent – a function of taken-for-granted gender norms and generational/life-stage change.

7.5 Views from the outside

The attraction of the 'official' British community did not extend to expatriate types 4 or 6 in particular, and I now want to consider the views of these 'outsiders'[133]. Not part of the cohesive core, what did these individuals think of the BCC and its affiliates, why didn't they participate, what were their impressions of those who did, and were there organisations / networks that they did find appealing?

7.5.1 Social divisions

Many 'outsiders' were openly critical of BCC-type conviviality; seeing it as somewhat artificial, unnatural, insular and cliquey. Participation, for such individuals was simply not conducive to relaxed and enjoyable forms of interaction, and involvement would have felt staged, artificial, and unnecessarily restrictive – particularly as a wealth of communal (see

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[132] At St Georges church in Paris they hold a book-giving ceremony each time a regular attendee leaves the parish. It is a low-key affair, suitably recognising the fluidity of the community, but at the same time not drawing excessive attention to it.

[133] The position of type 3 and type 5 respondents was more ambiguous. Some professionals and bohemians were very active within the British community, although many others shunned its insularity (see Section 7.5).

Section 7.6) and non-communal alternatives (see Section 8.2) were available. On a number of levels and in a number of ways, the signs and symbols emanating from the BCC habitus did not connect to the identities and lifeworlds of these expatriates, with three attitudes/responses particularly important.

Primarily, there was a lack of what will be termed 'social resonance' – with the homogeneity of the official community acting to discourage all but a narrow range of expatriates. This effect was further magnified in central Paris by the sheer size and diversity of the British presence, which gave immigrants a relatively broad choice of who and what to associated with:

"I think the social barriers are probably the same here as they are in Britain...I'm aware of who I am, and I would look at other people and judge them in the very same way as I would in England. There are those I would have things in common with, and there are those I wouldn't...That's probably because there's no shortage of English people here in Paris, whereas if I was in the middle of the desert, or the middle of Africa or something like that then I wouldn't have that choice". (Peter, type 4)

In identifying the important community fissures shaping this lack of social resonance, generation, life-stage and socio-professional status seemed most significant (see also Chapter 5). In terms of the latter issue, the most illuminating comments regarding the class homogeneity of BCC affiliates came from Nick Giles (type 2). Transferred to Paris by the British army, he found that he and his family were now moving in entirely new social and educational circles:

"There is a high standard of child at the British School, I mean it is full of all the English -speaking Ambassador's sons and daughters, they all go to that school. It's the top brass throughout Paris, all the big firms, Embassies you name it, that's where they all go, which is difficult in a way for me and my children because they're mixing with millionaires' sons and daughters and that and er (pauses)...I mean there certainly is a lot of pressure with the old 'so and so's going there for their holidays, has got this for their birthday' you know the stuff. Before we were over here we were warned about that. I mean friends of my daughter have turned up in chauffeur-driven cars, which is certainly a shock to the system, but you do get used to it".
Q. Does this cause any problems?
"Well I don't think that the school realise that not everybody's a millionaire, but that's just the fact that the majority of the kids that go there are you know worth a lot of money. The classic example is uniform: our three children have to have two of everything including rugby tops, sweat tops, polo shirts, dresses for the girls, K-way coats, special outer-coats that must be blue with no logos on them, socks must be white, shoes must be black, no motifs no anything on them. It was bloody expensive and that's where I think the school should have a little lee- way, but they don't have to at the end of the day because they know they can fill their school with the people they target. So it's up to us to try and meet their standards".
Q) What about getting on with the 'millionaire' parents of these children?
"Outside the school networks there's no real social bonding amongst parents, or not as far as I'm concerned. The only social side has been when we've been to the odd dinner at work and when we've had big dignitaries come in, but I wouldn't say that they were really social. I feel more on show and that takes the social side out of it, you can't really relax or let your guard down. You're always watching your P's and your Q's and what you're doing. So there's no real social life like there was in Germany, you know a few pints at the bar with the other army people".

Approaching with a rolled up copy of 'The Sun' under his arm, and greeting me in a broad West Midlands accent, Nick came from a working-class neighbourhood of Birmingham.

His class background and socio-professional lifestyle was, therefore, very different from the majority of those within the official community.

The BCC habitus was at very least middle-class. Participants were often privately educated, and many had been to elite UK universities[134], they spoke without regional accents[135], favoured broadsheets such as The Times, would listen to Radio 4, and tended to be rather conservative in nature, with political allegiance generally following suite[136]. This acted to ensure that 'like-minded' people within BCC affiliates were those from the upper-echelons of society, something that non-participants sensed. As Charlotte (type 6) told me: "the British ex-pat scene comes with the job, you reach a high level in the company and you're sort of parachuted into the social circuits". Similarly Peter (type 4) lamented about "the British and their institutions":

"The public schools, the House of Lords, the hierarchies and all this, and the British like clubs to join, it's the class system and maintaining it I suppose. Maybe I'm talking nonsense but I think there may be an element of that here; becoming a member of a club involves a visible form of prestige, you're meeting the right people, socialising with the right people, you're one of the right people!". (ibid)

The other two social cleavages, generation and life-stage, were more difficult to untangle, both from themselves and from the influence of class. However, the experiences of type 4 expatriates were particularly illuminating in this respect.

Lifestyle graduates were young, relatively low-status, and many had jobs directly servicing the needs of their professional British counterparts. Louise, for example, was a bi-lingual secretary to an expatriate lawyer, whilst another informant worked as an au pair to a British family in a wealthy western suburb. A glance across the notice-boards at the American Church and in the small-ads of FUSAC shows how strong this demand for Anglophone immigrants within these 'servicing' sectors is (see Figure 7.7). Furthermore, it is a finding supported by census data, which highlights the importance of mid-level service professions / employment environments for expatriates in Ile-de-France (see Sections 4.3.3-4).

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[134] There were Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh alumni associations in Paris, and illustrative of this class/educational specificity, 4 of the 8-strong organising committee for the 'Festival Franco-Britannique' had received an Oxbridge education.

[135] The majority of professional career-path migrants came from the South-East 'escalator' region.

[136] Of the three expatriate political organisations (Labour, Conservative and Liberal) the Conservative association was the most popular, although over the past decade its popularity has declined.

Figure 7.7: Demand for Anglophone workers in mid-level service professions

Source: FUSAC

These young, single, temporary and relatively low paid workers had little in common with BCC participants, and the feeling was mutual. It was hardly surprising when Francis (type 1), in his 80s, admitted "I don't have a lot of contact with the fresh- faced British who have recently come over here", or when Peter (type 4) revealed that "joining a British club has NEVER crossed my mind".

There was a lack of social resonance between the various expatriate groups because of their very different lifestyles, with the BCC/non-BCC divide the most tangible manifestation of this. Those on the outside simply didn't want to take part in official community events and activities: they had their own lives to lead and their own very different interests. The thought of going along to a formal dinner with the British Luncheon (1916), or joining members of the Royal Society of St George for a Champagne and canapés was an alien one. As Fred's (type 6) encounter demonstrates:

"I was working at the record store years ago when I had a proposition from a customer who was in the British Legion (laughs). He seemed so far removed from me you know, but he realised I was a 'fellow Brit' and suggested I join! I mean what would I do becoming a member? I was polite but I didn't even consider it".

This lack of resonance between those on the inside and those on the outside of the BCC habitus stemmed from social division in wider UK society, and from differences in the motive for migration to Ile-de-France.

7.5.2 Ethno-national ambiguity

A lack of 'ethno-national resonance' was also important in structuring British communal behaviour – with a number of expatriates resisting British-only activity space in favour of Anglophone/international forms of conviviality. City-based professionals (type 3) working in global corporations / transnational organisations were particularly likely to move within these international social circles. Duncan (type 3) captures the sentiments underpinning this British avoidance:

"I try to avoid British people here! It's nothing personal (laughs), but many of the English that I meet give me the sense of being insular Little Englanders. Even though they are here in France, they seem very English, they go to Marks and Spencer, they have jam and tea sent over from England, they tend to live English lives here, some not all. And I'm not seeing the ones who aren't like that because they're avoiding me as much as I'm avoiding them. I'm living here to be away from England and to be away from the social knowledge that people have. I don't want to be pigeon- holed or known by insiders, I like to be a foreigner...I tend to hang out with more Americans than Brits because they're the ideal friends. They speak English and they're living a foreigner's life, but they can't quite pigeon- hole you because they don't know the social context you come from and equally I don't know them quite so well ...I wouldn't want to fit in amongst the British community. You know that joke about 'I wouldn't want to join a club that would have me for a member', well I think that applies to me (laughs)".

Crucially, though, rather than integrating/assimilating into the French socio-cultural milieu, he prefers the company of fellow immigrants. Similarly, Sarah (type 3) joined the Anglophone women's group WICE "not wanting to be in a wholly British environment like the BCWA". This she attributed to "having moved around a lot and been at an international school", which made her "more at home in an international environment".

The reasons for the rejection of British activity- space, in favour of international/Anglophone environments, will be discussed in greater depth later (see Section 8.3.2). For now, it is simply worth noting that certain types of expatriate saw British-based conviviality as unnecessarily restrictive, insular, and centred around a false form of association.

7.5.3 Disassociation

Thirdly, apathy towards the BCC also stemmed from a more general rejection of community space *per se*. Although this rejection tied into the ethno-national / social narrowness highlighted above, it was an important factor in its own right. As Paul (type 5) noted: "apart from the suburbs, most people don't want to stick together...many have come to Paris to escape the camaraderie of the British middle and upper classes". Similarly, Rosalyn (type 5) believed organisational involvement "just doesn't work" and saw it as "artificial". This was a feeling that Richard (type 6) shared:

"I went to the BCC executive meeting once, it was terribly nice, but I hate committees so I tried to get someone else to replace me without any success. I definitely feel the need not to belong to the committee, I don't think I'm a very clubby person. I don't want to be sitting around with tea talking to very pleasant, but probably rather boring English people...I am bit of a nobody I suppose, and if I go it's simply for bad reasons because I love going to the embassy, and I'm very fond of the ambassador, he was at the same college as me...It just seems to be that these things are pleasantly and agreeably backward- looking, and I'm very much forward- looking. It probably is for my generation, but I tend to associate such things with a generation before mine".

Thus, there will always be those who avoid communal space and the social clique, regardless of its social or ethno-national make-up.

7.5.4 Outsider perceptions and mistaken experience

Much of the apathy/repulsion expounded upon above was undoubtedly based upon perception and *a priori* stereotyping, rather than any first-hand experience of the BCC habitus. Louise (type 4), for example, admitted to only having "an impression of the British organisations as made up of older people who have been in Paris a lot longer, and who are here for very different reasons". Whether perception or reality though, the ultimate outcome remains non-participation.

Some of the larger BCC affiliates, such as the SAC (Figure 7.8) and BCWA (see Figure 7.4), did market themselves, and those consulting these publicity brochures would have gained some idea of the nature of the organisation. The physical space within which events, activities and meetings were convened was also important early on in confirming/reaffirming prior perceptions. The SAC, for instance, had a large picture of the Queen in the bar area, British beers were being served, there was an open fire, a snooker table, homely leather chairs, gin and tonics being drunk on the upstairs terrace[137]. The space was clearly coded, as all communal space is, with the cultural and social impulses an individual internalises from these physical cues key to the attraction/repulsion of the organisation and its members.

Many of the BCC organisations, though, were relatively closed and did not market themselves to the wider British community. They were largely invisible and there was simply no possibility for the serendipitous involvement of those from outside the BCC core. In fact, many new members seem to have been recruited via word- of -mouth through the extensive networks of 'second-tier-sociability' that permeate the official expatriate community[138]. As a result, those on the outside had no real access route into the official community, nor did they usually feel compelled to search for one. BCC social platforms were usually dismissed or avoided without any significant first-hand experience being amassed.

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[137] These ostentatious displays of Britishness have a long tradition; as a *circa* 1962 article from the Continental Daily Mail illustrates when revealing how the Victoria Home "provides (retired British governesses) with a homely and very English background...Tea arrives at four, there is a faint smell of lavender, and the Royal Family portraits tend to be not of the Queen but of her grandparents". This historic imagery, although more traditionally British than any contemporary equivalents, underlines the importance of physical signs and symbols in constructing/reconstructing communal appeal.

[138] This BCC 'closure' contrasted with the much more open 'alternative' expatriate space outside the official community core (see Section 7.6).

Having said this, there were those who had taken part in BCC-based activities, events and meetings only to discover later that they did not 'fit in'. This phenomenon of 'mistaken participation' – whereby the physical coding and socio-cultural dynamic of the interaction did not align with the desires of the individual participant – was quite common. A number of interviewees admitted to turning up to particular organisations only to feel like an outsider, and they therefore saw no reason to continue their involvement. Rebecca (type 6), for instance, became a member of the SAC but soon discovered "how very English it was", and with "a few British women who seemed to rule the roost;" she "quickly lost interest". This also happened to Charlotte (type 6), who in joining the BCWA found that "the vast majority there were English women married to English men who'd come over on business", and as a result decided that the organisation "was meant for a very different audience".

People are incredibly adept at choosing and feeling an affinity towards the social space appropriate to their needs/desires, and on the whole those whose identities did not resonate with the BCC model of community did not participate in its events or activities. As a consequence, most apathy / repulsion towards the BCC was based upon perception, with the limited instances of mistaken participation seeming to reinforce the reality behind this perception.

The Standard Athletic Club is a British sports and social Club situated in the Forest of Meudon, south-west of Paris, some 10 kms. from the Étoile.

Founded in 1890 by a group of young British businessmen, we have been in Meudon since 1922 - a "country club" at the gates of Paris: an oasis of green lawns, trees and flowers, close to, yet remote from the Paris bustle.

Originally restricted to British and Commonwealth members only, we now have a wide range of French and other nationalities, totalling some 20% of our membership. The atmosphere remains British, however: relaxed and informal.

Subscriptions are comparable with other clubs, with reduced rates for children, students and juniors.

Sports facilities include 8 tennis courts (5 clay and 3 all-weather), 2 squash courts and a heated outdoor swimming pool. Team games available are cricket, football and hockey, with all sections having a full competitive season.

Golf can be played at Villarceaux, where the SAC enjoys advantageous terms. Coaching is usually available in all these sports, for young and old alike.

Facilities inside the refurbished clubhouse include a full-size snooker table, bridge room and chess sets.

Services have expanded rapidly in recent years: in addition to the licensed bar (with the lowest prices in the Paris area), we now also offer extensive restaurant and catering facilities, with regular "pub nights", dinner dances and other social events.

Figure 7.8: The SAC publicity brochure

7.5.5 Balancing socio-cultural cohesion and long-term success

On the plus side, the cohesiveness of the official community core equates to a 'home from home' socio-cultural environment made up of like-minded individuals. On the minus side, however, this narrow appeal simultaneously acts to exclude, intended or otherwise.

A healthy balance between internal cohesiveness and external appeal is difficult to achieve for any communal clique. It may not necessarily be a problem when times are bullish, but the insider/outsider dichotomy becomes cumbersome when membership begins to tail off. As survey returns show, this latter scenario is a very real one within the BCC (see Section 4.4.7). The appeal of certain organisations has become suffocatingly narrow, and this in turn is further distancing those on the outside, with 'new blood' either hard to find or unwanted.

Before addressing possible solutions to restoring a healthy insider/outsider balance, it is worth reviewing the main factors surrounding the declining appeal of a number of prominent British organisations[139]. Specifically, why were certain BCC affiliates stagnating and only just managing to survive where once they prospered?

7.5.5.1 BCC decline

Many within the organisations of the BCC realised that the insider/outsider gap was widening, and feared that this was part of a worrying long-term trend. They sensed that younger expatriates were becoming increasingly ambivalent towards official activities and events. True, communal organisations have always been favoured by middle-aged / retired individuals, but many within the official community were convinced that a temporal-attitudinal shift had begun to magnify this social skew.

The drift away from formal membership commitment linked to generational change, with younger expatriates increasingly attracted to new alternative activity -spaces (see Section 7.6). As Alexander (type 5) suggested:

"It may well be the case that people don't want to make commitments anymore, or are less prepared to do so, and that would result in a drop in interest in membership...If you go to a British pub for example, as a lot of people do, the decision you take is only valid for the next half hour or hour, and then you leave. But you can't say that that's specific to expatriates, or to Paris, it's a more general shift".

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[139] Not all the official organisations faced long-term recruitment problems, with the suburban churches and schools particularly vibrant (see Chapter 6). Moreover, many city-centre organisations, like The British Luncheon (1916), continued to attract a steady stream of participants and were in no sense 'in crisis'. They had set themselves limited targets, and were able to meet these fairly comfortably.

In addition to generational change, many also felt that the contemporary heterogeneity of British migration to Ile-de-France had affected the 'supply' of suitable communal candidates. From the narrow band of career-path migrants in the 1950s, 60s and 70s, lifers felt that the population had diversified as new socio-migratory pathways had opened up, and that this had impacted upon communal involvement.

Angela (type 1), for instance, noted: "less social demarcation between the different professions now coming to work in France, and the different levels of graduate and non-graduate expatriate". She accepted, however, that these shifts had not been accompanied by a contemporaneous broadening of the official community habitus. Thus, a growing proportion of new arrivals are being ignored by the BCC, and unless the pool from which members are recruited evolves, its community-wide influence will continue to decline.

Together, the growing heterogeneity of the British population and the behavioural/generational changes taking place within it, call into question the long-term viability of the BCC in its present form. There was, though, a time when things were very different (see Section 4.4.2). As Mary (type 1) recalls: "it was only in the mid-1970s that there were waiting lists at the Standard Athletic Club", whilst Francis (type 1) remembers the "annual dinner dance and ball at the Royal Society of St George, which once attracted prestigious speakers like the first secretary general of NATO and The Archbishop of Canterbury". Now though, "you can hardly get enough people to have a dinner, the whole thing has changed" (*ibid.*).

This picture, of communal stagnation/decline is a common one, and links to broader changes in civil society over the last twenty-five years (Putman, 2000). BCC affiliates, like their UK equivalents, have been hit hard as a result:

"Particularly since the beginning of the 1990s, and I've noticed this in every association across the British community, they're having difficulty getting help, and difficulty in recruiting new members who are willing to actively participate". (Angela, type 1)

Even British professional organisations have been struggling. As Harold (type 1) reveals:

"One can certainly see that for the Accountancy Association and the British Luncheon (1916), the average age is certainly higher...I wouldn't say members are disappearing completely but they're obviously not being renewed by the same number of people coming through...so you see although numbers are being kept up, one suspects that the average age is getting higher and that's worrying I guess".

Since the post-war 'boom era,' organisations have closed (e.g. The Victoria Home), others are on the verge of doing so (e.g. The Cardew Club), whilst some have changed status (e.g. The Hertford British Hospital), or are in the process of restructuring (e.g. The Oxford

Society). Even the BCWA and the SAC, two of the largest British organisations, have urgent issues to address (see Box 7.2 and Box 7.3).

Moreover, the much publicised BCC millennium exhibition (see Box 4.2) was a questionable success[140]. It took hours of planning and judging by the programme (see Hart and Barbin, 2000) was impeccably researched. However, an embassy informant revealed the numbers to be "hugely disappointing", primarily because the appeal was restricted to those within the BCC. This alleged 'failure' is symbolic, and should send out clear warning signals to community leaders/figureheads within the BCC.

Box 7.2: BCC affiliates in crisis – the BCWA

The main target group for the BCWA is non-working British women. The significance of this cohort has, however, declined over recent years as social norms have evolved. The heavily gendered trailing-spouse / career-path socio-migratory model is no longer so omnipotent (see Chapter 5), with women taking up more diverse roles within the expatriate community in Ile-de-France; most notably, they are working more, and marrying later – if at all.

The BCWA has failed to adapt to this shift and is still largely the preserve of British 'ladies who lunch'. Furthermore, negative perceptions of the organisation and its socio-cultural narrowness have not been sufficiently challenged. Even the name 'British and Commonwealth Women's Association' conjures up images of a bygone era, and the BCWA publicity leaflet does little to suggest otherwise (see Figure 7.4).

In addition, the BCWA now has a direct competitor - 'Message'. This was set up by a past BCWA member. It is a newer organisation, has a much more focused set of aims and objectives (see Figure 7.5), and appeals to a broader international/Anglophone populace. Rather than being based on a class and gender- infused model of British conviviality, its unifying *raison d'être* is motherhood. Furthermore, Message depends almost exclusively upon a network of suburban/urban 'cells', with meetings usually convened in members own homes. As a result fixed costs are minimal and the organisational structure is flat and fluid rather than rigid and hierarchical. These features help set it apart from

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140 This was one of the main attractions of the 'Festival Franco-Britannique', organised by the British Community Committee and held between 06/06/2000 and 13/07/2000 (see Section 4.4 and Box 4.2).

the BCWA and undoubtedly help account for its contemporary success.

The BCWA, in contrast, has retained a prestigious and expensive clubhouse in the 16th *arrondissement*, and as a result rents have becoming cripplingly high relative to (falling) revenue. In fact, during fieldwork an EGM (extraordinary general meeting) was called to address its financial problems, and moves were put in place to redefine the organisation and its role within the wider expatriate community.

Box 7.3: BCC affiliates in crisis – the SAC

At the 2001 Standard Athletic Club AGM, the treasurer identified the main problem facing the organisation;

"The club has become a victim of the Money-Maintenance-Membership circle...you can't have one without having the other, and at the moment we need all of them!".

In order to address this vicious circle, the club has had to attract people from outside the British community, leading to an increasingly diverse membership-base. This 'dilution' has not been without controversy, nor has it succeeded in recapturing the halcyon days of the 1970s when the club was at capacity. Nonetheless, the 'haemorrhaging' of the 1980s and 1990s appears to be over, and numbers have stabilised[141].

This said, new participants were desperately called- for at the AGM. The club is still in financial difficulties and remains under-subscribed, with one-hundred new members the target set for Summer 2001. Furthermore, because non-British members are admitted on a quota basis, it was expected that most of these new recruits would be British or Commonwealth citizens.

In terms of explaining the clubs decline, members gave a variety of reasons. Most accepted, though, that the loss of corporate co-operation (membership of the SAC was once a common expatriation lubricator) was a key factor, with new arrivals not being enticed into the club in the way they once were. The growth of better-equipped, private French sports clubs also seems to have taken its toll.

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[141] In the 1970s and early 80s the SAC had between 750 and 850 fully paid members, 65-70% of whom were British and 13% of whom were French. By 2001 the club had 518 fully paid members, with 57% British and 24% French.

Realists did, therefore, see the difficulties in attracting even one-hundred new members, and alternative fundraising measures were discussed at the AGM. The club was to try and hire out its facilities to British companies and other BCC organisations on a more regular basis. For example, in previous years, both a day-long corporate package sold to 'Clifford Chance', and the 80th birthday of the Royal British Legion had provided vital revenue. All at the AGM accepted that this diversification was inevitable, and saw it as a vital accompaniment to the recruitment drive if the club was to survive over the long term.

7.5.5.2 Addressing BCC decline

Attempts to re-invigorate British organisations have been varied, with some of the solutions already alluded to in Boxes 7.2 and 7.3. Forceful internal recruitment from within the BCC habitus has been the most common strategy as it preserves the existing socio-cultural status quo. Other potential solutions have involved the targeting of expatriates from outside the traditional core, groups other than types 1 and 2. However, because of the communal alternatives now available, the success of this strategy has been muted. Moreover, it is unrealistic to expect diverse social groups to regularly come together and feel 'at home,' based solely upon shared ethno-national/immigrant status.

A third and more controversial approach has been the general targeting of Anglophone immigrants, a strategy adopted by both the British School at Croissy/Bougival and a number of city centre churches[142]. This approach has been controversial in the sense that recruitment of Anglophones, rather than just UK nationals, challenges the very *raison d'être* of the expatriate organisation. It dilutes the British dimension to it and potentially undermines its original purpose. This was something that many lifers were acutely aware of:

"When we first came over thirty years ago we were straight into a very British environment, and it was a great aid in settling in...the club (SAC) is not so heavily English-speaking or British in that respect as it was, and that has been a big change". (Edward, type 1)

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[142] Harold (type 1), a church warden at St Michael's told me how: "numbers really did go down for a while when families started transferring to suburban churches, but we're starting to get numbers back now'. The rejuvenation involved English-speakers in general, though, something most notable at the Sunday evening service. This tendency towards internationalisation was also evident at the British School, where Harold's daughter was in her final year: "ok it's British in name and they do follow a British system, but you've now got 40/50 nationalities, and since she's been there it's become more and more international".

Internationalisation is a relatively straightforward way to increase the appeal of an immigrant organisation but, if it goes too far, then the socio-cultural cohesiveness/insularity attracting existing participants could be lost.

This dilemma is one the BCWA faces as it attempts to address its immediate financial and membership concerns (see Box 7.2). As Jane (type 1), a committee member, told me:

"We're trying to make the BCWA so that people can use the library if they're members of other associations, so English, Irish, American, but you can't come in off the street ...We're going to have to fight the old guard though, even for this change. They won't like it at all but we need to start to open the doors to more people. You have a fierce group who really want to keep it British, and I understand that, you can't have people speaking other languages because once you do that then you loose the meaning of the organisation. And a lot of people when they first come here haven't got good French and they're isolated, so they need to have somewhere where they can talk to people in their own language. We HAVE to keep English as the common language, and then find ways of bringing others in and working around this".
Q. What about allowing French women to join?
Well you get the problem where you've got French people using it, they use it as cheap English lessons, and then new Brits won't want to join because it's not a refuge where they can gradually get into the language and so you'd get into a cycle of more and more French and less and less English".

In the extract Jane identifies but discounts a fourth survival strategy, which involves the targeting of French participants. As with social and Anglophone expansion, this strategy has the potential to challenge and change the very purpose of the British organisation. In fact, more so than the other solutions, appealing to host country nationals raises the possibility of eventual assimilation, as French participants, their language, cultural customs and social mores gradually become hegemonic[143].

At the SAC AGM, for example, a British lady made public her objection to French encroachment. Her children attended local French schools and she placed great value on the club as an arena for British interaction and socialisation. However, she argued passionately that this function was being undermined by the need to appeal more to an international and Francophone clientele. Similarly, a suburban informant told me how her local BCWA group had lost its appeal when a French woman (married to a British man) took over the weekly house meeting: "French music was playing and there was the smell of coffee...I mean it may have been quite normal for her, but I couldn't stand it, it wasn't what I wanted from the BCWA and I stopped going for a while".

In summary, the British are drawn into expatriate bubbles because they contain mutually recognisable signs and symbols. Likewise, the loss of such socio-cultural

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[143] Sian (type 6), for instance, was put off going to the Welsh-speaking group she joined because "they usually degenerate into French- speaking evenings, with a lot of French coming along just to pick up a few basic phrases...whereas I went because I wanted to go along and socialise in Welsh".

specificity undermines the appeal of the communal hearth. Clearly, however, certain BCC affiliates need to reach beyond existing devotees and appeal to a wider clientele if they are to secure a sustainable balance between internal cohesiveness and long-term vitality. This may involve widening the social base of the organisation, targeting Anglophone immigrants or allowing French citizens to take part in group events, activities and meetings. Furthermore, whatever the strategy, there will almost certainly be resistance from those deep within the cabal.

7.6 'Alternative' activity space

The decline in influence of BCC-based organisations was accompanied by a rise to prominence of other forms of expatriate interaction centred around 'alternative' types of activity space. Not all clubs, societies and associations in Ile-de-France were atrophying, nor were all younger generations of expatriate socially disengaged. The picture was much more complex than this, with new forms of civic engagement discernible. In addition, there was evidence of an increase in privatised and individualised forms of distinction, with the communal realm no longer the only arena in which British socio-cultural expression was visible. In this section, however, I only want to examine the former trend, leaving the shift towards privatised/individualised forms of socio-cultural distinction to one side (although see Section 8.2).

Beyond the BCC there was heterogeneity. Not only did this underline the narrowness of the official community core, it also demonstrated that there were significant numbers of immigrants engaged in very different forms of heterolocal behaviour. Those who had never contemplated, or were set against joining the SAC, BCWA, British Luncheon (1916), Royal Society of St George's and Anglican Churches, did not necessarily avoid all forms of British conviviality.

In fact, as the organisational survey showed, the 1990s bore witness to the growth of a large number of clubs, societies and associations not affiliated to the BCC (see Section 4.4.2). Moreover, new commercial spaces also emerged to cater for expatriates, with the 'British pub' the most obvious example[144]. The section that follows will examine the role played by the pub / alcohol within the British community. Attention will then turn towards

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[144] There were 16 British pubs in Paris, one of the earliest to be established was the 'Frog and Rosbif' but even this only dated back to 1994.

the growing number of alternative organisations and their lifestyle-based appeal, before finally considering new forms of virtual expatriate interaction.

7.6.1 Pubs and alcohol: the new communal hearth

At the beginning of the 1990s there were no genuinely British bars in Ile-de-France, by the end of the decade, however, the picture could not have been different. Pubs had been opened across central Paris; the Oval and the Frog and Rosbif in the 2nd *arrondissement*, the Auld Alliance and the Pure Malt in the 4th, the Fifth, Bombardier and Long Hop in the 5th, the Mazet and Frog and Princess in the 6th, and the Freedom, Bowler and Cricketer in the 8th. In addition there were British pubs at Neuilly (the Big Ben) and St-Germain (the Bitter End), re-affirming the urban/suburban westerly pattern of British settlement in Ile-de-France (see Figures 7.9-10).

7.6.1.1 The clientele

It seems then that the growing popularity of the 'pub' as a social hearth in the UK is being replicated further afield, with expatriate groups 3 and 4 the main British consumers. Their youth, lack of family ties, city-centre lifestyle, and sojourner status, are all central in this respect. As Kirsty (type 3) notes: "when I go it seems to be the young, a lot of students, people over here temporarily, you know the type". Moreover, differences between the groups 3 and 4 in terms of socio-professional status and migratory motive seem insignificant, as does the influence of gender.

Immigrant pubs are certainly not analogous to traditional working-class hostelries, they are open to younger expatriates in general regardless of social demarcation, and not only this, they also seem to attract a range of consumers from across the developed world. The student night, for example, at the Frog and Rosbif (Figure 7.11) had as many young Americans as British, whilst there was consternation amongst the substantial American contingent at the Bowler's weekly 'quiz and curry night' when questions become too colloquially British.

This inclusiveness/openness was part of the pub's appeal: one was not required to join or commit to anything, but could engage with other Anglophones on a relaxed and casual basis in a socially and culturally familiar setting. As Louise (type 4) reasoned, "with things like English pubs and Scottish pubs you don't need to join, you just go out and meet

there, and everyone knows where they are and what to expect". This was a quality that even those inside the official community accepted:

"People don't need to just meet British people in an association anymore, they can get together in a British pub or the comedy club (Laughing Matters in Paris), and they can get their cultural thing that way. They don't need to join the organisations, and probably more of their interests are to be found in pubs and comedy clubs". (Angela, type 1)

Moreover, the commercial as opposed to voluntary/communal imperative of the immigrant pub meant that the space was both highly visible and welcoming. In short, British pubs are constructed to maximise profits, with marketing and publicity carefully targeted. So, whilst "people can be in Paris for years without knowing about the BCC" (Alexander, type 5), picking up a copy of FUSAC, Irish Eyes, or Time Out quickly and boldly informs the reader of their nearest Anglophone pub (see Figure 7.12).

Thus, the British pub provides young, single British expatriates with an open, accessible and familiar context. It is here where work colleagues gradually become friends, and new contacts are made. In addition, when one considers that the French are less inclined to engage in this type of conviviality, the 'need' for this type of activity- space becomes even more apparent[145]:

"...the English people here get to know each other and make new friends when they go out at the weekend, and they have a few drinks, and a dance and whatever, and you just don't meet French people that way from my experience. The English people at work, you know when you ask them they'll always want to go for a drink, whereas French people want to come in, do their work and then go home!". (Michael, type 4)

Michael also lived in a "tiny, dingy apartment" to the north of Paris, and so entertaining guests at home was not a comfortable option. The pub was, therefore, one of the few mutually acceptable spaces where he could relax, socialise, and talk with fellow expatriates on his and their own terms.

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[145] Rebecca (type 6) also encountered this Franco-British social division when she first arrived in Paris: "When I was younger I used to go out with other ex-pats from work, but never the French. I remember a couple of French friends they said to me 'why on earth would you go out on your own?' and 'why do you let your husband go out on his own to meet with friends?'. I mean I have French girlfriends, but none that I would go out for a drink with, really! It's not the done thing, well where I come from in England it is very much the done thing (laughs)!".

Figure 7.9: The 'Pure Malt' Scottish pub

**Figure 7.10:** The 'Fifth' – an independently owned British pub
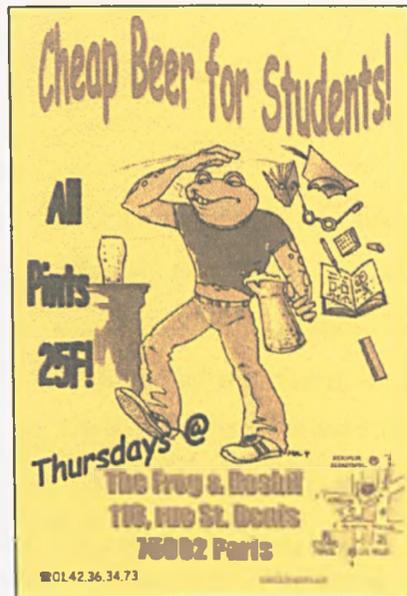
**Figure 7.11:** Student night at the 'Frog and Rosbif'
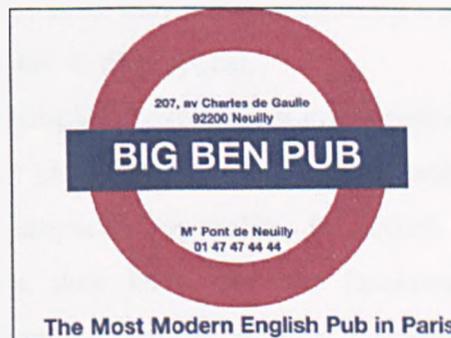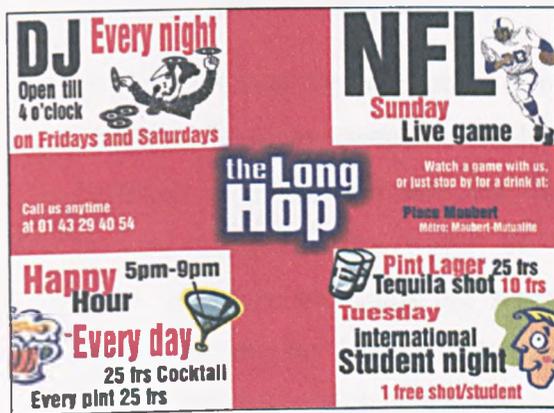
Figure 7.12: The marketing of Anglophone bars in expatriate magazines

Source: FUSAC, Irish Eyes, Time Out

7.6.1.2 The appeal

Unlike the BCC organisations, young professionals and lifestyle graduates knew what to expect when they went along to British pubs, and they were rarely disappointed. The commercial imperative ensured socio-cultural resonance, with consumers like Ian and Louise attracted respectively by the "nice" and the "familiar" environment:

"Oh the pubs are really important to me, The Bowler, The Firkin and Frog chains. There's a definitely British clientele, it's the familiar surroundings, it's the pub as opposed to a café, all the quirks and customs that go along with this, going up to the bar and getting yourself a drink, it's the little things that lead me towards (pauses) it's that familiarity and knowing you are surrounded by a lot of British people. Plus you have the traditional ales that don't appear in the other pubs, so things like that, I mean even the crisps are British...It's like a little Britain, a mini Britain in each pub you go in to". (Ian, type 4)

"When the Scottish played rugby here we went to the Auld Alliance and it was full of Scottish people, it was just really nice. But also just going to a Scottish pub on a normal night is nice, it kind of feels like an imaginary pub in the middle of the Highlands or something. It's just nice to go occasionally, to be nostalgic about home I guess (laughs). I mean I don't miss Scotland terribly, I feel at ease living away from it, but it's always nice to almost go back...In an English or a Scottish pub there's music being played, it tends to be busier, people will drink more, and I don't necessarily prefer the atmosphere it's just nice to have both". (Louise, type 4)

The 'nice' and 'familiar' are vital for the success of the immigrant pub, and this depends upon factors such as décor, language, customs and clientele.

It is, for example, acceptable for men and women to consume large amounts of alcohol in British bars, behaviour that would be frowned upon elsewhere in Paris. Furthermore, from the 'service au bar' signs, the 'Bangers 'n Mash' style menu, the British newspapers, the darts board, and the 'Inseine', 'Darc de Trimph' and 'Parislytic' ales at the Frog and Rosbif, to the bagpipes, Caledonian beers, Scottish football, comfy leather chairs, Irn Bru, and tartan wallpaper at the Auld Alliance, the pubs were self-consciously distinct from the French socio-cultural norm. True, they were constructed, a parody of an imagined past, but this commodification was key to their appeal.

The pubs represented the epitome of experiential consumption. They were 'hyper-real' spaces, made up of a mosaic of disparate and hackneyed cultural reference points, conducive to certain forms of interaction appealing to certain types of consumer. Respondents were aware of this, they knew that the familiarity they valued was incongruous and somehow sub-authentic, but it did not seem to matter. In fact, the playfully constructed environment actually constituted part of the overall appeal, offering migrants and natives alike a taste of yet another (stereotyped) socio-cultural system within the transnational hyper-real city.

This said, as the number of British pubs in Ile-de-France grows, these 'translocal' commercial environments are likely to change. One only has to consider the globalisation/exploitation of Irish imagery that preceded the internationalisation of the British pub to see this in practice[146]. In fact, I would suggest that many of the bars are at the cusp of the commercial mainstream, their future path dictated to by a mass commercial, rather than any minority communal imperative. This is likely to lead eventually to commercial assimilation for many of the pubs – there will simply be too many relative to the size of the expatriate audience they target, with only a handful remaining genuine immigrant hearths[147].

7.6.2 Lifestyle-based activity space

In addition to the growth of the British pub, the 1990s also witnessed a rise in the number of non-BCC organisations in Ile-de-France (see Section 4.4.2). Many of these were formed around a particular hobby or lifestyle interest, with the British comedy club the most visible and popular example of this type of organisation (see Box 4.3 and Figures 4.17). Run by an Englishman, himself a long-term resident of Paris, over 1,500 people were registered on the clubs emailing list. Having said this, the size of the audience varied quite considerably depending upon the comedian and the particular night.

Most who went along to the *Hôtel du Nord* were young or middle-aged and lived/worked in central Paris. Expatriate types 3, 4 and 5 were the key British groups in this respect, and there was also a more general Anglophone presence, particularly when Irish or North American comedians were performing. Angela (type 1), for example, had once been taken to Laughing Matters in Paris by her daughter and observed:

"There are particular groups...If you go to the *Hôtel du Nord* you see current Britain I think, well for young people that is. I've been there with my daughter when she came home from university in the UK and I can see that the young people there feel very much at home, it's a bit of contemporary Britain in France. You see for me, going to *Hôtel du Nord* to watch the comedy is watching contemporary Britain as I see it portrayed in the press and in the media, as a young cool country without any sacred structures, everything being knocked down...a greater social mix I'd say then when I came over here twenty-five years ago".

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[146] The Irish pubs in Paris were generally filled with people from a whole host of different countries, they had become globally familiar icons, and carried an attraction that extended well beyond the Irish community. The incongruity of this 'Global Guinness' effect was discussed by Oliver (type 5): "It made me laugh, I've been to an Irish pub once in Paris, the beer was lousy, it was smoky, and all because a German friend of mine was playing Irish music with a group of French people to an international audience! There weren't any Irish people there, and part of me thinks well what was the point in going?".
[147] One can see clear parallels between the commercial assimilation of the immigrant pub and the BCC drive for more British, Anglophone or French members. Both developments are likely to widen the participant base, and possibly undermine the initial, distinctly British, socio-cultural appeal.

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Although Angela's remarks about the youthfulness of the audience were supported by my own fieldwork, the comedy club did seem to appeal to a slightly broader expatriate age range than the British pub.

In terms of the national/regional origins of the audience, an interesting insight came when the Yorkshire comedian John Shuttleworth appeared (see Figure 7.13). His material tends to be quite place- specific, with jokes orientated towards the North of England. This factor seemed to alienate a significant proportion of the crowd, as they were unable to pick up the geographical references/parlances that framed much of his humour. Not only was it clear that many of the British in the crowd came from the south of England, it was also clear that a significant proportion were English-speakers from outside the UK. This is important, because when considered alongside the general Anglophone appeal of many of the British pubs, it suggests that these alternative spaces have a transnational immigrant appeal.

Figure 7.13: John Shuttleworth at the *Hôtel du Nord*

Similarly, attendance at communal picnics and dinners[148], literary events and philosophy evenings, underlined the fact that many of the newer lifestyle-based networks were Anglophone in orientation (see Figures 7.14-15). They attracted British, Irish, and North American immigrants alike. Moreover, these activities, to a greater extent than the pubs or comedy club, seemed to appeal to a more established and older 'bohemian' expatriate population.

Although these individuals were often attracted by a particular interest or hobby, such as music, literature or philosophy, many of the lifestyle-based groups formed part of a broader alternative community. In the same way that BCC affiliates were interlinked, there was a degree of overlap between organisations catering for the creative English-speaking bohemian population in Paris. As Gary (type 5) testifies:

"I love the Philosophy café, I try to go to as many meetings as possible, there's one tomorrow actually, and I've met a lot of friends from there. Another thing, there's a guy there who has a thing I go to every Saturday called 'Tea Time - Talk Time', it's just in his apartment and it's half the time in French and half the time in English. He is actually making money from it, there's forty or fifty people who go on a Saturday from five until eight...You know it took me years to find these types of things, years!...And then in the Summer I go to the picnics on the '*Pont-des-Arts*'. Every Thursday there's a picnic and you just bring anything you want along, at times there are 150 people there. Some people keep their food all to themselves, others donate it to the general crowd. It's wonderful, it's absolutely wonderful! I've met some great people there, including all my musician friends, French, English, American, Irish, they take their guitars along and that's how we met. I found out about it from this guy I met at 'Tea Time – Talk Time', he went every week and eventually persuaded me to go along".

Having said this, the degree of overlap was in no way comparable to the socio-cultural cohesiveness of the BCC, and with the Anglophone/lifestyle networks much more open to outsiders, there was no real insularity or exclusivity.

7.6.3 Virtual community networks

It was thought at the beginning of the fieldwork that the internet may have led to the development of new forms of 'virtual' communality amongst expatriates in Ile-de-France and further afield. However, none of the interviewees had signed up to a British/Anglophone web-based group and only two virtual organisations specific to Paris were uncovered.

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[148] For example, a picnic/gathering is held every Thursday in Summer at 8pm on the pedestrian '*Pont-des-Arts*' bridge, with everyone welcome provided they take food, drink or music to the event. Organised by Edward Flahert, an Irish expatriate, it has gradually attracted more and more people and now has its own web-site and mailing list. Similarly, Jim Haynes, an American resident in Paris has been inviting 70 people to eat at his home every Sunday for the past thirty years. To take part in this communal dinner just ring up and book (Wardle, 2001).

The first, 'Sportpartner' (www.sportpartner.com), was designed to unite disparate English-speaking sportsmen and women, enabling them to find squash partners, a football team, a tennis compatriot in Paris and a number of other major European cities. Joining the organisation, I received an immediate offer to play football with an Anglophone team in Ile-de-France, but after this heard nothing else.

The second virtual community I subscribed to was called 'Paris Anglo'. It was a relatively new network, and as a result of the monthly email bulletin, the possibility of a 'get-together' was soon aired. This came to fruition in December 2001 when the 'FranoFile' club was formed by the Paris Anglo organisers, with members being told via email to 'carry a clementine' to the first café-based meeting given that none of them had previously met. How successful this club eventually was I do not know. What is certain, though, is that whilst some virtual networks existed, their community-wide significance was highly questionable and long- term success far from assured.

THE LIVE POETS SOCIETY
PRESENTS
A
POETRY READING
FEATURING

SUE CHENETTE
BLAKE DAWSON
MOE SEAGER

TUESDAY MAR.20, 2001

8.00 PM

FLANN O'BRIEN - IRISH PUB
6 RUE BAILLEUL 75001
METRO LOUVRE - RIVOLI
TEL: 01.42.60.13.58
DONATION 25 F
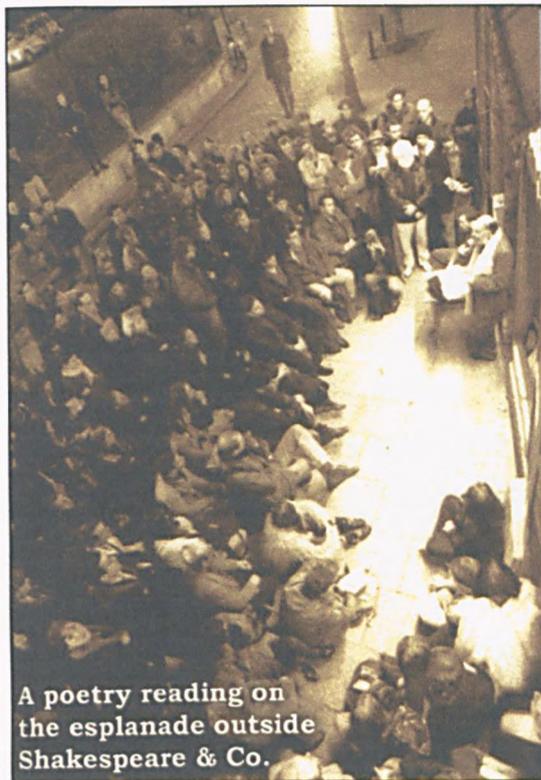
A poetry reading on the esplanade outside Shakespeare & Co.

Figure 7.14: Poetry readings in Paris

Café des Philosophes in English :
with *Gale Prawda, Ph.D.*

Share your thoughts on art, ethics, the human condition, etc. and join in lively philosophical discussions and debates

Left Bank : Café de Flore (upstairs 1st floor)
172 Bd. St. Germain
Paris 6è M° St. Germain des Prés
at 19:00 (the first Wednesday of every month) Oct 4, Nov 8, Dec 5.
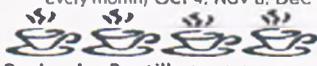
Right Bank : Le Bastille (upstairs)
8. M. de la Bastille
Paris 11è M° Bastille
at 18:00 (third Sunday of every month) themes : **Sept 17 "Success",
Oct 15 "Human Rights", Nov 19 "Buddhism"**
(participation 30/20 f)

Figure 7.15: Expatriate philosophy

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the issue of community (the third dimension of the thesis) by examining the different types of British activity space across Ile-de-France. In the process, five main conclusions have been reached. Firstly, expatriates face a number of barriers to integration/assimilation, linked both to practical constraints and social and cultural differences between the UK and France. Secondly, these constraints are socially filtered, with trailing migrants cocooned relative to the mixed-relationship movers who had virtually 'gone native'. Migratory motive, socio-professional status and gender were the three most important variables in this respect, and they were largely responsible for determining the extremes of British heterolocalism.

The third and fourth parts of the chapter focused on the cohesiveness of the BCC core, with its narrow social and cultural coding and limited community appeal. Even within the relatively homogenous official core, though, evidence of social choreographing was uncovered, based upon gender norms and generational change. This choreographing was, however, small when compared to the insider/outsider divide that separated BCC enthusiasts from the rest of the expatriate population. Those not attracted to the BCC habitus viewed it at best with ambivalence, but more commonly with disdain. Antagonists believed the organisation and its affiliates to be insular and outdated, both in terms of its narrow social base, and its explicitly British orientation. In addition there were also those who simply had a general dislike for cliques and cabals, and together these three factors were shown to have led to a funding and recruitment crisis at the heart of the BCC.

In the final section, the growth in alternative activity space was charted. Not only was this linked to a different type of expatriate than the ones found within the BCC, the networks involved were shown to be Anglophone/international in orientation. The British pub and comedy club were two of the more popular spaces in this respect, appealing in particular to expatriate types 3 and 4. In addition, a loose network of lifestyle-based organisations was also identified, and this was shown to attract an older and more bohemian type of immigrant (type 5).

CHAPTER 8. Transnational Links and Identity

8.1 Transnationalism

An atrophying BCC core and the growth of alternative forms of activity space are symptomatic of broader changes in civil society across the developed world. Not only have these changes altered the internal morphology of community, they have also underpinned a rising individualism that has shifted the balance of people's leisure time. There has been, over the past quarter century, "a silent withdrawal from social intercourse" (Putman 2000, p. 115). The communal realm has not, though, disappeared altogether, it has instead declined relative to privatised forms of behaviour.

Technological innovation and advancement has been particularly important in this shift in orientation, altering the individual-community dynamic:

"When the history of the twentieth century is written with greater perspective than we now enjoy, the impact of technology on communications and leisure will almost surely be a major theme...news and entertainment have become increasingly individualised. No longer must we coordinate our tastes and timing with others in order to enjoy the rarest culture or the most esoteric information...electronic technology allows us to consume this hand-tailored entertainment in private, even utterly alone". (Putman 2000, p. 216/7)

Furthermore, these fundamentally important developments have been noted by scholars of contemporary migration, and underpin the transnational turn within much of the literature (see Section 2.6).

Put simply, the technology-infused trend towards individualism and privatised forms of behaviour noted by Putman has had a particularly profound effect on the lives of migrants. Whereas *in situ* social networks once represented the main mechanisms through which socio-cultural distinction was produced/reproduced, scholars now acknowledge that there are a wealth of transnational alternatives. Moreover, these alternatives are now 'competing' for the leisure time of migrants (see Table 8.1).

Table 8.1: Heterolocalism and transnationalism – distinguishing features of two forms of socio-cultural distinction.

Heterolocal Activity Space	Transnational Linkages
In situ social networks, with locality as a key constituent	Connections and dialogue between two or more countries
Embodied Interaction	Disembodied
Communal Sphere	Individual
Public Realm	Private
Visible	Invisible

It is the aim, in the first half of this chapter, to review the transnational alternatives; to outline the different types of cross-border exchange, to analyse the significance of these links, and to chart their social articulation amongst a diverse British populace. Following on from this, the second part of the chapter will discuss the more abstract issue of transnational identity. The complex relationship between migration and belonging will guide analysis, and as in the preceding section, the nation state will be shown to be an inadequate 'container' for everyday life.

8.2 Transnational links

I argued above that, in order to examine British distinction further, one must move beyond *in situ* community networks to explore private/individualised socio-cultural exchange. Having said this, it is important to be aware of the overlap between transnationalism and heterolocalism (see, for example, Beaverstock, 2002; Georgiou, 2001; Willis and Yeo, 2002; Zelinsky and Lee 1998, pp. 290-3). The former development may well have offered immigrants an alternative to the latter, but transnationalism has also altered the community structures/relations that remain. The BCC-based affiliates, the alternative activity- space, and the myriad of informal social networks that were discussed in Chapter 7 are all informed by regular socio-cultural input from the UK and elsewhere.

One only has to think back to the appeal of the British pub, for example, to see how important this input is. The sourcing of British staff, importation of British food and drink, reliance on satellite television, even the purchasing of British crisps, all help to constitute the nationally incongruous feel of this 'translocal' expatriate hearth. Similarly, conversations in British churches touched upon issues specific to the UK, discussions at the SAC centred around the latest English football and Rugby results, and British acts at the comedy club relied upon a certain audience appreciation of contemporary UK life. Thus, although I look at transnationalism in the private sphere because it is here where de-territorialisation is greatest, the phenomenon has also helped to redefine the nature of communal life. It is, in essence, an omnipresent feature of modern urbanity.

Delineating the main characteristics of this pervasive phenomenon, four tangible domains to British social and cultural transnationalism were observed. These are outlined in Table 8.2, with a combination of information, communication, transport and consumption practices enabling expatriates to remain connected to the UK in ways that simply weren't possible in the past.

Even if the communal realm was relatively insignificant, respondents could maintain an active and evolving relationship with their homeland. We shall see later on in the chapter how this influenced the place-based attachments of the British. For now, though, I want to focus on three prominent functions of Franco-British transnational exchange.

Table 8.2: Transnational socio-cultural links.

Transnational Form		Examples
MEDIA / INFORMATION LINKS	Satellite, Digital Television	*Sky and BBC Digital services*
	Internet	*BBC on-line, Guardian on-line…*
	Newspapers	*The Times, The Guardian Europe…*
	Radio	*BBC Radio 4 LW and World Service*
DISEMBODIED PERSONAL COMMUNICATION	Email, Web-cam, Text, Telephone, Videophone, Post	
TRANSPORT AND TRAVEL	Train, Coach, Ferry, Plane	
CONSUMPTION NETWORKS	via Internet	*Amazon.com (books)*
	via 'High-Street' stores	*Mark's and Spencer (food), Prime Time (video), WH Smiths and Tea and Tattered Pages (books)*

8.2.1 Cross-border concern

For a significant number of interviewees, physical departure from the UK was not accompanied by socio-psychological detachment from the events and activities of the home nation, region or city. Both established and recently arrived expatriates were keen to know what was going on in a country where they continued to maintain a proprietorial guard. Moreover, their engagement with British affairs was thoroughly knowledgeable and highly informed.

At the Paris-based recording of the popular BBC Radio 4 show 'Any Questions'[149], for example, expatriates raised the issue of Sterling versus the Euro, fox-hunting, Franco-British cooperation and the Royal Family. The awareness shown with respect to these predominantly British issues was clearly contingent upon the transnational flow of information, with daily British broadsheets, satellite news and BBC Radio, all important media links.

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[149] Held at St Michael's Church in association with the Cardew Club, on 16/06/00.

These allowed patterns of media consumption prior to migration to continue relatively unabated. In fact for many, 'keeping in touch' in this way actually assumed an added symbolic importance. As Matt (type 3) remarked, in a rather matter-of-fact manner, "I just like to know what's happening in sport, politics and business, I've always been interested". Similarly Oliver (type 5) revealed:

"I look at English newspapers regularly on the web, and I do keep in contact with what is happening in England. And yes, I'm definitely curious...(pause)...I don't know if it would be a sign of being particularly strong minded if I were to cut myself off completely, and then when I go back to England it would be like 'what you've had foot and mouth disease!'".

British media links met demands stemming from personal identities that had developed and evolved within a particularly national/local context. UK life in general, and the everyday events taking place within it, were intimately bound to an expatriate's sense of self. However, geography ensured that this dimension of identity could only be satisfied through recourse to technologically-infused transnationalism.

In addition to meeting my respondent's critical interest in UK affairs, there was a sense that these particular links also offered a comforting familiarity that their French equivalents simply could not provide (see also Section 8.2.3). This stemmed both from the relaxing nature of mother-tongue audio/visual media, and a deeper socio-cultural reassurance. As Michael (type 4) told me:

"I've got quite a few English language channels and I prefer to watch the English programmes...I don't mind watching French TV, but when you're tired and you just want to flop down in front of the TV and not have to think too much it's nice to have an English programme. And then there's the emotional thing as well, it's like aaaah it reminds you of home, it's just a treat really, it's comforting and reminds you of home".

Thus, not only were expatriates united in their concern with, and critical interest in contemporary UK society and culture, they also benefited from the natural familiarity inherent in these cross-border connections.

Nevertheless, and somewhat inevitably, a geographical and psychological distance characterised this media-based engagement. Respondents were simultaneously concerned with, yet removed from, UK affairs. Francis (type 1), for example, felt able to claim objectivity as a consequence of his ability to watch local British events unfold from the global expatriate stage:

"Yes I certainly do take quite a lot of interest in the UK. We have Sky News, BBC News, I watch Prime Minister's Question Time. But you know one is not part of it, one is an observer! And although I'm interested, it's almost of no concern to me what Gordon Brown does with taxation".

In a similar vein Louise (type 4) remarked how "you hear things from afar, you know they don't affect you, but you still like to follow them because it's where you're from".

Thus in a qualitative sense, transnational dialogue was not analogous to media consumption within the UK. It was more detached and objective, expatriates were aware

of the key events and activities taking place back 'home', and spoke knowledgably and often passionately about them. Some interviewees, for example, contributed to the 'letters' pages of British broadsheets, others had participated in BBC radio and television programmes, with many still exercising their right to vote in the UK[150]. Furthermore, this sense of ownership and proprietorial guard with respect to the key issues of the day was relatively commonplace – albeit to a lesser extent amongst the more integrated/assimilated type 6 respondents (see Section 7.3.2).

8.2.2 Cross-border contact

The desire to remain in contact with a life that had been physically yet not emotionally left behind was extremely pervasive. Not only could one witness the effects of this in terms of engagement with transnational media, elongated lifeworlds were also manifest in the personal interactions of migrants. Family and friendship networks were not simply confined to activity-spaces within Paris, they stretched across national borders into the UK and elsewhere. This was particularly the case for new arrivals, where the immediacy of migration and related absence of *in situ* social ties helped cement an early desire to keep in touch with overseas friends, relatives and acquaintances.

The substitution of embodied social interaction for disembodied transnational interaction, or at very least the coexistence of the two, seemed to play a key role in initial adaptation. Expatriates would receive regular visitors from the UK, just as they frequently returned home on short breaks and for extended holidays to meet with friends and family. Similarly, emails, letters and telephone calls helped to reduce the negative effect that distance has on the quality of personal relations.

Whilst this behaviour assumed an added symbolic importance during the early stages of transition, it was clear that transnational communications and travel were also important for the more established expatriate as well. However long people had been away from the UK, they were careful not to loose touch with those 'nearest and dearest' to them. As Rebecca (type 6), a long-term Parisian resident, revealed: "I have always stayed in touch with school friends and a couple of university friends, that's never really changed". What has changed, however, is the frequency and ease with which these links are formed and reformed: "Things now, though, are much more easier and convenient than they were, you know with the advent of email and all that" (*ibid.*).

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[150] In the twelve month period surrounding my fieldwork at least three BCC Radio 4 programmes were recorded in Ile-de-France: the Ned Sherrin show, Any Questions, and Gardner's Question Time (see Box 6.1 and Figure 6.2).

Obviously, specific periods of the year such as Christmas, Easter and the Summer holidays were particularly important times for expatriate exodus. For example, apart from returning to London regularly for business, Duncan (type 3) travelled to the UK "every Christmas and occasionally in the Summer". His visits only "last(ed) a short time, just to see close relatives and friends", but like others I talked to, Duncan placed great value on these links, appreciating the long term psychological benefits of staying 'connected'.

The maintenance of transnational social networks was evident amongst all migrant types, and considering the rise to prominence of technological developments such as email, the internet, and global mobile phone networks, one suspects that communications between the UK and France will continue to expand and intensify. At the same time, the completion of the channel tunnel, proliferation in low -cost air travel, and price competition between cross-channel ferry operators means that visiting 'home' has never been easier or cheaper. Furthermore, this is particularly true of the British population, the majority of whom originate from southern England and are therefore closer to Paris than many cities and regions in the UK.

8.2.3 Cross-border comfort

Along with a desire to keep in touch, either with friends and relatives or events and activities in the UK, interviewees also used transnational links to access British goods and services. In the homes of many respondents there were extensive video, DVD and book collections, purchased over the internet, or bought/rented from specialist shops in Ile-de-France (see Figures 8.1-2).

Charlotte (type 6), for instance, "really love(d) going to (WH)Smiths" but "(didn't) go there very often because (she'd) spend a fortune and come out with bags and bags!"[151]. Similarly Marie (type 6) went "to (WH)Smiths for favourite magazines and new books", and this consumption ritual was in fact one of the most distinctly British behavioural traits of type 6 expatriates. This group, the least inclined to embed within British organisations and social networks, preferred instead to perform their Britishness in private (see Section 7.3.2).

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[151] Amazon.com was the only internet company referred to directly by interviewees. There are, however, a number of other specialist expatriate web-sites. British food, for example, can be bought on-line from 'Brits Abroad' (www.britsabroad.co.uk) and 'Things from home' (www.expatriate.co.uk), whilst English magazines can be purchased from 'Magazines Direct' (www.britishmagazines.com).

In addition to videos and books, other British luxuries discussed were food related. At Marks and Spencer's store in central Paris, for example, food accounted for eight of the top ten selling items[152]. In fact the marketing director of Marks and Spencer France described the company's non-clothes sales as 'outstanding' (Henley, 2001), with British food appealing to expatriates and natives alike. Michael (type 4), for example, admitted to visiting the store "just to get treats like toasted tea cakes, cheddar cheese, baked beans...things that are comforting and remind you of home", whilst Sian (type 6) went along to get the essentials for a "weekend fry-up".

The cultural familiarity with which certain goods are imbued clearly made them appealing to expatriates. The appeal though was usually ephemeral, with purchases limited to the realm of the "one-off treat" (Richard, type 6) and "little luxury" (Deborah, type 5). The perception that expatriates desperately pine for UK goods and depend upon them for their overseas survival is simply wrong, a point underlined by a recent letter to the Guardian from an irate expatriate reader:

"You describe M&S as a drop-in point for homesick ex-pats. Well yes, it's true that we need the Melton Mowbray's and crumpets. Doesn't everyone? But we object to the epithet 'homesick'. Having you been reading your own paper recently. What is there left in the UK to be homesick for: a fish supper after chucking-out time perhaps?". (Guardian Letters, 2001)

Watching a British film, reading an English book, occasionally tasting a little bit of home, this distinctly British behaviour was not significant in a quantifiable sense, but emotionally and symbolically one must not overlook the importance of these transnational 'creature comforts'.

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[152] In 2001 the most popular products were (in descending order): marmite, tea, pancakes, *fleur-de-lis* toilet paper, muffins, baked beans, shortbread, lemon curd, hot cross buns and lingerie (Webster, 2001).

Figure 8.1: 'Prime Time' English-language video and DVD rental

Figure 8.2: 'Tea and Tattered Pages' second-hand bookshop

8.2.4 The social articulation of transnationalism

Having discussed some of the functions of transnational exchange, I will now examine the way in which these links are socially articulated. In other words, how do the home-country dialogues reflect expatriate social circumstance, and in what ways do transnational linkages tie in with the migrant typology outlined in Chapter 5?.

In addressing this question of 'social articulation', it is not my intention to argue, for example, that certain expatriate groups listen exclusively to BBC Radio 4, whilst others only watch Sky television. Immigrant behaviour, and therefore my analysis of it, is more subtle than this; what I will demonstrate is that certain groups, for reasons that relate to their particular biographies, tend to associate more readily with certain forms of Franco-British exchange. The issue then, is one of relative difference, as oppose to any absolute and fixed divide in transnational behaviour.

8.2.4.1 Suburban British families (types 1 and 2)

In the UK, variables such as gender, generation, life-stage and socio-professional status are reflected in patterns of media consumption, and the same was true of the British in Ile-de-France. Amongst empty-nest lifers (type 1) and family circulators (type 2) there was a definite penchant for BBC Radio 4. As Mary (type 1) disclosed:

"Unlike the centre of Paris, it's a good reception out here, and Radio 4 is a lifeline, a real lifeline. I mean there have been petitions and protests, goodness knows what from the people over here for over there to keep Radio 4 on Long Wave".

Similarly Jane (type 1) told of how "the radio is permanently on Radio 4 long wave, as it would be in England", whilst Rupert (type 2) admitted to having "extremely biased Radio 4 views" and "like most of the Brits" he would "wake to a Radio 4 morning" from his Croissy home. This particular transnational tie was central to suburban expatriate life, and I have already revealed in Section 7.1 how considerable the resistance was to its threatened closure.

Another transnational ritual that seemed to be associated with these two particular groups of expatriates was Sunday morning paper buying. A visit to the local '*tabac*' in Le Vésinet presented Jane (type 1) with an incongruous sight:

"On the floor the Sunday Times are piled up a few feet high. But you will only find, and I have to say that this annoys everyone around here, you will only find about half-a-dozen Mail on Sundays, so you have to be early to get one!".

Angela (type 1) also "bought the Times assiduously, every Sunday", and this was clearly an important weekend ritual for suburban British families.

Also important in the production/reproduction of a British home-based milieu in suburban Paris was the television. Although subscription to Sky was not possible within

France, many suburbanites managed to receive the service 'clandestinely'[153]. There were also specialist engineers available to install the 'hardware' (see Figure 8.3), and it was relatively easy to get connected to English-language television[154].

This clearly had implications in terms of the domestic environment, with home life similar to that in the UK. As Rupert (type 2) noted:

"For me it's just keeping in touch with the key sporting events such as rugby and football, everyone here knows what's happening in the major leagues and people still follow their favourite team...and if it's a case of sitting down and watching a match then most of the people that I know here have Sky or at least Eurosport...(pause)...most have Sky, Sky couldn't do without the expatriate community! You even have companies here in France that offer to install British satellite TV! The only thing is that you have to have a UK address and bank account, but if you want to get Sky you can get it pretty easily".

Arriving home from work or school, expatriate families were able to embed within a very British, or at least Anglophone, milieu simply by turning on the television. A home-from-home domestic cocoon was being produced/reproduced, enabling the difficulties and challenges associated with international migration to be temporarily left behind.

Satellite television was especially important for the socialisation of British children. Irrespective of migration, young people watch a great deal of television, a point that assumes an added saliency when considering immigrant behaviour. Not only do the children of expatriates often go to specialist British, international or bi-lingual schools, they also lived in a home environment where English was the *lingua franca* and English-language television the norm. This did not mean that there were no French cultural influences or that French social contact was absent, just that their childhood experiences were mixed and that transnational media input was central to this hybridity[155].

The following lament from Nick (type 2) is testimony to the unique role of television in the inter-generational transmission of British identity within the expatriate home:

"The kids, they watch too much television, I mean look at them now! But then I suppose a lot of the children's programmes are very educational, 'Art Attack' and things like that, and at their age they learn things incredibly quickly...I think if we didn't have that then we'd have some quite bored children on our hands!".

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[153] With a UK postal address expatriates can receive Sky television indirectly. Technically this is illegal in France, but large numbers of suburban residents used this route. In fact, there were even instances of expatriate households joining forces, directing mail to one address and then having it regularly forwarded/brought over from this single UK 'control centre'.

[154] The BBC also provided channels ('BBC Prime' and 'BBC World') that were available in France on legitimate digital networks. The scheduling of these two international channels, along with that for 'World Service' radio, was available to expatriates through the BBC's specialist 'On Air' magazine.

[155] This is a study of first-generation, working-age British migrants and so the experiences of expatriate children and the issues unique to them are dealt with indirectly and only briefly.

It was not only children who benefited from these media-infused suburban 'cocoons'.

For instance, as a recently arrived trailing-spouse, and full-time housewife, Laura (type 2) believed Sky had "considerably improved (her) quality of life" and was adamant that:

"...had it just been French TV life would have been much more difficult...The TV is now a major part of everybody's life over here, and I think that if we didn't have that familiarity then yes we'd manage, but it would certainly make things very difficult!"

Transnational media consumption, whether it involved buying a Sunday/daily paper, listening to Radio 4, or watching satellite television was a defining behavioural trait of expatriate types 1 and 2[156].

Figure 8.3: English language satellite television

Source: FUSAC

8.2.4.2 Young professionals and graduates (types 3 and 4)

Other groups were also actively involved in consuming these information flows, but none to the same degree of intensity. For younger, city-based respondents (types 3 and 4), it was their desire to remain in regular contact with UK friends, relatives and acquaintances that very much marked them out. In Chapter 5, for example, we saw how Matt (type 3) frequently travelled to the UK on Eurostar to meet with his London-based fiancé. This allied with a long ten-hour working day, and the fact that many of his friends also lived outside the UK, meant that email had become a vital socialising tool:

"I keep in contact a lot really, I mean email is just great. I thrash out a few lines and I'm in contact with people back home, and with my friends working away from the UK...meeting up with school and university friends is a different matter though, you see having spent time with my girlfriend and family I rarely get a chance to see anyone else when I go back".

Emails helped to minimise the isolation both of overseas relocation and of a hectic working life. They kept British networks 'alive', and this was particularly important for those faced with the medium to long term probability/certainty of UK return.

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[156] Older lifers were often not as 'au fait' with the latest technology, with satellite and internet links less important as a result.

Other transient professionals also relied on email as a complement to, or substitute for, embodied interaction. Without any emotional/family ties and with few deep social bonds in Paris, people like Greg (type 3) would travel back to the UK regularly, "about once every six weeks...(to)...enjoy things like home cooking, family comforts" and "just to relax".

Lifestyle graduates (type 4), another circulatory group with few household ties, also valued transnational communication and travel. As the quotation from Ian underlines:

"I was conscious about this, you see I didn't want to feel cut off from what was going on in England, and it's easy to get caught up in what you're doing over here. But I think it's good to keep in contact with friends from home, friends from university, family, and the odd bit of news".
Q. Is this because you intended to return?
"Undoubtedly, yes! If I knew for certain that I was going to be out here for five or ten years then I probably would have...(pause)...well I would have kept in touch with people to begin with, but the importance of staying in touch would not have been so high, and would probably have diminished over time".

Peter (type 4) was also keen to remain connected to the UK, but for slightly different reasons:

"I've found that over here there's no way for me to get the British picture of what's going on without buying an English newspaper...I think it's especially important when you have the intention of going back. I mean I would always keep in touch with my family however long I was away, friends to a lesser extent, but family always!...(pause)...For me, you see I read The Times to keep aware, to know what's going on in the job market and in politics, which at this stage in my life and my career is really important. I'm looking for my first proper job, Europe or London, and I need to have the British perspective".

The cross-border connections of expatriate groups 3 and 4 reflect personal circumstances that are very different to those of the suburban British families. Young and often temporary migrants are unlikely to listen to the Farming or Today programmes over breakfast, structure their Sunday morning around an oversized English newspaper, or feel the need to install Sky into their rented apartment. However, they are more likely to continue contacting school and university friends, and will want to "know what's going on" in the UK "for professional as much as anything else" (Kirsty, type 3).

8.2.4.3 Mixed-relationship migrants (type 6)

Mixed relationship migrants (type 6) were interesting because few ever embedded with *in situ* British networks in Ile-de-France. Instead, they confined their displays of Britishness to the sporadic and experiential consumption of British goods, such as books, videos and food (see Section 8.2.3). These 'treats' allowed identity-fuelled desires to be channelled into fleeting and luxurious moments of transnational escape; moments that were usually compartmentalised and therefore separate from their everyday Francophile behaviour.

When Rebecca's (type 6) French husband was away on business, for example, she often used the time to do something that felt British and therefore unique to her:

"You see there's an awfully good video club around the corner from me called 'Prime Time', and if I've got an evening in on my own then I'll go and get a v/o[157]. Or if not, when my husband's away I'll put the BBC on rather than the French channels because, well it's just nice every now and again".

This conscious construction of a British time-space context, separate from her taken-for-granted Francophone world, shows how Rebecca used particular transnational ties to address occasional desires stemming from a generally latent British identity. Other type six expatriates also engaged in this transnational compartmentalisation; Fred (type 6) for instance had lived in France since the 1960s but still "enjoy(ed) watching one or two British (film) classics a week...sent by a friend in London". This was, however, one of the only behavioural traits that marked him out as British, and in almost every other sense he had 'gone native'.

Unlike the children of all-British families, these occasional transnational ties meant that the children of mixed-relationship migrants were raised in a predominantly French domestic and educational environment. Some were bi-lingual, many though could "only get by in English" (Wendy, type 6) having been through the French state school system. This said, there was one key inter-generational link that helped address this French 'bias': the seasonal, annual or at least biennial visit back to the UK to see grandparents, cousins, uncles and aunties. This was one of the few instances where English was used for long periods of time and where a degree of second-generational socio-cultural transmission took place between British parent and child. Charlotte (type 6), for example, "usually plan(ned) one holiday a year in Britain", whilst Elizabeth (type 6) would "send the kids off for the Summer holidays to stay with their grandparents in Cornwall". This ritual was a symbolically important one for a largely integrated /assimilated expatriate group.

8.2.5 The distortion of distinction

However strongly, or however weakly, expatiates engage in transnational dialogue they will never be able to replicate the socio-cultural context of the UK in its entirety. The visits 'home', media exposure, personal contacts, and experiential consumption may help to produce/reproduce socio-cultural separateness in France but they inevitably distort. Disconnected from their source, British identities become perverted, and drift

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[157] This means 'version originale', which refers to the original language version of films rather than the dubbed 'version Français'.

slowly away from the UK however intense the transnational exchange may be. Moreover, as time progresses, so this disconnection seems to grow.

Even to begin with, many newly-arrived expatriates confessed to having a selective memory of their recent UK life. It quickly becomes romanticised in response to the immediate practical and psychological difficulties of expatriate life. Peter (type 4), for example, had only been in France for a little over a year but revealed:

"Oh yes, my image of the UK I know is romanticised, and I think that's inevitable…you romanticise, your country becomes better than it is, and that's not because where you are is bad and you're over here thinking Britain is better, it's more complicated than that".

Michael (type 4), another 'fresh-faced' expatriate, also noted how he had lost contact with everyday UK life. Even though he "use(d) the internet regularly" in an attempt to avoid this distancing, he nonetheless admitted to feeling "left-behind, and increasingly out of touch".

Even with intense dialogue between the UK and France, and with memories / experiences of home relatively recent, identities soon evolve when removed from their source. This became particularly obvious on return visits to Britain, where respondents would realise that they, and their 'homeland', had changed but not necessarily in sync with each other. No longer *au fait* with the latest fads and fashions they would often be unable to share in the latest joke or popular television series, missing many of the vital social and cultural nuances that form part of everyday interaction.

Over longer time periods this distancing can become pronounced, as attachments to and images of home begin exhibiting a degree of inertia and historic selectivity. Mary (type 1), for example, confessed to being "unsure how much Britain ha(d) changed since the 1960s", even though she went back "quite regularly" and was "active in the expatriate community". Similarly, Angela (type 1) was conscious of the divide between herself and her UK peers, and as part of this noted that her own attachments had become somewhat romantic and nostalgic:

"The one thing my husband and I love to watch is Inspector Morse, Frost, Inspector Barnaby, Taggart, we would never have watched those in the UK, or not so religiously! I guess it's probably an indication of what bits of the UK we miss most. It tends to be old -fashioned detectives, and when you see all those villages you think 'ooohh that's the UK I remember', and I know that's not what it was like really, I know it's a caricature. There's Frost forever eating Fish and Chips, all greasy and you can practically smell it coming out of the television set, Barnaby with his beautiful garden, and Morse driving around Oxfordshire, that really is just England for me. That's how I want to remember it".

The distortion of Britishness into a somewhat outdated and selective caricature, a relic of a mythical past, was a feature common to all longer term expatriates. Regardless of the frequency of intensity of transnational ties, social, cultural and psychological departure eventually catches up with the definite physical act of migration. Cross-border links may prevent the loss of ethno-national identity, but they are unable to prevent its

distortion – something that can be painfully obvious when attempting to return 'home' following protracted periods of overseas residency.

8.2.6 Summary

Moving away from community-based, to look at private/individualised forms of socio-cultural distinction, four types of Franco-British exchange were uncovered; based on information, communication, transport and consumption links. These fulfilled three main expatriate functions. Firstly, they enabled continued and often instantaneous engagement with British current affairs in a critical and knowledgeable manner. Secondly, they ensured that friends and family in the UK were regularly contacted/visited, and thirdly, they allowed the occasional 'treat' to be consumed in the form of British food, books and videos.

The transnational ties were also shown to be contingent upon social cleavages within the expatriate community. The behaviour of British families (type 1 and 2), for example, was different in many respects to that of the young professionals (type 3) and lifestyle graduates (type 4) living in central Paris. Similarly, occasional Franco-British exchanges amongst mixed relationship migrants reflected their high level of integration/assimilation *vis à vis* the rest of the expatriate community. Nonetheless, irrespective of the nature of cross-border exchange, and however intense and prolonged the socio-cultural input may be, there will be an inevitable degree of distortion. Even in a transnational age, with technology continually shifting the time-space parameters of everyday life, Britishness will never be replicated in its entirety. In fact, this is one of the defining qualities of the transnational doctrine; it recognises the continual coexistence of the global and the local in shaping the identities/behaviour of immigrants.

8.3 Transnational identity

As well as impacting upon everyday communal and transnational behaviour, international mobility unsettles the place-based attachments of migrants. It confuses and disrupts taken-for-granted geographical allegiances by undermining any previously held sense of mono-national belonging. The mechanisms behind, and results of, this process of 'transnational' identity realignment form the basis of this second and final section.

The section will be divided into two main parts. Initially, it will focus on those expatriates with identities located 'in-between' the UK and France. I will then turn towards the experiences of a relatively small minority who had physically and

psychologically moved beyond the 'in-between'. These individuals had to a significant degree become 'homeless', and the development of this de-territorialised identity facet will be explored in considerable depth.

8.3.1 'In-between' the home and host

International mobility liberates and emancipates, exposing those involved to a diverse array of social and cultural ways of being and doing. At the same time, however, most never quite leave their socio-psychological baggage behind, departing physically but not emotionally. The resultant tension, between pre- and post- migratory experience, underpinned a pervasive sense of in-betweeness amongst those in the expatriate community. Most felt that they had benefited from the opening up of their lifeworlds following migration to Ile-de-France, but were also keen to retain their sense of place with respect to UK society and culture.

8.3.1.1 Identity emancipation

In terms of the first part of this migration-identity equation, it was illuminating how many people felt 'enlightened' by their overseas move. Relocation was frequently linked to the dissolution of island-based insularities and reduction in British chauvinism, in favour of a more progressive European outlook. A process of identity emancipation that Edward (type 1) and Rose (type 1) referred to:

E: "The 'Flanders and Swans' syndrome as I call it is still very strong in the UK, you know 'the British, the British, the British are best, I wouldn't give tuppence for all of the rest!'...I mean when I pointed out the quality of public construction in Paris to Rose's brother who was over here visiting, well he's a very travelled person, liberal in every sense, but he looked down his nose at me as if to say 'come on! you're not merely praising what the foreigners are doing, you've also the gall to say that they are doing it better than the Brits!'".
R: "(laughs)...No, no, no, what he was saying is 'good heavens! the man has become quite a Francophone after many, many years of running them down'. That's what he would have been saying, not at all what you're thinking!".
E: "(laughs)...It just shows how complicated a thing is, every truth has different aspects".
Q. So do you think over time you've developed a different outlook?
R: "I hope so! Because I'm jolly sure that I had this very scornful, very superior, very snotty attitude to people who were after all only continentals. Having lived and worked in Paris for as long as I have though, I now realise there are lots of things the French could teach us, just as they could also learn from us".

For the British in Ile-de-France, "the continent is not on the other side of the water, cut off by fog!" (Cecil, type 1), but part of the reality of everyday life. This necessitates the acceptance, begrudging or otherwise, of alternative attitudes, beliefs, ideas and expectations; ways of being and doing that are definitely not British, and at first seem alien.

Indeed interviewees talked of a learning curve, a gradual realisation that the "world was a bigger place" (Rupert, type 2). This gave them a broader contextual lens

through which to view contemporary British life, or as Greg (type 3) adeptly put it: "a certain objectivity is inevitable when you remove yourself from something you've spent all your life within".

This objectivity and conscious awareness was key to the place-based identity realignment observed. Migration moved expatriates away from a relatively supine and conservative position with respect to their own sense of Britishness, towards one that was open to critical influences and possibilities elsewhere. As Alexander (type 5) lamented:

"You've got to realise that the UK position is NOT the general position! Although when I try to impress this on my English friends they struggle to see it...It stems from the fact that if you're a national without exposure to another culture you tend to think that what you can do and what you can't do are fixed forever. It's just about having exposure to the other, because no country ever has a monopoly on being a reference on everything, living abroad one realises this and sees that intellectually the broader picture is in fact the truer picture".

Taking "what's good from both" (Cecil, type 1), rather than lying entrenched behind one particular national ideology was clearly the dominant attitude amongst respondents. Their migratory experiences had provided them with "a different perspective" (Oliver, type 5), enabling "acceptance of very different points of view" (Deborah, type 5).

Having said this, most were careful not to exaggerate their own identity emancipation. Thus whilst migration was associated with the broadening of horizons, knowledge acquisition and objectivity, expatriates also emphasised the continued saliency of their British sense of self. Even after decades away, it seemed that the influence of 'home' was immutable, and it is this apparent counter-tendency that will now be examined.

8.3.1.2 Identity retention

Balancing the emancipatory potential of migration with a deeply rooted sense of place, expatriates like Matt (type 3), demonstrate their unique 'in-between' identity position:

"You know, living outside the UK as I have, has given me a great deal of knowledge. By this I mean you learn an awful lot about the way things work differently, how people interact differently, what works and what doesn't. At the same time, though, whilst your outlook broadens, in another sense your attitudes become quite entrenched. You stick up for your own country...It's a fairly contradictory message, but it's because, well you carry your baggage around with you, and wherever you go you find that people will stick up for where they are from".

This 'contradiction' was clearly part of a balancing act, with the unsettling influence of international mobility checked by the continued and conscious recourse to home. Essentially, Britishness functioned as an anchor for expatriates, and although it was rarely hauled up from the depths, its weight was consistently felt. Thus, regardless of the extent to which respondents talked of the migration-emancipation relationship, they

also seemed to harbour deeply-felt attachments to place, attachments that could last a lifetime.

A number of expatriates, male and female, used sport to articulate this identity retention, with the pervasiveness of British *vis à vis* Francophone loyalties clearly evident. Francis (type 1), for example, admitted: "I do have a lot of sympathy when France are playing, but would prefer to see England winning rather than France...I still can't help being British!". Similarly, Duncan (type 3) was aware of the primordial-like nature of his own geographical loyalty:

"I'm very emotionally attached to Britain...it's still a great nation and I'm still very proud to be a member of it. Olympics, World Cup, yes I'll be rooting for a British team, runner, player, whatever. Although I don't follow teams, and I couldn't name you a single team player, when it comes to a big event I will become absorbed, and I'll be rooting for Britain absolutely".

The seemingly innate and natural sense of place revealed by this 'Tebbitesque' raising of sporting/cultural loyalty was intriguing, particularly when one considers that many harbouring such sensibilities had spent the majority of their adult life outside the UK[158].

The sporting window of opportunity onto expatriate identity retention also revealed evidence of anti-French sentiment amongst some first-generation migrants. Thus, whilst there were those who were keen to see the French do well, other were less charitable. Duncan (type 3) was "pissed-off! when France won the World Cup", Matt (type 3) told me how: "if anyone was to play France I'd be supporting the other team!", and Deborah (type 5) admitted: "I would support any team that plays the French!".

Respondents also discussed the longevity of their British identity by referring to more general feelings of affinity and camaraderie. As Rosalyn (type 5) noted, "when you're back home you really do feel that you are speaking the same language at a very deep level", a sense of belonging that was also articulated by Richard (type 6):

"I remember the last time I went back to London, I got off the Eurostar and I was standing in the Tube full of people and it suddenly struck me, a sudden realisation that actually I was one of the nation that all these people belong to, I mean I was British and they were British, and I'm just very used to being foreign. It was an interesting feeling that I could have just slapped them on the back and said 'I'm English, and you're English', I didn't of course!" .

The various examples demonstrate how the complete loss of British socio-cultural baggage is rare. Even excluding the very visible and instantiated loyalties of competitive sport, expatriates remained distinct from native citizens at a deep and pervasive identity level. Thus, however much individuals integrate/assimilate, and

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[158] At the 1997 Conservative conference Lord Tebbit received a standing ovation for his speech in which he referred to multiculturalism as "a divisive force", and told delegates that: "One cannot be loyal to two nations any more than a man can have two masters" (Sylvester, 1997). The controversial link between sport/culture migration and nationalism/patriotism re-emerged more recently following England cricket captain Nasser Hussain's "It was like playing an away game" remark. He was referring to British Asian's support for India and Pakistan ahead of England, and his remarks generated considerable and impassioned debate (see, for example, Chaudhary, 2001).

however long British loyalties remain latent, the coexistence of home and host loyalties is likely.

8.3.1.3 The insider-outsider paradox

This identity retention seemed rooted in the acceptance amongst interviewees of their permanent 'outsider' status. In other words, although overseas settlement was accompanied by considerable 'Frenchification', expatriates at a profound level never felt completely 'in place'. Paradoxically, those closest to French society, the type 6 expatriates, articulated this feeling most readily. It was as if their relatively total exposure to French society allowed them to integrate and assimilate, but at the same time constantly reminded them that they were not authentically or legitimately French.

Type 6 expatriates were conscious, more then most, of the fact that they would always be '*les Anglais(es)*'. Their idiosyncrasies marked them out as different, and were used by French friends and relatives in a joking and light-hearted manner. Thus, socio-cultural divisions were not an issue in the way that they might have been for more problematised minorities, but they did serve to reproduce deep feelings of difference and confusion with respect to place-based belonging. As Marie (type 6) testified:

"I'm as integrated as anyone can be, I live here, I work here, I run a French business here, I have kids in French school, I'm married to a Frenchman, and although I'm British by birth I don't know what Britain is really like anymore...whatever happens though I think I will always be 'l'Anglaise', so in a way I don't really know what I am...(laughs)...apart from a Brit living in Paris, but what does that mean?".

Similarly Fred (type 6) wrestled with the paradox of his own position relative to those around him:

"I've certainly assimilated, but at a very deep level I still don't feel French. I've always felt like a foreigner here, and I think that in many ways this feeling has helped me assert my individualism. I didn't fit in initially, and forty years on I still don't, and perhaps deep down I enjoy that?".

Clearly, however, much expatriates had 'gone native', the influence of the home country remained, and it was those closest to French society that were made most aware of this. Nonetheless, the impossibility of their complete integration/assimilation was not seen as a bad thing, it was just a continual reminder of a pervasive insider-outsider dynamic.

Similarly, when back 'home' in the UK, respondents articulated a dual sense of detachment/attachment. This sense of being 'in limbo', in a state of flux even when ostensibly 'back home,' was captured in the diary of a British emigrant returning to the UK from North America:

"Home is where the heart is, or so the saying goes, and having lived the last twenty years in the USA and become a citizen, I have never doubted that my true heart lies in some leafy suburb of my native England. But when I actually lived there during a recent five month sabbatical, I found I did not quite belong as I had imagined. In spite of my thoroughly British accent, manners and dress, I bumbled like a foreigner...My dilemma is that England has changed during my long absence, and I have changed during

my twenty years in the USA. And where do I belong now? Where does my heart lie? I am no longer quite so certain. I am an expatriate, that awkward transplant with roots in the soils of two countries. My home is Minnesota. This I know. Yet, in the deep reaches of feeling, home is an idealized England, unchanged, endearingly familiar and present only in memory". (Weir 1997, p. 179/181)

Wendy's (type 6) conflicting experiences of return were similar:

"I certainly couldn't say that I feel Parisian, I may feel a little French, but I don't feel English anymore. It's peculiar when I go back because it feels as though you're sitting on the fence, and on the one side you can look at English people as though they're something different and then when you return to France it's back to looking at the French people as though they're something different!".

Expatriates, by definition, are simultaneously a part of, yet apart from, both their home and adopted country, and this identity paradox is key to understanding the 'in-betweeness' that accompanies migration. Those involved rarely feel they 'own', or have exclusive allegiance to, a single nation-state and there is instead plurality with respect to emotive and psychological belonging[159]. As the race relations commentator Stuart Hall (1992, 1996) observes: "Migration is a one-way trip. There is no 'home' to go back to".

8.3.2 'Beyond' the in-between

For a significant number of expatriates this 'stretching' of national identity also extended beyond the in-between, with a far more pronounced degree of de-territorialisation discernible. There were, in the words Appadurai (1996, p. 189), respondents for whom "the task of producing locality (as a structure of feeling, a property of social life, and an ideology of situated community) was increasingly a struggle", and it was not enough to pigeon-hole them according to a discrete home-host identity nexus.

Figure 8.4 identifies this important transnational nuance. It makes the distinction between those with a definite sense of dual 'home-host' belonging, and those whose attachments were more fluid and amorphous. It is this latter group that I now want to focus on, looking specifically at the origins of and mechanisms underpinning their *placelessness* and *concomitant European/Global sensibilities.*

8.3.2.1 The migratory career

Pivotal in this respect is the concept of the 'migratory career', and the notion that one is more likely to break away from the moorings of locality the more one experiences mobility[160]. As one would expect, informants and interviewees with identities 'beyond'

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[159] The exact balance between the internalisation of French ways of being/doing, and retention of British place-based loyalties, obviously varied depending upon individual/social factors such as intensity of patriotism/nationalism, nature of commitment to Ile-de-France and levels of integration/assimilation.

[160] It is worth noting that approximately 40% of the interviewees had lived somewhere other than the UK directly before they moved to Ile-de-France (see also Section 5.2.3.6). Furthermore, mobility figures from the census underline the importance of non-linear 'multiple migrations' (see Section 4.3.5).

the in-between tended to have relatively extensive 'migratory careers'. By this I mean that they had a substantial mobility 'CV, and that this had led to the development of ambivalence and uncertainty with respect to place-based attachment.

At this point it is worth inserting an important caveat. Even those with extensive migratory careers were rarely above and beyond the influence of locality. True, Franco-British belonging may have felt inauthentic, awkward and even fraudulent but it was always there, however superficial. Those with a wealth of transnational experience would talk about "not knowing what to call myself" (Harold, type 1) and of "always being a foreigner" (Duncan, type 3), but they would also acknowledge the coexistence of British and French personas as well. Therefore, in examining those in possession of relatively transient psyches, one must exert a degree of temperance, recognising the continued, albeit incongruous presence, of discrete ethno-national sensibilities.

Returning to the concept of the migratory career, Figure 8.5 highlights its key facets. In combination, these various mobility characteristics, experiences and events underpin the evolution of transnational identities amongst those like Rose (type 1) and Sarah (type 3):

"I've always been an expatriate, I was born in China, educated in Britain and have lived all my adult life outside the UK, in either Strasbourg or Paris...Going back to England I feel good about it, I like England, but I've never really felt any one place was home, and I still don't...(pause)...I don't think anything is actually home in the sense that nothing else will do instead, and I never have". (Rose)

"I grew up abroad, an ex-pat childhood I suppose! My father was in the Navy, so my first experience of life overseas was in Cyprus, then later Canada, back to the UK, and then having left the Navy my father went into international business and we moved to Belgium, where I went to the International School. I went back to university in England, decided to study Chinese and ended up spending three years in the Far East; Hong Kong, Taiwan and China. Then it was back to the UK, to London for just over eleven years, until my move here to Paris...I think you grow up accepting it, my mother is Danish so I kind of grew up in a more international environment than my other friends, and it becomes almost inevitable that you move around. My husband too, his father was in the army, he was born in Hong Kong and that's where we met, so we kind of have an instinct for that sort of life, and although we don't call anywhere in England home, London is where I would feel most comfortable". (Sarah)

Their 'hyper-mobility' and associated wealth of transnational experience was key to the evolution of ambivalence with respect to local loyalties. Furthermore, it was not hard to find evidence of other transient British citizens, as the biographies of two key informants testify (see Figure 8.6).

The uncertainty of where and how to 'fit in' geographically was accompanied by a feeling of partiality/superficiality with respect to ethno-national identity. Charlotte (type 6), for example, talked of a self-conscious sense of belonging and a pervasive placelessness that she struggled for years to come to terms with:

"In England I always felt like a foreigner, because of my name, because of the way we lived, because of everything else, and then coming here and being seen by others as typically English, well I found that I had an identity problem for many years. I constantly felt like a fraud, and then I thought 'well you're not!', but deep down you are and I found this difficult to live with at a very profound level. I mean I didn't think about it day-to-day, but there were certain times when I didn't feel comfortable...gradually I've begun to reconcile myself with my Englishness, but you see I came here not wanting to be Polish or English! I didn't want to repeat my mother's life, I didn't want to marry a Pole, and my English side I had a problem with because my mother was rejected by her English family for having married a foreigner and a Catholic to boot".

Sensing that she didn't quite fit in, and feeling that she didn't have to, Charlotte was content in an environment away from the past and present pressures of her Anglo-Polish heritage.

Similarly, Steven's (type 6) migration career made his attachments to place seem fraudulent:

"I certainly don't see myself as a Parisian, I see myself as an outsider meaning how I critique life wherever I live...my identity well I suppose that's English, but you see my accent is non-descript, and even when I'm in England I'm not all that sure how English I really am. But that's something I've always had to live with, in America I never felt myself to be an American, the same was true when I lived in Finland, and that's why I feel comfortable in an international city like Paris you can fit-in in a slightly perverse kind of way".

Those in possession of transient psyches, like Steven and Charlotte, often felt outside even the relatively fluid boundaries of home-host identity. They expressed uncertainty and ambivalence with respect to where and how to belong, with extensive migratory careers underpinning this de-territorialised position, 'beyond' the in-between.

'BLACK BOX' MODEL: TRANSNATIONAL HOME-HOST IDENTITIES

UK → ←→ ← **France**

The in-between expatriate:
Possessing a 'dual consciousness', the majority of transmigrants were positioned along a discrete home-host identity nexus
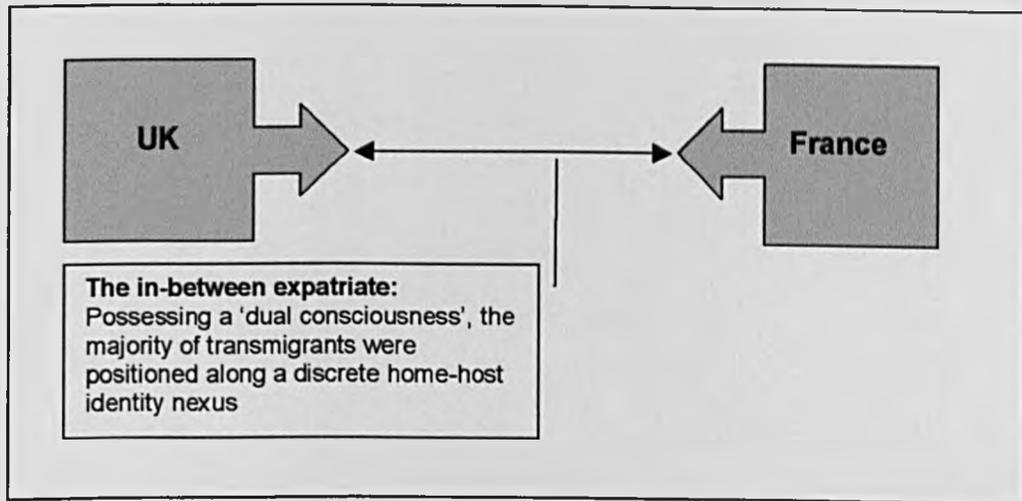
MULTIPLE COMMITMENT: IDENTITIES BEYOND THE 'IN-BETWEEN'

Global Urbanity

UK →   ← **France**

European Citizenship

Ambiguous territorial identity:
- Extensive 'migratory career' (see Section 8.3.2.1)
- Evolution of 'transnational capital' through early socialisation and later-life experience (see Section 8.3.2 2-3)

Position of flux:
no discrete home-host identity nexus.
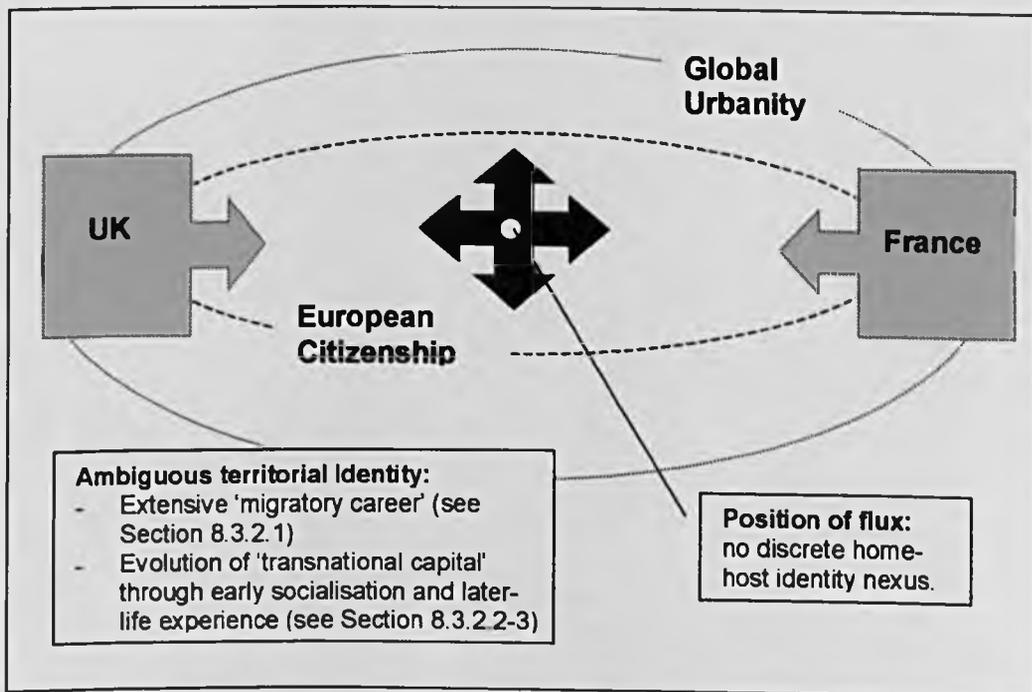
Figure 8.4: Two models for transnational identity

EARLY SOCIALISATION:

- ☑ Childhood mobility
- ☑ 'Satellite' households extending over two or more countries
- ☑ Mixed nationality parents
- ☑ Bi-lingual social and/or domestic milieu
- ☑ Specialist immigrant, international or bi-lingual schooling
- ☑ Living in international suburban/urban neighbourhood
- ☑ University education back in one of the parents home countries
- ☑ Preference for language related courses
- ☑ Cosmopolitan/international friendship group

LATER LIFE EXPERIENCE:

- ☑ Extensive experience of travelling, living and working overseas
- ☑ Penchant for international work environment
- ☑ Propensity for similarly mobile / rootless partner, work colleagues and friends
- ☑ Strong professional identity
- ☑ Absence of stable 'home' base / place to return to
- ☑ Self-conscious and superficial sense of ethno-national belonging
- ☑ Affinity towards Europe / Global urbanity

Figure 8.5: Key constituents of the 'migratory career'

Name	Petra
Organisation	Member of the Cardew Club
Migratory History	- Born in Wales - Brought up in Norway - Mother is Welsh - Father is Norwegian - Went to UK university - Now lives and works in Paris for a global hotel chain - Expects to be transferred in the next year, either to America or back to London
Name	Alex
Organisation	Member of the American Church
Migratory History	- Born in Sweden, - Has British nationality through parents - Educated in Switzerland - Went to university in Scotland (his father's home country) - Work is based in Germany and France - Girlfriend is from the US originally, but lives in Paris permanently - His brother lives in Sweden, and his sister lives in Scotland with most of the rest of his family - He speaks seven languages, and admitted: "I prefer to call myself European, it avoids the need to resort to long explanations every time you meet someone new!"

Figure 8.6: Examples of the 'placeless' expatriate and 'mobility career'

Interestingly, those with this added degree of identity complexity seemed to attach themselves more readily to the broader European ideal. They were also more likely to feel 'at home' in the cosmopolitan world-city, and value the transnational lifestyles that are now synonymous with this global form of urbanity. Reflecting this European/world city ethos, Sarah (type 3) saw "London as (her) spiritual home", whilst Harold (type 1) revealed how "Paris is home now, but I don't necessarily feel French". Similarly, Wendy (type 6) admitted to "not identifying with any other nation", preferring instead to "identify with Europe because it offers a way out!". This attitude was shared by Peter (type 4), when discussing his sense of European/world city belonging:

"I was born in Ireland, raised in Essex, although my friends have now all moved away from there, and my family may be moving on soon. So as far as having anywhere I might call home, as somewhere to return to, well London is the natural place...it's the European capital, and the fact that it's English, that it's British is irrelevant. For me it's far more important to have European Union on my passport than Britain or Ireland or France. It gives me the chance to live in the member states, to have the same rights as someone who's lived there all their life, and to me that is extremely important".

Thus, whilst certain respondents felt awkward and perhaps even fraudulent in proclaiming their partial and plural ethno-national allegiances, identifying with Europe and/or global forms of urbanity helped to circumvent this placelessness.

8.3.2.2 Early socialisation

The unsettling effect of mobility runs deep, and I now want to examine the mechanisms underpinning the evolution of a transient psyche and identities that extend 'beyond' the in-between. Figure 8.5 is useful in this respect as it distinguishes between early socialisation and later-life experience. In terms of the former, childhood, school and university experiences were key to the development of de-territorialised identities. Many of the British parents were conscious of this in terms of their own children. As Angela (type 1) observed:

"If, like me, you haven't been brought up in France then you're split, you have a very definite French bit and a very definite British bit. Whereas my two girls, well you see they find it much easier than me to cross-over, to weave in and out and to fuse the two worlds. I can see this all the time, it's just that if you're brought up surrounded by both cultures then you're, well you're just different I suppose".

This child/parent split demonstrates just how important early socialisation can be in the development of 'matter-of-fact' attitudes towards physical and psychological mobility. In fact, parents often sought to cultivate the flexibility and adaptability synonymous with the loss of local ties, believing that this would confer competitive labour market advantage in later life.

Central to this is the notion that it is easier to break place-based moorings if they are not particularly strong to begin with. In addition, early socialisation also 'teaches'

expatriates to be transnational by providing them with the human resources necessary to move relatively freely and easily between nation states. These social, cultural and economic resources I will refer to as 'transnational capital' – resources consciously and unconsciously developed and deployed to facilitate international migration and settlement.

This 'transnational capital' concept is a key adjunct to the migration career. It helps explain how and why transient identities develop and expatriates move physically and psychologically beyond the in-between. The concept has three dimensions (naturalising, normalising, enabling), with resources amassed as a migration career progresses ,and an individual:

- experiences different social, cultural and economic ways of being and doing (cultural-naturalising)
- changes his/her attitude towards, and perceptions of, the 'international' (psychological-normalising)
- develops linguistic and other transferable mobility skills (practical-enabling)

These resources, when acquired early on in life, can be key to subsequent working-age mobility. Furthermore, transnational capital will be particularly evident amongst those born and raised outside the UK, with expatriate children more likely to view international circulation as normal, have substantial migratory know-how, and possess relatively emancipated attitudes towards other ways of being/doing.

The clearest example of the long term role of this early transnational capital acquisition came from type 1 respondents, whose children had 'flown the nest'. Edward (type 1), for instance, referred to the "international mindset" of his two sons, and talked of their predisposition to an international lifestyle/career:

"Take our boys in particular, Simon is as near as you're going to get to bi-lingual without having mixed parentage, his partner's French, they speak French at home, except when he is talking to his daughter because he is making a big point of teaching her English. But in addition to his English and French, he decided he wanted to perfect his Spanish and took off to Spain, working for three years in Madrid, and became very, very fluent in Spanish. With a bit of luck I think he could have quite a distinguished career; someone who's as much at home in the South as they are in the North, because he has a spattering of Russian already, and he's done German at school. Then there's Jeremy in Tanzania who's teaching English, French and Spanish, he can also speak a bit of Russian and is now proficient in Swahili!".

Similarly Harold (type 1) breezed through the quite remarkable global exploits of his four children:

"Living here has certainly been a significant advantage that's for sure. In fact our two sons both speak Spanish as well as French and English, and our eldest has just started a job in South America using his Spanish, so he's actually tri-lingual. Then our second son has also learnt German, he's just graduating this month having studied music in Chicago, and is training to be a teacher in music, he did some of his teacher training in a bi-lingual Spanish/English school...The two eldest went to university in Britain, our eldest son to Cambridge, our eldest daughter to Leeds. Our youngest, well she's attracted to the States like her brother. So they've all kind of moved on from France, trying out new and 'exciting' countries".

Language skills and the experience of an expatriate upbringing were undoubtedly key antecedents to the transnational trajectories outlined above. Early socialisation allows transnational capital to be appropriated, providing the practical and psychological resources necessary for future mobility.

Specialist British, international and bi-lingual schools, were perhaps the most notable vehicle in the early delivery of social, cultural and economic capital[161]. These 'schooling circuits' (Ball *et al.*, 1995) were used by 'elite' professional families to produce/reproduce class-status across generations. Effectively, the choice of school ensures the development/continuation of local, national and transnational labour market advantage[162].

The alumni directory for the International School of Paris (see: www.isparis.edu) illuminates this association between working-age transience and elite overseas education. Of the 93 former pupils registered in May 2000, only 8 were still living/working in France. Most had gone (back?) to either the USA (22), the UK (10), Australia (9) or Spain (8), 17 other countries were also represented. Experiences gained and contacts made at this, and other schools like it, help to build transnational capital levels from a relatively young age.

Another key environment where the 'rules and resources' of international migration are encountered and internalised is university. Student mobility is known to be a key precursor to subsequent working-age migration (King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2002; Li *et al.*, 1996; Mahroum 1999, p. 178; Murphy-Lejeune, 2001; Peixoto 2001, p. 48; Salt 1997, p. 23). It instils in many students a thirst for the international, with exchange schemes like ERASMUS/SOCRATES particularly important in this respect. In fact, the 1990s saw the wholesale 'internationalisation' of tertiary education[163]; 13.5 of every thousand UK students now go abroad as part of their degree course (Tremblay 2002, p. 61), whilst France has the second highest international student population in the world (Kofman 2000, p. 48; Salt 1997, p. 43)[164].

Focusing on the university choices of expatriate children, the majority from type 1 and 2 British families seem to end up in the UK – a country in which they may never

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[161] UK boarding schools were also a popular educational option for professional British families.

[162] From a different angle, the French *lycée* in South Kensington is hugely oversubscribed, seen by the London elite as a cheap yet socially, culturally and economically valuable transnational schooling circuit (Robinson, 2000).

[163] This international student 'market' is now an extremely important source of revenue for universities across the developed world (Baker *et al.*, 1996; Iredale 2001, pp. 9-10)

[164] This is a two way 'exchange'; there are currently 12,000 French students studying in British universities and 100,000 French young people visit the UK each year to learn English (figures from the British Embassy, Paris).

have previously lived. Obviously the type of schooling circuit is important in this respect, with the British schools at Croissy/Bougival and St-Germain having particularly strong links to UK universities. An informant in the BSPS (British School of Paris Society), for instance, told me that: "most of the British children at the school actually go back to the UK to continue in further education". This observation was reinforced by figures obtained directly from the British School: in 1997, of the 41 upper-sixth school leavers 35 went on to a UK university.

Even away from the specialist expatriate schooling and university circuits, British parents were keen for their children to broaden their identity horizons. As the quotation from Marie (type 6) illustrates:

"I would like my kids to be more international. I don't want my kids to be just French, but I don't think of my kids as being English either, I want them just to be European or International, go elsewhere, see other things. They're going to have to be very open minded aren't they? You know to gain an edge in the job market, and the only way to do that is to keep an open mind and see lots of things, visit lots of places...They need to realise that there's not only one place in the world, and in that sense I think the French are just like the Brits; the French are terribly, terribly insular, and this is what I want my children to be aware of and avoid!".

Similarly, Richard (type 6) told me how he wanted his daughter "...to experience life in the UK (because) I think that she would gain an awful lot from going to a British university that she just wouldn't get here in France". Thus, return to the UK during university is clearly widespread. It is significant because it allows some kind of solid British identity platform to develop, and this was a priority for many 'concerned' expatriate parents. More than this, however, the strategy further serves to increase levels of transnational capital. Like the elite school circuits and the university year abroad, return to the UK for a full degree course is another important dimension in the early migratory career and transmission of valuable transnational capital.

8.3.2.3 The later life migratory career

Transnational capital is not only during childhood, school and university. In fact, a number of expatriates with relatively de-territorialised identities had lived within Britain throughout these formative years, only experiencing international mobility as working-age professionals. These 'later-life' stages of the migratory career were still important in terms of underpinning the development of a transient psyche. In other words, having lived in the UK for a considerable length of time, and having been exposed to the influence of 'locality', mobility and the associated acquisition of transnational capital may still impact upon identity in a profound way.

Type 3 expatriates were most prone to this later- life identity shift, mainly due to the importance of professional life and the international career-path. Through economic

necessity, these individuals were expected to demonstrate an ability to operate effectively in a global environment. Work could span a number of countries, colleagues may have been recruited from across the world, and promotion opportunities were unlikely to be restricted to a single city. To be successful, individuals were required to fit into an international milieu and at the same time demonstrate a willingness to adapt to local circumstance. The later- life acquisition of transnational capital was key to this.

Greg (type 3), for example, had not had an expatriate childhood but nonetheless had "lived all (his) adult life outside the UK" and "would certainly move again if work dictated". This behaviour stemmed from his strong sense of professionalism and international career aspirations. Similarly, Hannah (type 3) had gradually developed a transient, work-related psyche, the result of her status as a career diplomat:

"It doesn't really worry me whether I'll finish my career in Britain or not. Sometimes I feel I would like to go back to Britain and stay there to get roots of some sort. But from experience I've found that, even if you're not thinking of moving abroad, at a certain point of time because you've become so used to it you get itchy feet for going somewhere else".

Thus, even without factors such as expatriate schooling and overseas university experience, an international professionalism can be key to the development of later-life placelessness.

The transnational capital associated with this professional cohort extended into other spheres; those able to function effectively within the global work-place often moved with equal ease in a multi-national social setting. As Greg (type 3) told me:

"I'm just as happy making friends with people from another country as from the UK, and I don't feel any desire whatsoever to be in a completely British environment. It's like habituation I suppose, working so many years in a UN agency that you become used to having a group of friends that are from everywhere".

The transnational links favoured by this 'international elite' also had more ambivalent local undertones. Duncan (type 3), for example, having been educated overseas was an established international businessman, and found British current affairs a little too parochial:

"I can't bear any of the British newspapers! Apart from the Financial Times, I will ALWAYS grab a Financial Times when I'm in an airport...There are two BBC channels that I get, but I'll only flick between them for the news, nothing else. I did used to listen to Radio 4 but eventually began losing interest in it; it's a wee bit too local, too English, too distant really to interest me".

Furthermore, with a host of other European/International media sources; like BBC News 24, CNN, BBC World Service, The International Herald Tribune, and Guardian Europe, those in Ile-de-France with relatively broad geographical outlooks and few local ties are well catered for.

In summary, identities 'beyond' the in-between evolve symbiotically with an individuals migratory career. The constituent characteristics and experiences associated with this career underpin the development of social, cultural and economic capital

resources. These resources are consciously and unconsciously developed and deployed and facilitate international mobility and overseas settlement, particularly to/in transnational cities like Paris.

Experiences during childhood and in education are key to the acquisition of this mobile 'currency', with specialist expatriate schooling and international university circuits particularly important in this respect. Furthermore, transnational resources may also develop in later life, as a result of professional commitment and associated embeddedness within an international work/social milieu. The acquisition of transnational capital is ongoing, therefore, and expatriate identities evolve to reflect the cumulative impact of the international migratory career[165].

8.4 Conclusion

Everyday behaviour has become increasingly individualised, privatised and home-based, with new technologies pivotal in this shift away from the communal realm. For expatriates, this development has meant that overseas life is now more de-territorialised and disembodied than it once was, contingent upon transnational information, communication, transport and consumption flows between the UK and France. The chapter advanced our understanding of these flows in three main ways. Firstly, it linked their appeal to a 'concern' with events in the UK, a desire to keep in 'contact' with people still living there, and cultural cravings for home-country 'comforts'. Secondly, the social articulation of transnationalism was also discussed, with particular Franco-British links shown to be associated with particular expatriate types. Finally, it was argued that these links inevitably distort, however frequent or intense they are, and that this distortion grows as time away from the UK increases.

In the second half of the chapter I moved away from a concern with tangible transnational flows, to look at the ways in which expatriate identities de-territorialise following migration. Two models were proposed in order to underline the confusion conferred upon national and local forms of attachment by international relocation (see Figure 8.4). For the majority of migrants this meant the evolution of a dual transnational consciousness, whereby they simultaneously felt a part of, and apart from, their home and host countries. There were, however, some who felt ambivalent towards locality and possessed relatively superficial place-based ties. These respondents had both

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[165] This mobility-identity relationship has its limits, because of the fact that people, over time, tend to establish some degree of permanence, related to the development of professional, family and social ties. As expatriates age, these local moorings are likely to be increasingly important in tempering the impact of the 'placelessness' discussed above.

physically and psychologically moved 'beyond' the in-between, a placelessness that was explained via the inter-related transnational capital and mobility career concepts.

This now rounds off my socio-geographic analysis of the British in Ile-de-France. Migration has been explained (Chapter 5), residential settlement and neighbourhood relations examined (Chapter 6), community nodes, networks and transnational links explored (Chapters 7 and 8), and expatriate identities dissected (Chapter 8). It is, therefore, time to conclude.

CHAPTER 9. Conclusion

9.1 Research strategy

There are over 25,000 British residents in Ile-de-France and this thesis used both quantitative and qualitative techniques to examine certain key issues surrounding their presence in the region. To this end, three aims guided analysis. Firstly, and this was an overriding theme throughout, the internal complexities and prominent social fissures dividing the expatriate population were examined. The aim was to document the breadth of individual experience, whilst at the same time remaining aware of more general immigrant and ethno-national concerns. Secondly, explanatory frameworks for skilled migration and high-status residential settlement were developed. The aim here was to answer the why, who and where questions of British migration to Ile-de-France. Finally, I then uncovered the myriad ways in which migration impacts upon everyday behaviour and identity. In achieving this third aim, heterolocal and transnational theory were combined. This provided a multi-level analytical framework, through which the spatial, social and psychological dimensions of expatriate distinction were explored.

In order to meet these three main aims, the thesis was structured and presented according to a realist 'extensive-intensive' epistemology (Sarre, 1987; Sayer, 1982, 2000). Quantitative statistics provided an overall description of the British presence in Ile-de-France, whilst interview and ethnographic material allowed more in-depth theoretical and conceptual insight to follow. This final chapter will look at what the thesis achieved *vis à vis* the stated aims and realist research strategy. The findings will also be linked to wider research questions in order to move them beyond their narrow empirical terrain. The chapter will then end by identifying possible avenues for future research.

9.2 Research findings

One of the values of the realist strategy was that the overview in Chapter 4 challenged a number of common-sense assumptions evident in the literature. Data showed that large numbers of expatriates had not simply moved to France from the UK, but had arrived instead via a third country. It seems, therefore, that non-linear 'international circulation' is a key facet of skill mobility. People do not just move from home to host country; instead various intervening opportunities come into play (see Section 5.2.3.6), and expatriates can develop quite extensive 'migratory careers' (see Section 8.3.2.1).

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Skilled migrants also tend to be conceptualised as 'transient elites', who work at the upper echelons of the global economy. Whilst this picture is partly accurate, there were many who had established themselves permanently overseas and had no intention of returning. As with any urban community, temporary and nomadic expatriates lived alongside a relatively immobile and settled British population (cf. Fischer and Malmberg, 2001; Shumaker and Stokols, 1982).

Furthermore, not all working-age migrants were employed by transnational corporations in professional and managerial positions at the upper echelons of the global economy. In fact, large numbers worked in mid-level employment sectors often within national or local as opposed to international labour markets. As such, reasons for migration were not always tied to the international firm or career-path, with census statistics underlining the need for a subtle and sensitive approach to skilled migration.

The data presented in Chapter 4 also challenged the urban focus of much of the academic research. True, the British were located within Paris itself, but they were also spread across the prestigious suburban communes to the west of the city. This underlined, from the outset, the need to think in terms of the 'world city region' of Ile-de-France, rather than just the central city.

Thus, the study has shown that skilled migration is a great deal more complex than many first imagine. It can involve a transnational web of 'here to there' migrations and less permanent travel (see Figure 2.1) and is as a result often non-linear. Having said this, not all are transients engaged on a short-term international sojourn, nor do they inevitably harbour an intention to return. Moreover, although there were significant numbers of professional and managerial 'elites', skilled migration can also be quite 'mundane' involving relatively ordinary middle-class people moving into relatively ordinary career-paths. Acknowledging this complexity is important, and the statistical overview helped one to appreciate the community-wide picture from the outset. It also drew attention to the suburban/urban, socio-geographic dynamic surrounding skilled British migration, and the implications of this dynamic were explored throughout the remaining chapters.

In addition to analysing official data, the final part of Chapter 4 provided valuable insight into the nature of expatriate civil society through the author's own organisational survey. Eight different types of communal infrastructure were identified – religious, educational, charitable, official, professional, umbrella, clubs/societies and other (see Appendix 5). Furthermore, whilst each category was important in its own right, and indicated the specific niche an organisation addressed, it was clear that

beneath this the superficially different organisations performed a number of core roles – social, cultural, support and cooperative (see Figure 4.18). These related to the fundamental needs/desires of British expatriates; there is clearly potential here for cross-national research. In particular, it would be intriguing to uncover the types of organisations favoured by other ethno-national groups, and the extent to which these ostensibly different roles are united by a common organisational *raison d'être*.

Finally, the community survey also deciphered an important temporal 'ebb and flow' reverberating throughout expatriate civil society. British infrastructure evolved considerably over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, and consistent with this, many older organisations were facing an uncertain future. Roles were being re-evaluated and adjusted, following a post-war era of relative stability/complacency, and at the same time new types of organisation were also emerging. These organisational 'adjustments' reflected the contemporary diversity of British migration to Ile-de-France (see Chapter 5) as well as broader changes in western society (see Chapter 8). Crucially, their identification early on in the thesis helped to 'set the scene' for the more in-depth heterolocal analysis that followed (see Chapter 7).

9.2.1 Skilled migration and social mobility

Beneath the statistical overview (courtesy of the French census and my own organisational survey), the study has attempted to make an innovative contribution to the development of international migration theory. It addressed the question of why people migrate and looked at the types of people involved in the process, thereby advancing our understanding of skill exchange between developed world countries. Findings confirmed the dominant view within the literature: that people move as part of a global system of expertise and knowledge exchange, influenced by transnational employers and their own career aspirations. The conclusions reached by academics such as Jonathan Beaverstock (1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c) Allan Findlay (1988, 1989, 1995a, 1995b) John Salt (1983-4, 1988, 1992, 1995, 1997) and Paul White (Hurdley and White, 1999; White 1999, 2001; White and Hurdley, 2003) were validated, with the career-path / trailing-spouse model of migration shown to be a prime mechanism behind British working-age migration.

This said, aware of the heterogeneity of the British community, I argued throughout Chapters 2 and 5 that skilled migration theory needed expanding to acknowledge those outside these important, but not omnipotent, professional mobility pathways. A three-dimensional approach to individual decision-making was therefore

proposed, set within a structure-agency-channels explanatory framework. The three dimensions – the firm, the household unit and the individual decision-maker – combine in complex ways to produce diverse migratory patterns and processes. Thus, in addition to elite professional expatriates (types 1, 2 and 3), Ile-de-France was also shown to be home to a sizeable number of lifestyle graduates (type 4), bohemians and expressive specialists (type 5) and mixed-relationship movers (type 6).

The typology associated with these six types of working-age migrant, and the firm, household and individual dimensions to their decision-making, produced a fairly comprehensive answer to the why and who questions that surround skilled, world city mobility. It remains to be seen how applicable the typology and decision-making frameworks are in terms of other locales and other ethno-national groups. The potential for overlap, however, is clearly there; the findings build upon our understanding of skilled migration and point towards a broader theory of population exchange between developed world countries. This issue of conceptual/theoretical transferability is an important one, and will be taken up again later in the conclusion.

Another more general research question was also raised in Chapter 5, related to the link between migration, geography and socio-professional status. To elucidate, we know that British migration to Ile-de-France is skilled, and that the majority of expatriates have high levels of social and cultural capital. Moreover, most are economically privileged, or at very least are likely to become so in the future.

Significantly, this situation is similar to that observed nationally within the UK, whereby migration to the south east 'escalator' region produces/reproduces socio-economic advantage (Fielding, 1992; White, (forthcoming)). We, therefore, seem to be witnessing the transnational augmentation/acquisition of social, cultural, and economic capital. The motives behind, and outcomes of, 'getting on your bike' are in many respects similar, whether moving internally or internationally. The locations are similar – Paris and Ile-de-France are analogous in global terms to London and the south east. The people involved are similar – they already have privileged access to capital resources, and migration serves to reinforce this privilege.

True, important socio-cultural differences remain. Moving to Paris is still very much an international act, and those who migrate must use their transnational capital resources to successfully negotiate living and working overseas (see Chapter 8). However, Franco-British proximity, the EU geo-political context and increasing cultural and economic globalisation, all point towards a reduction in the gap between the internal and international.

Scholars of migration need to be alert to this dynamic. In particular, there is the question of how pervasive the transnational production/reproduction of social distinction has become. Do world cities now appeal to a global audience of relatively affluent and upwardly mobile migrants, where once these individuals would have been content with urban centres in their own nation-state. If so, how restricted/open is this migration/geography/status pathway? Are those already living in places like London, New York and Paris significantly more likely to make use of it, and what are the long term implications of this socio-geographic inequality?

9.2.2 High-status residential settlement

The literature on residential settlement provided a relatively extensive pre-existing framework for the study of high-status British settlement (see, for example, Glebe, 1987; Montag and White, 2000; White, 1998). Findings confirmed the significance of three inter-related sets of factors in underpinning loose suburban clustering. Firstly, high-status lifestyle preferences were evident, associated mainly with a desire for a pleasant environment and a spacious home and garden. Secondly, professional concerns ensured proximity to transport links and/or the workplace, and finally, family considerations meant that locations near to specialist expatriate schools/bus routes were favoured and that neighbourhood safety was a priority. In addition to these factors, residential decisions were 'channelled' in the sense that estate agents, employers, colleagues and friends transmitted geographically specific knowledge of the Ile-de-France housing market to newly arriving expatriates.

Taking these various issues into account, a framework was developed to explain the geography of British settlement in Ile-de-France. Moreover, I argued that the three sets of socio-professional factors, combined with a recognition of supply-side channelling, are likely to shape the housing outcomes of analogous world city minorities. The assertion was supported by evidence from the census on the geography of German, American and Japanese settlement (see Figure 4.3), and by discussion in Chapter 6 around the 'international suburb'. There is, therefore, potential for explanatory transfer and the development of a more general theory of high-status residential settlement.

This identification of international pockets of elite immigrants, within the world's most important urban regions, once again points towards the presence of a transnational system of social production/reproduction. Not only are those with social, cultural and economic capital augmenting their position by moving to particular cities,

but the most privileged professional and managerial migrants amongst them are living within elite districts of these cities.

The loose suburban skew is relatively unspectacular when compared to traditional residential notions of the slum, enclave, ghetto or neighbourhood, but the socio-geographic implications are nonetheless significant. Clearly, those living within the international districts of world cities, natives and immigrants alike, are key to the economic success and vitality of the immediate metropolis and wider nation-state. However, one must consider the long term desirability of this residential concentration of knowledge and expertise, not only within world city regions but within those urban and suburban districts providing elites with the 'best of the best'.

9.2.3 Civil society and the changing morphology of everyday life

As well as explaining why the British live where they do, Chapter 6 also explored the relationship between society and space. Propinquity was shown to loosely structure British in-group sociability, particularly in the suburbs, but not to the extent that a neighbourhood community could be said to exist. Thus geography was an important, but not decisive or determinate, factor in expatriate interaction. This 'community as liberated' recognition mirrors findings from minority research elsewhere, and reflects a broader deterritorialisation of social life – a theme taken up in Chapter 8.

Rather than being spatially confined and contained, British communal life was heterolocal: it centred around the immigrant organisation and informal social network. The difficult and drawn-out process of integration/assimilation made these in-group activity spaces important for large numbers of migrants. In fact, for some, particularly new arrivals, the expatriate 'bubble' was all they had. However, even for those not reliant upon it, the expatriate bubble was valued as a familiar and comforting socio-cultural hearth, with a unique flavour and symbolism ensuring that communal participation was as much about desire as it was about need.

As with UK civil society, the expatriate community was socially diverse and complex. Within and between organisations there were differences based on gender, generation, life-stage and socio-professional status, with the need/desire for communal participation clearly contingent upon social biography. The six expatriate types identified in Chapter 5 were key to unlocking this complexity. Different respondents performed their Britishness in different ways, and one of the clearest manifestations of this diversity was the BCC/non-BCC divide. This illustrated the heterogeneity and

contemporary fluidity of expatriate public life, thereby building upon similar findings from Chapter 4. More specifically, areas of communal retreat and advancement were charted, and whilst the post-war BCC model of community was shown to be declining, there was no evidence of a mass withdrawal from public life. There certainly was some atrophying, but this was offset, at least in the past, by growth in other areas of civil society.

9.2.4 Deterritorialised behaviour

This said, some of the decline in organisational activity did seem to stem from a shift away from the public realm towards individual forms of expatriate behaviour. Chapter 8 examined the implications of this transition, identifying a pervasive global-local dynamic permeating immigrant life. This dynamic has, over recent years, altered the balance between the communal and the private realm in favour of the latter. However, rather than out-competing British community nodes and networks, the transnational links behind this shift were seen as an additional practical and psychological resource for expatriates to draw upon. They allow continuous and instantaneous 'dialogue' with home, and represent yet another everyday outcome of the international migration process.

Like the expatriate bubble, individual transnational exchanges addressed a number of core needs/desires within the British community. In fact, three key transnational functions were highlighted, related to the cross-border concerns, contacts and comforts of British expatriates. Equally, though, home-host dialogue varied in form, frequency and intensity, depending upon the type of migrant one talked to. In particular, transnational performances differed between expatriate families (types 1 and 2), young professionals/graduates (types 3 and 4) and mixed relationship migrants (type 6). These three groups engaged with 'home' in different ways, and their transnational exchanges, to an extent at least, reflected social circumstance.

Given the widespread and increasingly pervasive influence of transnationalism, the findings in Chapter 8 offer a basis for future comparative research. Specifically, how general is this deterritorialised behaviour, and to what extent is it altering the balance between the communal and the private/individual realm? Moreover, do transnational links address core immigrant needs/desires irrespective of the ethno-national group concerned, and how important was Franco-British socio-cultural and geographic proximity in shaping the transnational behaviour observed. Do German, American and Japanese migrants, for instance, maintain similar home-host connections for similar

reasons, and to what extent, and is their transnational dialogue socially articulated? Given the growing transnational literature, it is hoped that these are questions that will soon be answered.

9.2.5 Deterritorialised identity and social reproduction

Away from the tangible spheres of community and transnational behaviour, relatively little is known about the ways in which abstract place-based identities evolve and coalesce following migration. A focus on transnational allegiance addressed this research gap. It showed how expatriate identities are commensurate with mobility experience. Thus, relocation to Ile-de-France meant the development of a dual home-host consciousness for most respondents. There were, however, a minority who harboured more amorphous and ambivalent attachments to place. These individuals had extensive 'migratory careers' and for them the structuring and constraining spectre of locality had all but dissolved. They had physically and psychologically moved 'beyond' the in-between.

Although these findings open up a new and exciting avenue for transnational research, they are also important in relation to the broader issue of social production/reproduction. To elucidate, we have already seen how the world city acts as a beacon to the socially, culturally and economically privileged, and the transnational findings reinforce this mobility-distinction link. They underline an international dimension to social stratification by showing how 'transnational capital' develops amongst those for whom mobility has become a way of life rather than a purely physical act. For these individuals, the global-local balance is such that they have relatively few local ties or attachments, and are at home in any number of countries / world cities.

Crucially, this confers labour market advantage because the transnational capital amassed through mobility is a relatively scarce and valued human resource. Furthermore, whilst it exists alongside national systems of social, cultural and economic capital, those with this additional transnational 'currency' are in a particularly advantageous position *vis à vis* the local proletariat and the national intelligentsia.

The discussion of transnational identity and capital acquisition, therefore, takes the relationship between migration, geography and status to a new conceptual level. It underlines the need for analysis of social stratification beyond the national level. In short, we now need to explore the possibility of systems of social production/reproduction at the European and global level, however embryonic they may be.

9.2.6 Final summary

Bringing the above conclusions together, the thesis has shown how incredibly complex the issues of migration, settlement, community and identity are. As part of this, it advanced three potentially transferable frameworks to answer the crucial why, who and where questions of skilled migration and high status settlement. In addition, the unsettling impact of mobility was charted. Movement from home to host, majority to minority, and local to global context shapes everyday communal interaction. It also initiates individual forms of transnational exchange and relocates place-based allegiance to an abstract area in-between the sending and receiving countries. Furthermore, whilst shared ethno-national and immigrant needs/desires are undoubtedly key to this distinction, the story was once again about social complexity whereby gender, generation, life-stage and socio-professional status combine to produce a myriad of heterolocal and transnational outcomes.

9.3 Future research

Looking to the future, there is certainly great scope for comparative skilled migration research. A more in depth focus on the analogous German, American and Japanese communities in Ile-de-France would, for instance, allow intriguing parallels to be drawn. Similarly, there are estimated to be between 60,000 to 250,000 French living in the UK (Bremner *et al.*, 2000; Brockes, 2000; Chittenden and Peakin, 2000), and a study carried out in the south east 'escalator' region would help to place this research in a broader European / world city context (cf. Boyle *et al.*, 1994; Findlay *et al.*, 1994b).

Specifically, it is envisaged that by comparing ostensibly different forms of population exchange within the world city 'system' (Knox and Taylor, 1995) a better understanding of the reciprocal networks and flows that constitute this system can be achieved. Furthermore, this would move international migration research beyond its often narrow and bilateral gaze, to consider the broader motives, mechanisms, patterns and processes underpinning skill mobility between the world most economically and culturally significant urban regions.

This research avenue also raises the question of how unique or how transferable data and analysis is. Clearly, although talking in terms of a world city system, one must also recognise that the time-space moment of research is a defining factor. In other places and at other times findings will vary, and those respondents with overseas experience in places other than Ile-de-France were aware of the importance of location in shaping the outcomes of migration.

Matt (type 3), for example, had lived in Singapore before Paris and told me: "It was different there, we stuck together much more. There was a definite expatriate life, and a clearer demarcation between ourselves and the local population". Greg had similar experiences:

"In Vienna I found it easy to integrate because I belonged to a large UN community of civil servants...many of the British clustered together in part as a refuge from a culture which they found it difficult to integrate into. People appreciated the physical quality of life in Austria but somehow culturally they were outside of it, its not quite the same in France".

Likewise, Edward (type 1) recalled "the difference between big village [Strasbourg] and mega-city [Paris], whilst Laura (type 2) contrasted the "goldfish bowl in Germany" with the "anonymity" of Paris.

As part of this, France was valued because it represented "a nice compromise" (Sarah, type 3); it "offered the best of both worlds" (Michael, type 4), and was "near enough to enjoy, but far enough away to feel different" (Ian, type 4). These observations, around the uniqueness of Paris/France and its proximity to the UK, are illuminating. They point towards differences between skilled expatriate communities in different countries/cities, differences that should be explored through cross-national world city research.

The need for cumulative data is particularly pressing, given my concluding remarks in Section 9.2.6. If we are to develop a theory/theories of skilled migration and high status settlement, or even just to show that such an endeavour is impossibly complex, more empirical scope is required. Similarly, we cannot say how representative British expatriate civil society is until we look at the communal infrastructure/interaction of comparator groups either in Ile-de-France or elsewhere in the developed world. The phenomenon of transnationalism and the deterritorialised links and allegiances with which it is associated, is also in need of a more socially and spatially expansive frame of reference.

As well as these comparative research points, the study also raised a number of more specific issues that deserve greater empirical/analytical attention. Firstly, the British community is undoubtedly more heterogeneous than the inductive typology allowed for, and although it is impossible to capture all social nuances, a purposive follow-up study would certainly add complexity and depth. Secondly, the suburban-urban socio-geographic split within Ile-de-France could be explored further. Not only this, but it would be interesting to compare the overall metropolitan community with the rural expatriate enclaves in France (cf. Arlidge, 2003; Buller and Hoggart, 1994a, 1994b; Chaplin, 1999; Hellen, 2001; Serafini, 2000). In fact, there is scope for a more detailed and systematic analysis of the various urban, suburban and rural British 'tribes'

across the country. This may even lead, eventually, to the production of a comprehensive socio-geographic classification system for expatriate settlement that acknowledges the differences and similarities between world city and provincial, urban, suburban and rural, and natural and planted forms of overseas community.

Thirdly, both qualitative and quantitative data pointed towards quite significant divisions between the naturalised and *étranger* populations in Ile-de-France (see also Bonvalet *et al.*, 1995). These divisions were indirectly addressed in the typology, via the inclusion of a mixed relationship cohort (type 6). Nonetheless, I did not focus explicitly on the implications of this *de jure* citizenship divide. Relatively few studies do, and more research is needed in this area. Specifically, why do certain people change status, and 'go native' in the legal sense? How do their experiences of mobility compare with those who don't, and more pragmatically, how do we unlock the stories of those within this relatively invisible immigrant cohort?

Finally, although I touched upon the inter-generational facet of migration in the previous chapter, I did so only briefly. Nonetheless, the dynamic within the expatriate family, and the associated perpetuation or loss of British ways of being/doing, is an important research domain. There is a need to look in more detail at how national systems of social, cultural and economic capital are transferred between parent and child, and how transnational resources are amassed. Furthermore, within this there will be diversity and more research is required into the social subtleties that impact upon the transmission of immigrant and ethno-national distinction from parent to child.

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